THE

HISTORY

OF

HERODOTUS

A NEW ENGLISH VERSION, EDITED WITH COPIOUS NOTES AND APP[illegible]CES,
ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF HERODOTUS, FROM THE
MOST RECENT SOURCES OF INFORMATION; AND EMBODYING
THE CHIEF RESULTS, HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL,
WHICH HAVE BEEN OBTAINED IN THE PROGRESS
OF CUNEIFORM AND HIEROGLYPHICAL
DISCOVERY.

BY

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ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 111, note [4], *dele* "iii. 134;" *and add* "v. 105."
125, line 3, *for* "Acis," *read* "Aces,"
203, line 5, *for* "Syssytia," *read* "Syssitia."
265, line 1, *for* "Persian," *read* "Perseid."
405, note [1], *for* "Shamas-Phul," *read* "Shamas-Iva."
459, line 4, *for* "Heliopolis," *read* "Hierapolis."
464, line 21, *dele* "Baasha."
473, note [3], *dele* "(*i. e.* Calah)."
487, note [5], line 4, *after* "factus," *insert* "turmarum."
487, note [5], line 12, *after* "Ninevem," *insert* "urbem."
603, line 22, *for* "Hieropolis," *read* "Hierapolis."
647, note [8], *for* "p. 94," *read* "p. 446."
658, note [8], *for* "גְּבָל," *read* "גְּבָל."

VOL. II.

Page 162, line 3, *for* "Canopus," *read* "Canobus."
257, note 5, col. 2, line 9, *for* "contra Psellis," *read* "contra Pselcis.
291, line 40, *for* "Sabæism," *read* "Sabaism."
292, lines 11 and 29, *for* "Sabæism," *read* "Sabaism."
292, line 25, *for* "Cheræmon," *read* "Chæremon."
292, line 30, *for* "Sabæan," *read* "Sabäöth."
358, note †, *for* "p. 24," *read* "p. 360."
373, line 29, *for* "Shairstana," *read* "Shairetana."
484, note [9], line 3, *for* "19," *read* "17."
485 (in heading of page), *for* "Satapris," *read* "Satrapies."
485, note [3], line 2, *for* "Tymunees," *read* "Taymounees."
502, note, col. 2, line 44, *for* "1 Kings ix. 26," *read* "1 Kings xxii. 48; 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37."

Note on Egyptian History.

In the summary of the history of Egypt given in the Appendix to Book ii. vol. ii. p. 380, sixth line from the bottom of the page, I have stated that an Apis, born in the 26th year of Tirhaka, died in the 21st year of Psammetichus 1st, "*aged* 21 *years*;" but as there is a doubt respecting the age of that bull, I think it right to state that the period between Tirhaka and Psammetichus 1st, as well as the date of Tirhaka's reign, must still be considered uncertain.—[G. W.]

VOL. III.

Page 15, note [8], col. 2, line 42, *for* "Burgen," *read* "Burgon."
85, note [7], *for* "Alyndians," *read* "Calyndians."
87, line 4, *for* "Mitylenæans," *read* "Mytilenæans."
148, note [1], *for* "Cathinachus," *read* "Callimachus."
200, line 20, *for* "Αρτεμις," *read* "Ἄρτεμις."
235, note [1], *dele from* "Their king" *to the end.*
276, note [7], ad fin., *omit from* "Probably" *to* "people." *Also transpose the words* "Dorians," *and* "Achæans"; *and transpose* "Ægialeis" *and the conjoined names,* "Hyllæi, Pamphyli, Dymanatæ."
288, note [1], ad fin., *for* "note [1]," *read* "note [5]."
414, note [3], sub fin., *for* "205," *read* "204."
438, line 6, *for* "caslte," *read* "castle."
445, line 17, and note [8], *for* "Œnyra," *read* "Ænyra."
461, note [1], *for* "Gymhopædiæ," *read* "Gymnopædiæ."
531, note [4], *for* "Teyeans," *read* "Tegeans."
553, line 5, *for* "Azdahages," *read* "Asdahages."

VOL. IV.

Page 2, note [6], line 16, *for* "Plut.," *read* "Plat."
23, note [2], line 6, *for* "Plut.," *read* "Plat."
67, note [1], line 9, *for* "ροπαλα τυλωτα," *read* "ῥόπαλα τυλωτά."
83, line 1, *for* "Archilochus," *read* "Amphilochus."
112, note [3], line 4, *for* "likely," *read* "unlikely."
219, line 23, *for* "Sancritic," *read* "Sanscritic."
229, note [10], line 2, *for* "Ἄπεις," *read* "Ἄπειρ."
367, line 11, *for* "Artachæes," *read* "Artachæus."

IN MAP (VOL. IV.)

bDE. *For* "Crusis," *read* "Crossæa."
bD. *For* "Echedorus," *read* "Echidorus."
bE. *For* "Ægæ," *read* "Æga."
bK. Dascylium is given too northerly a position. It seems to have been at some little distance from the coast, on the Odrysses, or *Lufer Su.*
dE. *For* "Pagæ" *read* "Pegæ." The *Hellopia* of Herodotus was *west,* not *east,* of Histiæa.
dD. (On the Sinus Corinthiacus), *for* "Oenanthia," *read* "Oeanthia."
eE. *For* "Hydra I.," *read* "Hydrea I."
fK. *For* "Axon F." *read* "Calbis F." *and dele* "Calbis F." Also, *for* "Calinda," *read* "Calynda."
fM. *For* "Mylias," *read* "Milyas."
gF. *For* "Cisamum Pr." *read* "Cyamum Pr."

THE

HISTORY OF HERODOTUS.

THE SEVENTH BOOK, ENTITLED POLYMNIA.

1. Now when tidings of the battle that had been fought at Marathon reached the ears of King Darius, the son of Hystaspes,[1] his anger against the Athenians, which had been already roused by their attack upon Sardis,[2] waxed still fiercer, and he became more than ever eager to lead an army against Greece. Instantly he sent off messengers to make proclamation through the several states, that fresh levies were to be raised, and these at an increased rate; while ships, horses, provisions, and transports were likewise to be furnished. So the men published his commands; and now all Asia was in commotion by the space of three years, while everywhere, as Greece was to be attacked, the best and bravest were enrolled for the service, and had to make their preparations accordingly.

After this, in the fourth year,[3] the Egyptians whom

[1] Mr. Blakesley well remarks, that this expression, and the statement of Darius' irritation at the invasion of Sardis in such general terms, "seem to indicate that we have here the beginning of what, in its first draft at any rate, was an independent history." "In fact," he adds, "the whole of the work of Herodotus up to this point may almost be regarded as a *mere introduction*, for the more complete understanding of what follows." Vide supra, vol. i. pp. 121-2.

[2] Supra, v. 100-2.

[3] B.C. 487. The reckoning is inclusive, as usual. Mr. Blakesley's view (note [a] on Book vii.) is preferable to Mr. Clinton's (F. H., vol ii. pp. 28-32).

Cambyses had enslaved revolted from the Persians; whereupon Darius was more hot for war than ever,[4] and earnestly desired to march an army against both adversaries.

2. Now, as he was about to lead forth his levies against Egypt and Athens, a fierce contention for the sovereign power arose among his sons; since the law of the Persians was, that a king must not go out with his army, until he has appointed one to succeed him upon the throne.[5] Darius, before he obtained the kingdom, had had three sons born to him from his former wife, who was a daughter of Gobryas; while, since he began to reign, Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, had borne him four. Artabazanes was the eldest of the first family, and Xerxes of the second. These two, therefore, being the sons of different mothers, were now at variance. Artabazanes claimed the crown as the eldest of all the children, because it was an established custom all over the world for the eldest to have the pre-eminence; while Xerxes, on the other hand, urged that he was sprung from Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, and that it was Cyrus who had won the Persians their freedom.[6]

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[4] Probably the revolt of Egypt was attributed to the machinations of the Greeks. It is not impossible that they may have actually fomented it.

[5] An allusion to this custom is made in the first book (ch. 208), in connexion with the expedition of Cyrus against the Massagetæ. That it was not confined to the Persians appears from another place, where Crœsus is said to have been nominated to the succession by Alyattes (i. 92). Plutarch, after mentioning the Persian custom, adds that the monarch designate had the right of asking any boon that he chose of the actual king, who was obliged to grant it, unless it was impossible (Artaxerx. c. 26). If the rule was really always observed, Darius must have designated a successor at the time of his expedition against the Scythians.

[6] This was probably the real *right* on which the claim of Xerxes rested. Xerxes was of the blood of Cyrus, Artabazanes was not. In the East the hereditary instinct is particularly strong and sensitive. Darius reigned perhaps, to some extent, in right of his wife Atossa, and in default of an heir male of the blood of the conqueror. At his death the eldest grandson of Cyrus could not but be the legitimate successor. It is probable that the king's power of choosing his successor, if it existed at all, was confined within very narrow limits. (Cf. Plut. Alc. i. p. 121. D. Lysis. p. 209, E., where the absolute claim of the eldest son to succeed is assumed as certain.)

3. Before Darius had pronounced on the matter, it happened that Demaratus, the son of Ariston, who had been deprived of his crown at Sparta, and had afterwards, of his own accord, gone into banishment, came up to Susa,[7] and there heard of the quarrel of the princes. Hereupon, as report says, he went to Xerxes, and advised him, in addition to all that he had urged before, to plead—that at the time when he was born Darius was already king, and bore rule over the Persians; but when Artabazanes came into the world, he was a mere private person. It would therefore be neither right nor seemly that the crown should go to another in preference to himself. "For at Sparta," said Demaratus, by way of suggestion, "the law is, that if a king has sons before he comes to the throne, and another son is born to him afterwards, the child so born is heir to his father's kingdom."[8] Xerxes followed this counsel, and Darius, persuaded that he had justice on his side, appointed him his successor. For my own part I believe that, even without this, the crown would have gone to Xerxes; for Atossa was all-powerful.[9]

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[7] Supra, vi. 70. Ctesias declared that Demaratus did not fly to the Persians till the reign of Xerxes, whom he first joined at the Hellespont (Exc. Pers. § 23); but his authority carries no weight against the distinct testimony of Herodotus.

[8] The tale here introduced (though accepted by Plutarch, Artaxerx. l.s.c.), does not seem to have been credited by our author; and it is indeed very doubtful whether the law of succession at Sparta was such as is stated. It has been justly remarked (Grote, vol. v. p. 2, note) that anecdotes investing Demaratus with a factitious importance are frequent in Herodotus, and may probably have been received by him from the lips of that monarch's descendants, who were settled on the Caicus, in the cities of Halisarna and Teuthrania (*not* Pergamus and Teuthrania; compare Xen. Anab. VII. viii. § 17, with Xen. Hell. III. i. § 6), two towns which had been given by Xerxes to Demaratus on his return from the expedition against Greece.

Plutarch's story of the dispute between the brothers (De Frat. Am. ii. p. 488), though given also by Justin (ii. 10), is entitled to no attention.

[9] Though Darius had several wives (supra, iii. 88, note [1]), it is probable that he had but one queen, namely Atossa. This is the rule wherever there is a seraglio, and was clearly the custom of the Persian court. (Cf. Esther, i. 9, ii. 4, &c.; infra, ix. 109; Ctesias, Exc. Pers. § 20, &c.; Plut. Artax. i. p. 307, 308; Arrian. Exp. Alex. ii. 11-12.) The rank of Atossa would naturally secure her this position, which is marked by her being placed at the head of the wives in Book iii. ch. 88.

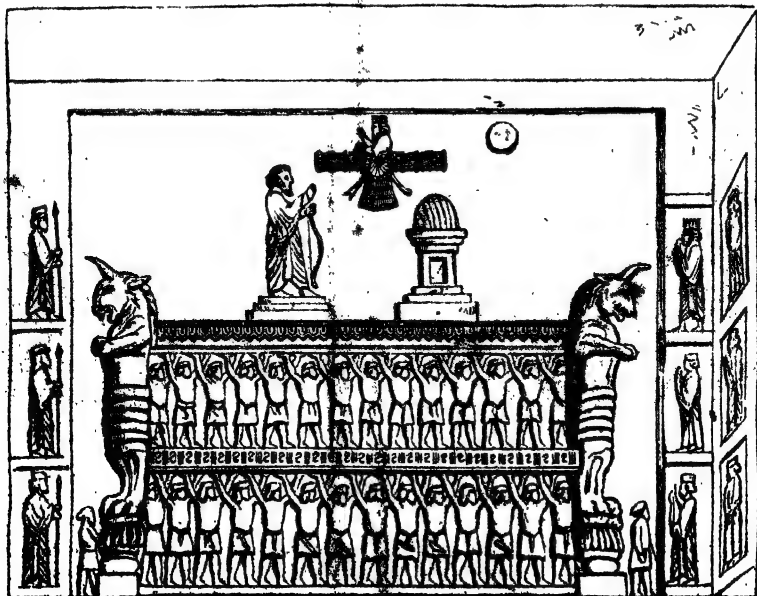
4. Darius, when he had thus appointed Xerxes his heir, was minded to lead forth his armies; but he was prevented by death while his preparations were still proceeding. He died in the year following[1] the revolt of Egypt, and the matters here related, after having reigned in all six and thirty years,[2] leaving the revolted Egyptians and the Athenians alike unpunished. At his death the kingdom passed to his son, Xerxes.

5. Now Xerxes, on first mounting the throne, was coldly disposed towards the Grecian war, and made it his business to collect an army against Egypt. But Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, who was at the court, and had more influence with him than any of the other

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[1] B.C. 486. Darius had prepared his tomb in the neighbourhood of Persepolis, where it may still be seen. It is placed in a recess of the rock, sculptured as appears below, and with the inscription which is given in Note A. at the end of this Book.

[2] This number is confirmed by the Canon of Ptolemy (Meg. Synt. v. 14), and by Manetho (Fragments 68 and 69). Darius reigned from the beginning of B.C. 521 to the end of B.C. 486. (See Clinton's F. H., vol. ii. p. 378.) Ctesias, with his usual incorrectness, gave to Darius a reign of only 31 years (Pers. Exc. § 19).



Tomb of Darius.

Persians, being his own cousin, the child of a sister of Darius, plied him with discourses like the following:—

"Master, it is not fitting that they of Athens escape scot-free, after doing the Persians such great injury. Complete the work which thou hast now in hand, and then, when the pride of Egypt is brought down, lead an army against Athens. So shalt thou thyself have good report among men, and others shall fear hereafter to attack thy country."

Thus far it was of vengeance that he spoke, but sometimes he would vary the theme, and observe by the way, "that Europe was a wondrous beautiful region, rich in all kinds of cultivated trees, and the soil excellent: no one, save the king, was worthy to own such a land."

6. All this he said, because he longed for adventures, and hoped to become Satrap of Greece under the king; and after a while he had his way, and persuaded Xerxes to do according to his desires. Other things, however, occurring about the same time, helped his persuasions. For, in the first place, it chanced that messengers arrived from Thessaly, sent by the Aleuadæ,[3] Thessalian kings, to invite Xerxes into Greece, and to promise him all the assistance which it was in their power to give. And further, the Pisistratidæ, who had come up to Susa, held the same language as the

[3] The Aleuadæ were the royal family of Larissa, as is plain from Herodotus (infra, ix. 58) and Plato (Meno, p. 70, B.). Other cities, as Pharsalus, are thought to have been under their influence (cf. Hermann's Pol. Ant. § 178, note [10]). They derived their name from Aleuas the red-haired (ὁ πυῤῥός), who is mentioned by Plutarch (De Frat. Am. ii. p. 492) as having obtained the sovereignty by the choice of the Delphic oracle. They were patrons of learning and of the arts, vying herein with the most magnificent of the Greek tyrants (Plat. Men. l. s. c.; Pind. Pyth. x. 5.; Philost. Vit. Soph. I. xvi. 2, &c.). Their power in Thessaly lasted till the time of Philip, who attacked the murderers of Alexander of Pheræ at their instigation (Cf. Diod. Sic. xvi. 14). Euphorion of Chalcis wrote a history of the family (Müller's Fr. Hist. Gr. vol. iii. pp. 71-2).

The invitation which the three brothers, Thorax, Eurypylus, and Thrasideus, gave to Xerxes (infra, ix. 58), was not generally acceptable to their countrymen (infra, ch. 172).

Aleuadæ, and worked upon him even more than they, by means of Onomacritus of Athens, an oracle-monger, and the same who set forth the prophecies of Musæus in their order.[4] The Pisistratidæ had previously been at enmity with this man, but made up the quarrel before they removed to Susa. He was banished from Athens by Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus, because he foisted into the writings of Musæus a prophecy that the islands which lie off Lemnos would one day disappear in the sea. Lasus of Hermioné[5] caught him in the act of so doing. For this cause Hipparchus banished him, though till then they had been the closest of friends. Now, however, he went up to Susa with the sons of Pisistratus, and they talked very grandly of him to the king; while he, for his part, whenever he was in the king's company, repeated to him certain of the oracles;

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[4] Of Musæus, as of Orpheus, with whom his name is commonly joined, scarcely anything is known. Strabo (x. p. 686) calls him a Thracian, Suidas (ad voc.) a native of Eleusis. (Compare Harpocrat. ad voc.). Damastes made him the tenth ancestor of Homer (Fr. 10). All perhaps that can be said with certainty is that poems believed to be ancient were current under his name as early as B.C. 520. These were chiefly oracles, but not entirely so. A hymn to Ceres is mentioned (Pausan. I. xxii. § 7), and also poems setting forth the way of curing diseases (Arist. Ran. 972, ed. Bothe). Pausanias believed that the hymn to Ceres was genuine, but that all the other poems ascribed to Musæus were forgeries of Onomacritus (δοκεῖν δέ μοι πεποίηκεν αὐτὰ Ὀνομάκριτος, καὶ ἔστιν οὐδὲν Μουσαίου βεβαίως, ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἐς Δημήτερα ὕμνος Λυκομίδαις, l. s. c.). Onomacritus was also regarded by some as the author of the poems ascribed to Orpheus (Clem. Alex. Strom. i. p. 397; Sext. Emp. Pyrrh. Hypotyp. iii. 4, p. 115, B.). It was questioned whether Musæus or Orpheus invented the hexameter (Crit. Fr. 10).

[5] Lasus of Hermione was a lyric and dithyrambic poet of the highest repute. He was said to have been the instructor of Pindar (Thom. Mag. Vit. Pind.), and to have contended with the later Simonides (Aristoph. Vesp. 1364, ed. Bothe.). Some reckoned him among the seven sages of Greece (Hermipp. Fr. 8; Schol. ad Aristoph. l. s. c.). He wrote a treatise on music (ibid.; comp. Plutarch, Mus. ii. p. 1141, B.), and also certain dialectical disputations, the produce perhaps of his intercourse with Xenophanes (Plut. De vitios. pud. ii. p. 530, F.). Suidas (ad voc. κυκλιοδιδάσκαλος) makes him the first inventor of the Cyclic Chorus. (Compare Schol. ad Arist. Av. 1403.) Hermione, his native town, was the capital of a district called Hermionis, which adjoined the states of Trœzen and Epidaurus. Pausanias has left a description of it (II. xxxiv. §§ 9-11) completely identifying it with the modern *Kastri*, which lies on the east coast of the Peloponnese, opposite Hydria. The walls remain, and many foundations of the ancient temples. (Gell's Morea, p. 199; Leake's Morea, vol. ii. pp. 461-2; Curtius' Pelop. vol. ii. p. 457).

and while he took care to pass over all that spoke of disaster to the barbarians, brought forward the passages which promised them the greatest success. "'Twas fated," he told Xerxes, "that a Persian should bridge the Hellespont, and march an army from Asia into Greece." While Onomacritus thus plied Xerxes with his oracles, the Pisistratidæ and Aleuadæ did not cease to press on him their advice,[6] till at last the king yielded, and agreed to lead forth an expedition.

7. First, however, in the year following the death of Darius,[7] he marched against those who had revolted from him; and having reduced them, and laid all Egypt under a far harder yoke than ever his father had put upon it, he gave the government to Achæmenes, who was his own brother, and son to Darius. This Achæmenes was afterwards slain in his government by Inarôs, the son of Psammetichus, a Libyan.[8]

8. (§ 1.) After Egypt was subdued, Xerxes, being about to take in hand the expedition against Athens, called together an assembly of the noblest Persians, to learn their opinions, and to lay before them his own designs.[9] So, when the men were met, the king spake thus to them:—

[6] These are probably the persuasions of which Æschylus makes Atossa speak (Pers. 749-754):—

ταῦτα τοῖς κακοῖς ὁμιλῶν ἀνδράσιν διδάσκεται
θούριος Ξέρξης· λέγουσι δ', ὡς σὺ μὲν μέγαν τέκνοις
πλοῦτον ἐκτήσω ξὺν αἰχμῇ, τὸν δ' ἀνανδρίας ὕπο
ἔνδον αἰχμάζειν, πατρῷον δ' ὄλβον οὐδὲν αὐξάνειν,
τοιάδ' ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ὀνείδη πολλάκις κλύων κακῶν
τήνδ' ἐβούλευσεν κέλευθον καὶ στράτευμ' ἐφ' Ἑλλάδα.

[7] B.C. 485. See note [1] on ch. 4.

[8] Vide supra, iii. 12, where the same fact is related; and concerning Inaros, compare iii. 15, with Thucyd. i. 104, 109, 110; and Diod. Sic. xi. 74. Herodotus, when in Egypt, had seen the battle-field where Achæmenes was slain, still white with the bones of the combatants. Ctesias, with his usual incorrectness, calls Achæmenes by the patronymic Achæmenides, and makes him a son instead of a brother of Xerxes. As Xerxes was born, at the earliest, in B.C. 522, the year after the accession of Darius, he could scarcely have had a grown-up son in B.C. 485, when he was at the utmost thirty-six years of age.

[9] These speeches have scarcely any higher historical character than those of the conspirators in the third book (supra, iii. 80, note [3]). They must be considered however as embodying *Persian* as well as Greek views of the circumstances out of which the war arose, and the feelings of those who engaged in it. Oriental respect for royalty strove to exonerate Xerxes from all blame.

"Persians, I shall not be the first to bring in among you a new custom—I shall but follow one which has come down to us from our forefathers. Never yet, as our old men assure me, has our race reposed itself, since the time when Cyrus overcame Astyages, and so we Persians wrested the sceptre from the Medes. Now in all this God guides us, and we, obeying his guidance, prosper greatly. What need have I to tell you of the deeds of Cyrus and Cambyses, and my own father Darius, how many nations they conquered, and added to our dominions? Ye know right well what great things they achieved. But for myself, I will say, that from the day on which I mounted the throne, I have not ceased to consider by what means I may rival those who have preceded me in this post of honour, and increase the power of Persia as much as any of them. And truly I have pondered upon this, until at last I have found out a way whereby we may at once win glory, and likewise get possession of a land which is as large and as rich as our own—nay, which is even more varied in the fruits it bears—while at the same time we obtain satisfaction and revenge. For this cause I have now called you together, that I may make known to you what I design to do. (§ 2.) My intent is to throw a bridge over the Hellespont and march an army through Europe against Greece, that thereby I may obtain vengeance from the Athenians for the wrongs committed by them against the Persians and against my father. Your own eyes saw the preparations of Darius against these men; but death came upon him, and balked his hopes of revenge. In his behalf, therefore, and in behalf of all the Persians, I undertake the war, and pledge myself not to rest till I have taken and burnt Athens, which has dared, unprovoked, to injure me and my father. Long since they came to Asia with Aristagoras of Miletus, who was one of our slaves, and entering Sardis, burnt its temples and its sacred

groves;[1] again, more lately, when we made a landing upon their coast under Datis and Artaphernes, how roughly they handled us ye do not need to be told. (§ 3.) For these reasons, therefore, I am bent upon this war; and I see likewise therewith united no few advantages. Once let us subdue this people, and those neighbours of theirs who hold the land of Pelops the Phrygian,[2] and we shall extend the Persian territory as far as God's heaven reaches. The sun will then shine on no land beyond our borders; for I will pass through Europe from one end to the other, and with your aid make of all the lands which it contains one country. For thus, if what I hear be true, affairs stand: The nations whereof I have spoken, once swept away, there is no city, no country left in all the world, which will venture so much as to withstand us in arms. By this course then we shall bring all mankind under our yoke, alike those who are guilty and those who are innocent of doing us wrong. (§ 4.) For yourselves, if you wish to please me, do as follows: When I announce the time for the army to meet together, hasten to the muster with a good will, every one of you; and know that to the man who brings with him the most gallant array I will give the gifts which our people consider the most honourable.[3] This then is what ye have to do. But to show that I am not self-willed in this matter I lay the business before you, and give you full leave to speak your minds upon it openly."

Xerxes, having so spoken, held his peace.

9. (§ 1.) Whereupon Mardonius took the word, and said—

"Of a truth, my lord, thou dost surpass, not only all

[1] Supra, v. 100-2. It is not likely that Xerxes would have particularised these outrages. The speech is quite unhistorical.

[2] Pelops is called a Lydian by Pindar (Ol. i. 37), by Ister a Paphlagonian (Fr. 59). As his father, Tantalus, is king of Sipylum (Apollod. III. v. 6), Pindar's nomenclature would seem to be the most correct.

[3] Vide infra, ch. 19, note [1].

living Persians, but likewise those yet unborn. Most true and right is each word that thou hast now uttered; but best of all thy resolve, not to let the Ionians[4] who live in Europe—a worthless crew—mock us any more. It were indeed a monstrous thing if, after conquering and enslaving the Sacæ,[5] the Indians, the Ethiopians, the Assyrians, and many other mighty nations, not for any wrong that they had done us, but only to increase our empire, we should then allow the Greeks, who have done us such wanton injury, to escape our vengeance. What is it that we fear in them?—not surely their numbers?—not the greatness of their wealth? We know the manner of their battle—we know how weak their power is; already have we subdued their children who dwell in our country, the Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians. I myself have had experience of these men when I marched against them by the orders of thy

[4] This use of the term "Ionian" for the European Greeks is not casual, but characteristic of the Oriental modes of speech, and marks Herodotus for a keen observer of little peculiarities. That the Jews knew the Greeks at large under the name of Javan, or Javanim (יְוָנִים), which is equivalent to Ionians (Ἰάϝονες), has been frequently noticed; but it has only recently appeared from the inscriptions that the Persians did the same. Darius includes the whole extent of his Grecian dominions under the single title of *Yuna* (which in the Babylonian transcript becomes *Yavanu*), and this not only in his earlier monuments at Behistun and Persepolis, but in the inscription upon his tomb, which belongs to a late period in his reign, at Nakhsh-i-Rustam. Here *two* Ionias are mentioned, one of which stands clearly for Asiatic, and the other for European Greece (see Colonel Rawlinson, Behistun Memoir, ch. iv. p. 197, ch. v. pp. 280 and 294). Hence the dramatic propriety of the expressions, "Ἰαόνων γῆ," for "Hellas," in the mouth of Atossa in the Persæ of Æschylus (l. 182), and "Ἰαοναῦ," for "Hellene," or "Athenian," in that of Pseudartabas in the Acharnians of Aristophanes (l. 104). What the Scholiast on the latter passage says of all the barbarians (πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας Ἰάονας οἱ βάρβαροι ἐκάλουν) was undoubtedly true of the Persians, perhaps of the Asiatics generally. [The Assyrians always call the Greeks of Cyprus the *Yavnan* or *Yunan*. See the Inscriptions *passim*.—H. C. R.]

[5] Apparently Mardonius means the Scythians of Europe, whom he represents as reduced to slavery by the expedition of Darius. His enumeration is traced backwards in a regular order, referring to the Scythian and Indian expeditions of Darius (supra, iv. 44), the Ethiopian expedition of Cambyses (iii. 25), and the Babylonian conquest of Cyrus. Darius appears to have claimed Scythia as a part of his dominions. (See the inscription on his tomb, where, besides the Sacæ Amyrgii and the Sacan bowmen, another Scythia (*Saka*) appears in connexion with his later conquests.)

father; and though I went as far as Macedonia,[6] and came but a little short of reaching Athens itself, yet not a soul ventured to come out against me to battle. (§ 2.) And yet, I am told, these very Greeks are wont to wage wars against one another in the most foolish way, through sheer perversity and doltishness. For no sooner is war proclaimed than they search out the smoothest and fairest plain that is to be found in all the land, and there they assemble and fight;[7] whence it comes to pass that even the conquerors depart with great loss: I say nothing of the conquered, for they are destroyed altogether. Now surely, as they are all of one speech, they ought to interchange heralds and messengers, and make up their differences by any means rather than battle; or, at the worst, if they must needs fight one against another, they ought to post themselves as strongly as possible, and so try their quarrels. But, notwithstanding that they have so foolish a manner of warfare, yet these Greeks, when I led my army against them to the very borders of Macedonia, did not so much as think of offering me battle. (§ 3.) Who then will dare, O king, to meet thee in arms, when thou comest with all Asia's warriors at thy back, and with all her ships? For my part I do not believe the Greek people will be so foolhardy. Grant, however, that I am mistaken herein, and that they are foolish enough to meet us in open fight; in that case they will learn that there are no such soldiers in the whole world as we. Nevertheless let us spare no pains; for nothing comes without trouble, but all that men acquire is got by painstaking."

[6] Supra, vi. 44-5.

[7] It is not very clear on what facts in early Grecian history this statement is founded. Certainly in the Messenian and Arcadian wars of Sparta (cf. Pausanias, Messeniac. and Arcadic.), the use of strong positions appears to have been neither unknown nor disregarded. Perhaps the reference is to times when armies were composed almost entirely of cavalry, which could only operate conveniently in the plains of a country so mountainous as Greece.

When Mardonius had in this way softened the harsh speech of Xerxes, he too held his peace.

10. The other Persians were silent, for all feared to raise their voice against the plan proposed to them. But Artabanus, the son of Hystaspes, and uncle of Xerxes, trusting to his relationship, was bold to speak:—"O king," he said, "it is impossible, if no more than one opinion is uttered, to make choice of the best: a man is forced then to follow whatever advice may have been given him; but if opposite speeches are delivered, then choice can be exercised. In like manner pure gold is not recognised by itself; but when we test it along with baser ore, we perceive which is the better. I counselled thy father, Darius, who was my own brother, not to attack the Scyths,[8] a race of people who had no town in their whole land. He thought however to subdue those wandering tribes, and would not listen to me, but marched an army against them, and ere he returned home lost many of his bravest warriors. Thou art about, O king, to attack a people far superior to the Scyths, a people distinguished above others both by land and sea. 'Tis fit therefore that I should tell thee what danger thou incurrest hereby. (§ 2.) Thou sayest that thou wilt bridge the Hellespont, and lead thy troops through Europe against Greece. Now suppose some disaster befall thee by land or sea, or by both. It may be even so, for the men are reputed valiant. Indeed one may measure their prowess from what they have already done; for when Datis and Artaphernes led their huge army against Attica, the Athenians singly defeated them. But grant they are not successful on both elements. Still, if they man their ships, and defeating us by sea, sail to the Hellespont, and there destroy our bridge,—that, sire, were a fearful hazard. (§ 3.) And here 'tis not by my own mother wit

[8] Supra, iv. 83.

alone that I conjecture what will happen, but I remember how narrowly we escaped disaster once, when thy father, after throwing bridges over the Thracian Bosphorus and the Ister, marched against the Scythians, and they tried every sort of prayer to induce the Ionians, who had charge of the bridge over the Ister, to break the passage.[9] On that day, if Histiæus, the King of Miletus, had sided with the other princes, and not set himself to oppose their views, the empire of the Persians would have come to nought. Surely a dreadful thing is this even to hear said, that the king's fortunes depended wholly on one man.

(§ 4.) "Think then no more of incurring so great a danger when no need presses, but follow the advice I tender. Break up this meeting, and when thou hast well considered the matter with thyself, and settled what thou wilt do, declare to us thy resolve. I know not of aught in the world that so profits a man as taking good counsel with himself; for even if things fall out against one's hopes, still one has counselled well, though fortune has made the counsel of none effect: whereas if a man counsels ill and luck follows, he has gotten a windfall, but his counsel is none the less silly. (§ 5.) Seest thou how God with his lightning smites alway the bigger animals, and will not suffer them to wax insolent, while those of a lesser bulk chafe him not? How likewise his bolts fall ever on the highest houses and the tallest trees? So plainly does He love to bring down everything that exalts itself. Thus ofttimes a mighty host is discomfited by a few men, when God in his jealousy sends fear or storm from heaven, and they perish in a way unworthy of them. For God allows no one to have high thoughts but Himself.[1] (§ 6.) Again, hurry always brings about

[9] Supra, iv. 133, 136-9.

[1] See note [34] on Book i. ch. 32, and compare iii. 40. Mr. Grote has some sound remarks on the religious temper of Herodotus in reference to the present passage (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 8).

disasters, from which huge sufferings are wont to arise; but in delay lie many advantages, not apparent (it may be) at first sight, but such as in course of time are seen of all. Such then is my counsel to thee, O king.

(§ 7.) "And thou, Mardonius, son of Gobryas, forbear to speak foolishly concerning the Greeks, who are men that ought not to be lightly esteemed by us. For while thou revilest the Greeks, thou dost encourage the king to lead his own troops against them; and this, as it seems to me, is what thou art specially striving to accomplish. Heaven send thou succeed not to thy wish! For slander is of all evils the most terrible. In it two men do wrong, and one man has wrong done to him. The slanderer does wrong, for as much as he abuses a man behind his back; and the hearer, for as much as he believes what he has not searched into thoroughly. The man slandered in his absence suffers wrong at the hands of both; for one brings against him a false charge, and the other thinks him an evil-doer. (§ 8.) If, however, it must needs be that we go to war with this people, at least allow the king to abide at home in Persia.[2] Then let thee and me both stake our children on the issue, and do thou choose out thy men, and taking with thee whatever number of troops thou likest, lead forth our armies to battle. If things go well for the king, as thou sayest they will, let me and my children be put to death; but if they fall out as I prophesy, let thy children suffer, and thou too, if thou shalt come back alive. But shouldest thou refuse this wager, and still resolve to march an army against Greece, sure I am that some of those whom thou leavest

[2] Anxiety for the safety of the king is especially strong among the Orientals, where "the person of the monarch is the central point round which everything else revolves" (Heeren's As. Nat. i. p. 356, E. T.). Hence the advice of Artemisia (infra, viii. 102), and the consequent retreat of Xerxes, so soon as danger threatened. Æschylus, in the Persæ, does not show sufficient appreciation of this feeling.

behind thee here will one day receive the sad tidings, that Mardonius has brought a great disaster upon the Persian people, and lies a prey to dogs and birds somewhere in the land of the Athenians, or else in that of the Lacedæmonians; unless indeed thou shalt have perished sooner by the way, experiencing in thy own person the might of those men on whom thou wouldest fain induce the king to make war."

11. Thus spake Artabanus. But Xerxes, full of wrath, replied to him—

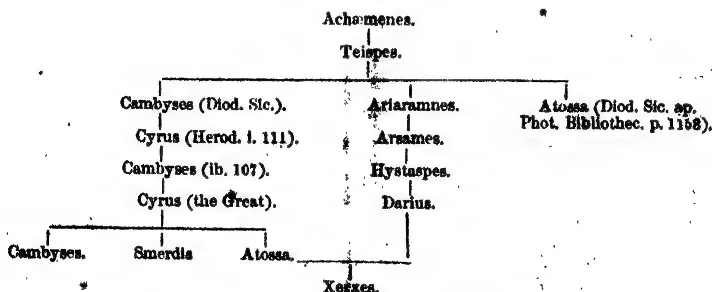
"Artabanus, thou art my father's brother—that shall save thee from receiving the due meed of thy silly words. One shame however I will lay upon thee, coward and faint-hearted as thou art—thou shalt not come with me to fight these Greeks, but shalt tarry here with the women. Without thy aid I will accomplish all of which I spake. For let me not be thought the child of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the son of Arsames, the son of Ariaramnes, the son of Teispes, nor of Cyrus,[3] the son of Cambyses, the son of Teispes, the son of Achæmenes, if I take not vengeance on the Athenians. Full well I know that, were we to remain at rest, yet would not they, but would most certainly invade our country, if at least it be right to

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[3] More than one critic has guessed the meaning of this passage (Bellanger ap. Larcher, not. in loc.; Salmasius Exercitat. Plin. p. 1183), but it remained for modern discovery to give certainty to their conjectures. The genealogy of himself which Darius caused to be engraved on the rocks of Behistun determines absolutely the number of generations between Xerxes and Achæmenes, *proving* what had been already surmised, that the names of Cyrus and Cambyses do not belong to the stem of Darius, but are thrown by Xerxes into the list of his ancestors in right of his mother Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus. It is possible that the text originally stood thus:—*μὴ γὰρ εἴην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος, τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος, τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω, τοῦ Τεΐσπεος, καὶ Κύρου, τοῦ Καμβύσεω, τοῦ Κύρου, τοῦ Καμβύσεω, τοῦ Τεΐσπεος, τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονὼς κτλ.* The double occurrence of the names of Cyrus and Cambyses being supposed to be a mistake of the copyists, one Cyrus and Cambyses may have been struck out; they would naturally take with them the important word *καὶ*, which would be thought to be also a mistake, or at least would not be understood; and thus the passage may have obtained its present form. At any rate there is little doubt that the real genealogy was as follows:—

judge from what they have already done; for, remember, it was they who fired Sardis and attacked Asia. So now retreat is on both sides impossible, and the choice lies between doing and suffering injury; either our empire must pass under the dominion of the Greeks, or their land become the prey of the Persians; for there is no middle course left in this quarrel. It is right then that we, who have in times past received wrong, should now avenge it, and that I should thereby discover, what that great risk[4] is, which I run in marching against these men—men whom Pelops the Phrygian, a vassal of my forefathers,[5] subdued so utterly, that to this day both the land, and the people who dwell therein, alike bear the name of the conqueror!"

12. Thus far did the speaking proceed. Afterwards evening fell, and Xerxes began to find the advice of Artabanus greatly disquiet him. So he thought upon



The only doubtful name in this list is that of Cambyses, the father of the elder Cyrus, for which there is no better authority than Diodorus (l. s. c.). For the full genealogy of the Achæmenidæ see Note B in the Appendix to this Book.

[4] Xerxes refers here to the earlier part of the speech of Artabanus, and the perils there put forward (supra, ch. 10, § 1-3).

[5] Herodotus tells us at the beginning of his History that the Persians considered Asia and all its nations as their own always (τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα οἰκειεῦνται οἱ Πέρσαι, i. 4). In this spirit Xerxes is made to claim Pelops the Phrygian as a Persian vassal, though at the time when Pelops (according to the tradition) came to Greece (ab. B.C. 1300), the Persian tribes were probably confined as yet within the Caspian gates, or perhaps had not even emerged from their primitive seats beyond the Hindoo Koosh Mountains.

it during the night, and concluded at last that it was not for his advantage to lead an army into Greece. When he had thus made up his mind anew, he fell asleep. And now he saw in the night, as the Persians declare, a vision of this nature—he thought a tall and beautiful man stood over him and said, "Hast thou then changed thy mind, Persian, and wilt thou not lead forth thy host against the Greeks, after commanding the Persians to gather together their levies? Be sure thou doest not well to change; nor is there a man here who will approve thy conduct. The course that thou didst determine on during the day, let that be followed." After thus speaking the man seemed to Xerxes to fly away.

13. Day dawned, and the king made no account of this dream, but called together the same Persians as before, and spake to them as follows:—

"Men of Persia, forgive me if I alter the resolve to which I came so lately. Consider that I have not yet reached to the full growth of my wisdom, and that they who urge me to engage in this war leave me not to myself for a moment. When I heard the advice of Artabanus, my young blood suddenly boiled, and I spake words against him little befitting his years; now however I confess my fault, and am resolved to follow his counsel. Understand then that I have changed my intent with respect to carrying war into Greece, and cease to trouble yourselves."

When they heard these words, the Persians were full of joy, and falling down at the feet of Xerxes, made obeisance to him.

14. But when night came, again the same vision stood over Xerxes as he slept, and said, "Son of Darius, it seems thou hast openly before all the Persians renounced the expedition, making light of my words, as though thou hadst not heard them spoken. Know therefore and be well assured, that unless thou go forth

to the war, this thing shall happen unto thee—as thou art grown mighty and puissant in a short space, so likewise shalt thou within a little time be brought low indeed."

15. Then Xerxes, greatly frightened at the vision which he had seen, sprang from his couch, and sent a messenger to call Artabanus, who came at the summons, when Xerxes spoke to him in these words:—

"Artabanus, at the moment I acted foolishly, when I gave thee ill words in return for thy good advice. However it was not long ere I repented, and was convinced that thy counsel was such as I ought to follow. But I may not now act in this way, greatly as I desire to do so. For ever since I repented and changed my mind a dream has haunted me, which disapproves my intentions, and has now just gone from me with threats. Now if this dream is sent to me from God, and if it is indeed his will that our troops should march against Greece, thou too wilt have the same dream come to thee and receive the same commands as myself. And this will be most sure to happen, I think, if thou puttest on the dress which I am wont to wear, and then, after taking thy seat upon my throne,[6] liest down to sleep on my bed."

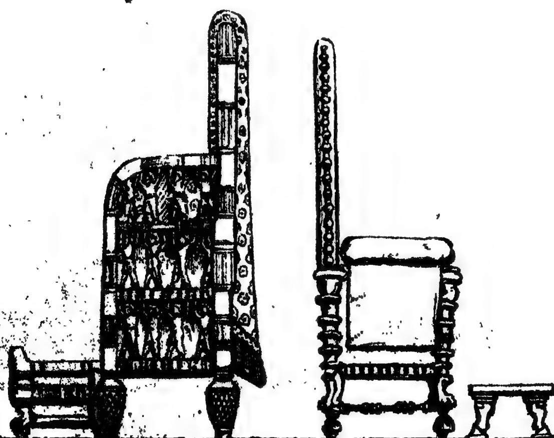
16. Such were the words of Xerxes. Artabanus would not at first yield to the command of the king, for he deemed himself unworthy to sit upon the royal throne.[7] At the last however he was forced to give way, and did as Xerxes bade him; but first he spake thus to the king:—

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[6] Representations of the Persian throne are found on the Persepolitan monuments. In general character it seems to have resembled the Assyrian; but it was less elaborate, and further distinguished from the Assyrian by a marked difference in almost all the details. See the annexed woodcut.

[7] Sitting upon the king's throne is said to have been an offence punishable with death in Persia (Q. Curt. viii. 4, § 17; Valer. Max. v. 1, p. 177; Frontin. Strat. iv. 6, § 3). Artabanus would hesitate, not knowing whether Xerxes might not be laying a trap for him.

"To me, sire, it seems to matter little whether a man is wise himself or willing to hearken to such as give good advice. In thee truly are found both tempers, but the counsels of evil men lead thee astray; they are like the gales of wind which vex the sea—else the most useful thing for man in the whole world—and suffer it not to follow the bent of its own nature. For myself, it irked me not so much to be reproached by thee, as to observe, that when two courses were placed before the Persian people, one of a nature to increase their pride, the other to humble it, by showing them how hurtful it is to allow one's heart always to covet more than one at present possesses, thou madest choice of that which was the worse both for thyself and for the Persians. (§ 2.) Now thou sayest, that from the time when thou didst approve the better course, and give up the thought of warring against Greece, a dream has haunted thee, sent by some god or other, which will not suffer thee to lay aside the expedition. But such things, my son, have of a truth nothing divine in them. The dreams, that wander to and fro among mankind, I will tell thee of what nature they are,—I who have



Thrones of Sennacherib and Darius.

seen so many more years than thou. Whatever a man has been thinking of during the day, is wont to hover round him in the visions of his dreams at night. Now we during these many days past have had our hands full of this enterprise. (§ 3.) If however the matter be not as I suppose, but God has indeed some part therein, thou hast in brief declared the whole that can be said concerning it—let it e'en appear to me as it has to thee, and lay on me the same injunctions. But it ought not to appear to me any the more if I put on thy clothes than if I wear my own, nor if I go to sleep in thy bed than if I do so in mine—supposing, I mean, that it is about to appear at all. For this thing, be it what it may, that visits thee in thy sleep, surely is not so far gone in folly as to see me, and because I am dressed in thy clothes, straightway to mistake me for thee. Now however our business is to see if it will regard me as of small account, and not vouchsafe to appear to me, whether I wear mine own clothes or thine, while it keeps on haunting thee continually. If it does so, and appears often, I should myself say that it was from God. For the rest, if thy mind is fixed, and it is not possible to turn thee from thy design, but I must needs go and sleep in thy bed, well and good, let it be even so; and when I have done as thou wishest, then let the dream appear to me. Till such time, however, I shall keep to my former opinion."

17. Thus spake Artabanus; and when he had so said, thinking to show Xerxes that his words were nought, he did according to his orders. Having put on the garments which Xerxes was wont to wear, and, taken his seat upon the royal throne, he lay down to sleep upon the king's own bed. As he slept, there appeared to him the very same dream which had been seen by Xerxes; it came and stood over Artabanus, and said—

"Thou art the man, then, who, feigning to be tender

of Xerxes, seekest to dissuade him from leading his armies against the Greeks! But thou shalt not escape scathless, either now or in time to come, because thou hast sought to prevent that which is fated to happen. As for Xerxes, it has been plainly told to himself what will befall him, if he refuses to perform my bidding."

18. In such words, as Artabanus thought, the vision threatened him, and then endeavoured to burn out his eyes with red-hot irons.[8] At this he shrieked, and leaping from his couch, hurried to Xerxes, and, sitting down at his side, gave him a full account of the vision; after which he went on to speak in the words which follow:—

"I, O King, am a man who have seen many mighty empires overthrown by weaker ones; and therefore it was that I sought to hinder thee from being quite carried away by thy youth; since I knew how evil a thing it is to covet more than one possesses. I could remember the expedition of Cyrus against the Massagetæ, and what was the issue of it; I could recollect the march of Cambyses against the Ethiops; I had taken part in the attack of Darius upon the Scyths;—bearing

[8] Putting out the eyes has been in all ages a common Oriental punishment. The earliest instance on record is that of Zedekiah, whose eyes were put out by Nebuchadnezzar (Jerem. xxxix. 7; lii. 11). The frequency of the punishment in the time of the younger Cyrus is indicated by a passage in Xenophon, where it is said that men deprived of sight for their crimes were a common spectacle (πολλάκις ἦν ἰδεῖν) along the highways within his government (Anab. I. ix. 13). Its continuance in later times is marked by such writers as Ammianus Marcellinus (xxvii. 12) and Procopius (De Bell. Pers. i. 11, p. 30).

Mr. Grote sees in this whole narrative nothing but "religious imagination"—a *mythus* embodying the deep conviction, alike of Greeks and of Persians, that nothing short of a direct divine interposition could have brought about the transcendently great events which were connected with the expedition of Xerxes (Hist. of Greece, v. pp. 13, 14). I incline, with Bishop Thirlwall, to suspect a foundation in *fact* for the stories that were told (Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 251). The weak mind of Xerxes may have been imposed upon by a pretended spectre; and the stronger one of Artabanus may have been subdued by threats. There is not any evidence to show that the "arts and influence set at work" were those "of the Magian priesthood;" but it is not improbable that an imposition was successfully practised upon the credulity of Xerxes by a skilfully devised fraud on the part of the friends of Mardonius.

therefore all these things in mind, I thought with myself that if thou shouldst remain at peace, all men would deem thee fortunate. But as this impulse has plainly come from above, and a heaven-sent destruction seems about to overtake the Greeks, behold, I change to another mind, and alter my thoughts upon the matter. Do thou therefore make known to the Persians what the god has declared, and bid them follow the orders which were first given, and prepare their levies. Be careful to act so, that the bounty of the god may not be hindered by slackness on thy part."

Thus spake these two together; and Xerxes, being in good heart on account of the vision, when day broke, laid all before the Persians, while Artabanus, who had formerly been the only person openly to oppose the expedition, now showed as openly that he favoured it.

19. After Xerxes had thus determined to go forth to the war, there appeared to him in his sleep yet a third vision. The Magi were consulted upon it,[9] and said that its meaning reached to the whole earth, and that all mankind would become his servants. Now the vision which the king saw was this: he dreamt that he was crowned with a branch of an olive-tree, and that boughs spread out from the olive-branch and covered the whole earth; then suddenly the garland, as it lay upon his brow, vanished. So when the Magi had thus interpreted the vision, straightway all the Persians who were come together departed to their several governments, where each displayed the greatest zeal, on the faith of the king's offers. For all hoped to

[9] Vide supra, i. 108; and compare Cic. de Divinat. i. 23, where the Magi are said to have prophesied, from a dream which Cyrus had, that he would reign for thirty years. For the general practice among the Oriental nations to attend to dreams, and to require an interpretation of them from their priests, see Gen. xli. 8; and Dan. ii. 2; iv. 6. Whether the Magi really filled such a position at the court of Xerxes is a different question, and cannot be held to be proved by a story, which is evidently of Greek origin. The "olive crown" proves this.

obtain for themselves the gifts which had been promised.[1] And so Xerxes gathered together his host, ransacking every corner of the continent.

20. Reckoning from the recovery of Egypt, Xerxes spent four full years[2] in collecting his host, and making ready all things that were needful for his soldiers. It was not till the close of the fifth year that he set forth on his march, accompanied by a mighty multitude. For of all the armaments whereof any mention has reached us, this was by far the greatest;[3] insomuch that no other expedition compared to this seems of any account, neither that which Darius undertook against the Scythians, nor the expedition of the Scythians (which the attack of Darius was designed to avenge), when they, being in pursuit of the Cimmerians, fell upon the Median terri-

[1] According to Ctesias (Exc. Pers. § 22, ad fin.), the most honourable gift that a Persian could receive from the king was a golden hand-mill (μύλη χρυσῆ); but according to Xenophon, who is a better authority, this was not even contained in the ordinary gift of honour, which consisted of a horse with a golden bridle, a golden scymitar, a chain of gold for the neck, armlets of the same, and a Persian (*i. e.* a Median) robe (Anab. I. ii. § 27; viii. § 29; Cyropæd. VIII. ii. § 8). There can be no doubt that this was the regular *kaftan* in the age of Xenophon; but, while its general features were preserved, it may probably have varied in certain points at different times (cf. Esther vi. 9; 1 Esdras iii. 6; Plut. Artaxerx. c. 15; Procop. de Bell. Pers. i. 17, p. 49). If we may credit Lucian, the horse was usually of the Nisæan breed.

[2] Various modes have been adopted of explaining the chronology of the period between the battles of Marathon and Salamis. All accounts agree in stating the interval at ten years (Thucyd. i. 18; Plut. Leg. iii. p. 698, C.; Marm. Par. 62, 66; Aristid. 46, ii. p. 241). The numbers in Herodotus are with difficulty brought within this interval. Perhaps the following scheme, which differs but slightly from Clinton's (F. H. vol. ii. c. 5, p. 302), will be found to accord best both with the words of Herodotus and with other testimonies:—

B.C.		
490.	Battle of Marathon. Preparations commence for another expedition.	Three years of stir. (Herod. vii. 1.)
489.	———————	
488.	———————	
487.	Revolt of Egypt. (τετάρτῳ ἔτεϊ. Herod. ib.)	
486.	Death of Darius. (τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτεϊ. Herod. vii. 4. Cf. Canon of Ptolemy.)	
485.	Reduction of Egypt. (δευτέρῳ ἔτεϊ. Ib. vii. 7.) Preparations against Greece renewed.	
484.	——————— continued.	
483.	——————— continued.	
482.	——————— continued.	
481.	Preparations continued till the middle of the year. (ἐπὶ τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεα. Herod. vii. 20.) After which (πέμπτῳ ἔτεϊ ἀνομένῳ—at the close of the fifth year from the reduction of Egypt) Xerxes began his march from Critalla (ἐστρατηλάτεε).	
480.	Xerxes marched " " " to Attica. Battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis.	

[3] Compare the remark of Thucydides, i. 23: τῶν πρότερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη τὸ Μηδικόν.

tory, and subdued and held for a time almost the whole of Upper Asia;[4] nor, again, that of the Atridæ against Troy, of which we hear in story; nor that of the Mysians and Teucrians, which was still earlier, wherein these nations crossed the Bosphorus into Europe, and, after conquering all Thrace, pressed forward till they came to the Ionian sea,[5] while southward they reached as far as the river Peneus.

21. All these expeditions, and others, if such there were, are as nothing compared with this. For was there a nation in all Asia which Xerxes did not bring with him against Greece? Or was there a river, except those of unusual size, which sufficed for his troops to drink? One nation furnished ships; another was arrayed among the foot-soldiers; a third had to supply horses; a fourth, transports for the horse and men likewise for the service; a fifth, ships of war towards the bridges; a sixth, ships and provisions.

22. And in the first place, because the former fleet had met with so great a disaster about Athos,[6] preparations were made, by the space of about three years, in that quarter. A fleet of triremes lay at Elæus in the Chersonese;[7] and from this station detachments were sent by the various nations whereof the army was composed, which relieved one another at intervals, and

[4] Vide supra, i. 103-106; iv. 1, 12.

[5] By the "Ionian Sea" Herodotus means the Adriatic (vide supra, vi. 127; and infra, ix. 92). With respect to the expedition here mentioned great obscurity prevails. According to some writers the Mysians were Thracians, and had come into Asia from Europe (Strab. xii. p. 785; cf. Xanth. Lyd. Fr. 8; and Artemidor. ap. Strab. xii. p. 826). Others, and among them Herodotus (supra, i. 171), seem to have looked upon the Mysians as a genuine Asiatic race, closely akin to the Lydians, whose language the Mysian tongue greatly resembled. According to Xanthus the Mysian dialect was μιξολύδιος καὶ μιξοφρύγιος (Fr. 8). Writers of this class ascribed the scattered Mysians of the European continent—of whom some were settled upon the Danube (Strab. xii. pp. 800 and 826), whence the Mœsi of after times, others in Macedonia (Hellanic. Fr. 46)—to invasions of the European continent from Asia. Probability on the whole inclines in favour of this latter view.

[6] Supra, vi. 44.

[7] For the situation and present condition of Elæus, vide supra, vi. 140, note [9].

worked at a trench beneath the lash of taskmasters;[8] while the people dwelling about Athos bore likewise a part in the labour. Two Persians, Bubares,[9] the son of Megabazus, and Artachææs, the son of Artæus, superintended the undertaking.

Athos is a great and famous mountain, inhabited by men, and stretching far out into the sea. Where the mountain ends towards the mainland, it forms a peninsula; and in this place there is a neck of land about twelve furlongs across,[1] the whole extent whereof from the sea of the Acanthians to that over against Torôné, is a level plain, broken only by a few low hills.[2] Here, upon this isthmus where Athos ends, is Sané,[3] a Greek city. Inside of Sané, and upon Athos itself, are a number of towns, which Xerxes was now employed in disjoining from the continent: these are, Dium, Olophyxus, Acrothôum, Thyssus, and Cleônæ.[4] Among these cities Athos was divided.

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[8] The use of the whip on the part of the Persians towards the subject nations is again noted (infra, ch. 56; and ch. 223; compare also ch. 103; and, as decisive on the point, Xen. Anab. III. iv. § 25). Mr. Grote observes (Hist. of Greece, v. p. 31, note) that it has its parallel among the modern Turks. To the high-spirited Greeks this degradation must have been galling in the extreme. The practice had descended to the Persians from the Assyrians (See Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 110-13).

[9] Supra, v. 21, notes [8] and [9].

[1] Captain Spratt measured the distance from shore to shore, and found it to be 2500 yards, or 12¼ stadia (Journal of Geograph. Soc. vol. xvii. p. 147).

[2] The level plain towards the sea of the Acanthians (as the accompanying plan will show) is a marked feature. Beyond this plain a range of low hills crosses the isthmus, the greatest height not exceeding 51 feet. From these hills, on the south side, a valley opens out, along which the course of the canal may be clearly traced (ibid. pp. 146-7). This valley is still known to the natives by the name of *Próvlaka*, i. e. προαύλακα, "the canal in front of Mount Athos." (See Sir G. Bowen's Mount Athos, pp. 56-7.)

[3] Sané, which acquired some fame in the Peloponnesian war by repulsing the army of Brasidas (Thucyd. iv. 109), was a colony of the Andrians, and was situated on the southern coast of the isthmus, near the mouth of the canal of Xerxes (ibid.), but whether on its eastern or western side is not quite certain. Colonel Leake thought that certain traces near the artificial mound (called in the plan the "Tomb of Artachææs") might mark the site of Sané (Northern Greece, vol. iii. p. 144), but I should rather gather from this passage that the city lay on the western side of the cutting. Captain Spratt does not think that a Greek town ever occupied the hills about the "tomb of Artachææs" (Journal of Geograph. Soc. vol. xvii. p. 149).

[4] These cities are all mentioned by

23. Now the manner in which they dug was the following :[5] a line was drawn across by the city of

Thucydides (l. s. c.) and by Scylax (Peripl. p. 63), the latter of whom adds another, Charadriæ. Dium, Thyssus, and Cleonæ, appear to have been on the south coast; Acrothoüm and Olophyxus on the north. Acrothoüm (Acrothon), according to Pliny, was situated on the summit of Athos (H. N. iv. 10). They were, one and all, small and unimportant places.

[5] The whole story of the canal across the isthmus of Athos has been considered a fable by some writers (Juven. x. 173-4; Pococke, vol. ii. part ii. p. 144; Cousinéry, Voyage dans la Macédoine, vol. ii. pp. 153-4.) Many modern travellers, however, have given accounts of the distinct traces which remain of the work (Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage Pittoresque, tom. ii. partie i. p. 148; Leake's Northern Greece, iii. p. 145; Bower's Mount Athos, &c., p. 57; Journal of Geograph. Society, vol. xvii.). Captain Spratt appears to have surveyed the isthmus with great exactness. He found distinct appearances of the ancient cutting, almost across its whole extent, only failing where the canal approached the sea, and somewhat indistinctly marked in the alluvial plain north of the hills; as the accompanying plan, which is taken from his careful survey, clearly shows. The canal forms a line of ponds, from two to eight feet deep and from sixty to ninety broad, nearly from one sea to the other. It was "cut through beds of tertiary sands and marls" (which would account for the falling in of the banks), being probably, where it was deepest, not more than sixty feet below the natural surface of the ground, which at its high-



Plan of Canal.

Sané; and along this the various nations parcelled out among themselves the work to be done. When the trench grew deep, the workmen at the bottom continued to dig, while others handed the earth, as it was dug out, to labourers placed higher up upon ladders, and these taking it, passed it on further, till it came at last to those at the top, who carried it off and emptied it away. All the other nations, therefore, except the Phœnicians, had double labour; for the sides of the trench fell in continually, as could not but happen, since they made the width no greater at the top than it was required to be at the bottom. But the Phœnicians showed in this the skill which they are wont to exhibit in all their undertakings. For in the portion of the work which was allotted to them they began by making the trench at the top twice as wide as the prescribed measure, and then as they dug downwards approached the sides nearer and nearer together, so that when they reached the bottom their part of the work was of the same width as the rest. In a meadow near,[6] there was a place of assembly and a market; and hither great quantities of corn, ready ground, was brought from Asia.

24. It seems to me, when I consider this work, that Xerxes, in making it, was actuated by a feeling of pride, wishing to display the extent of his power, and to leave a memorial behind him to posterity. For notwithstanding that it was open to him, with no trouble at all,[7] to have had his ships drawn across the isthmus,

est point only rises fifty-one feet above the sea level. It was not really a great work, but a very easy one, and can scarcely have taken more than a year to complete. Colonel Leake regards it as a very politic proceeding, on account of the dangerous character of the navigation about the peninsula, especially on its north coast, which has no harbours (vide supra, vi. 44, note). So Sir G. Bowen (p. 58).

[6] The "meadow" intended can only be the alluvial plain above mentioned, where the traces of the canal become faint.

[7] The light ships of the ancients were easily transported in this way across the land. So frequent was the practice at the isthmus of Corinth, that the line traversed by vessels

yet he issued orders that a canal should be made through which the sea might flow, and that it should be of such a width as would allow of two triremes passing through it abreast with the oars in action. He likewise gave to the same persons who were set over the digging of the trench, the task of making a bridge across the river Strymon.

25. While these things were in progress, he was having cables prepared for his bridges, some of papyrus and some of white flax,[8] a business which he entrusted to the Phœnicians and the Egyptians. He likewise laid up stores of provisions in divers places, to save the army and the beasts of burthen from suffering want upon their march into Greece. He inquired carefully about all the sites, and had the stores laid up in such as were most convenient, causing them to be brought across from various parts of Asia and in various ways, some in transports and others in merchantmen. The greater portion was carried to Leucé-Acté,[9] upon the Thracian coast; some part, however, was conveyed to Tyrodiza,[1] in the country of the Perinthians, some to Doriscus,[2] some to Eïon[3] upon the Strymon, and some to Macedonia.

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acquired there the proper name of Diolcus (Δίολκος, Hesych, ad voc.). Instances of the passage of ships in this way are abundant in the Greek historians (cf. Thucyd. iii. 81, iv. 8; Polyb. iv. 19, v. 101, viii. 36; Dio Cass. 1142), and explain expressions in the poets which have caused some difficulty (Apoll. Rhod. i. 375; Horat. Od. I. iv. 2).

[8] Both these materials were used for ropes by the Egyptians. (See notes on Book ii. chap. 89, and chap. 96; on Book viii. chap. 17; and on Book ix. chap. 32.)—[G. W.]

[9] Leucé-Acté, or "the White Strand," was one of the Greek settlements on the coast of the Propontis (Scylax, Peripl. p. 68; Lysias adv. Alcib. des. ord. p. 142; with the comment of Demetrius, ap. Harpocrat. in voc.). It cannot have been far north of Pactya.

[1] Tyrodiza, according to Stephen (ad voc.), was the same place as Serrhium; and Serrhium or Serrheum, was a fortress in the neighbourhood of Doriscus, as is plain from a passage in Livy (xxxi. 17). The exact site cannot be fixed, but it was probably near the Serrhean promontory of Stephen (ad voc. Σέρρειον) which seems to be the "Mons Serrium" of Pliny, between Doriscus and Maronea (H. N. iv. 11). The fact that a portion of this coast belonged to the Perinthians may account for their war with the Pæonians (supra, v. 1).

[2] Infra, ch. 59. [3] Infra, ch. 113.

26. During the time that all these labours were in progress, the land army which had been collected was marching with Xerxes towards Sardis, having started from Critalla[4] in Cappadocia. At this spot all the host which was about to accompany the king in his passage across the continent had been bidden to assemble. And here I have it not in my power to mention which of the satraps was adjudged to have brought his troops in the most gallant array, and on that account rewarded by the king according to his promise; for I do not know whether this matter ever came to a judgment. But it is certain that the host of Xerxes, after crossing the river Halys, marched through Phrygia till it reached the city of Celænæ.[5] Here are the sources of the river

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[4] Critalla is unknown to any other writer. No doubt it lay, as Rennell says (Geography of Herodotus, p. 319), on the royal road from Susa to Sardis, but the course of this road through Cappadocia is very uncertain, and it is impossible to say at what point it crossed the Halys. Critalla certainly lay to the east of that river, and probably at no great distance from it.

Rennell's identification of Critalla with the modern *Eregli* is based upon a double error. He believes the range of Taurus to give rise to the principal stream of the Halys, which is thus imagined to flow by *Eregli*, leaving it to the east. And he supposes the royal road to have passed through the Cilician gates and the plain of Issus. But the road took a northerly course, as has been already explained (supra, v. 52); and the Halys has no source in the Taurus range, nor any stream of moment falling into it from the south. *Eregli* is in Phrygia, not Cappadocia, and must have lain considerably out of the great post-road.

[5] The site of Celænæ, unknown till within these few years, has been determinately fixed by Mr. Hamilton (Asia Minor, vol. i. pp. 498-500). It is the modern *Deenair* (lat. 38° 3', long. 30° 20'). This town, which abounds in remains of high antiquity, is situated near the source of the southern or main stream of the Mæander, and in all respects corresponds to the accounts left of the ancient Celænæ. Two streams, both probably supplied from the lake of *Dombai* (cf. Strab. xii. p. 835), situated at a much higher level in a plain a little to the east (Hamilton, ii. p. 366), rise from the range of hills which runs from *Ketzi-Borlou* to *Ishekli*, under circumstances exactly in accord with the descriptions given by ancient writers. One is a gentle stream, and issues from a reedy lake two miles round, enclosed amid lofty hills. This is evidently the Mæander ("amnis Mæander ortus è lacu in monte Aulocrene," Plin. H. N. v. 29). The other "gushes out with great rapidity from what seems to have been once a cavern at the base of a rocky cliff, and flows down a narrow channel with considerable force and noise" (Hamilton, i. p. 499). This is the Catarrhactes or Marsyas. The two streams join at a short distance from the present town. (Compare with the account in Hamilton, Colonel Leake's anticipations, Asia Minor, p. 160-2, and the passages there quoted; Xen. Anab. I. ii. 7-8; Strab. xii. p. 835; Arrian. Exp. Alex. i. 29;

Mæander, and likewise of another stream of no less size, which bears the name of Catarractes (or the Cataract); the last-named river has its rise in the market-place of Celænæ, and empties itself into the Mæander. Here, too, in this market-place, is hung up to view the skin of the Silênus[6] Marsyas, which Apollo, as the Phrygian story goes, stripped off and placed there.

27. Now there lived in this city a certain Pythius, the son of Atys, a Lydian.[7] This man entertained Xerxes and his whole army in a most magnificent fashion, offering at the same time to give him a sum of money for the war. Xerxes, upon the mention of money, turned to the Persians who stood by, and asked of them, "Who is this Pythius, and what wealth has he, that he should venture on such an offer as this?" They answered him, "This is the man, O king, who gave thy father Darius the golden plane-tree,[8] and

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Quint. Curt. iii. 1; Liv. xxxviii. 38; Max. Tyr. viii. 8.)

Celænæ became a royal residence on the return of Xerxes, who built himself a palace there at the source of the Marsyas (Xen. Anab. I. ii. § 9). Cyrus, in later times, had also a park and a palace there. The latter was situated at the head of the Mæander (ibid. § 7). Celænæ was a town of great size and importance (μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων, Xen. "Caput Phrygiæ," Liv.). Antiochus Soter transferred the inhabitants to Apamea, which he built at a short distance (Strab. l. c., Liv.). Apamea afterwards lost its name and became Ciboton (Plin. H. N. l. s. c.).

[6] Silenus, originally applied as a proper name to the oldest and most famous of the Satyrs, was used afterwards as a common appellation for those monsters generally. (See Hom. Hymn. in Ven. 263; Etym. Mag. ad voc.; and cf. Voss ad Virg. Ecl. vi. 14.)

The story of Marsyas is told by Apollodorus (I. iv. § 2), Diod. Siculus (iii. 59), Plutarch (de Music. ii. p. 1132-3), Hyginus (Fab. clxv.), and others. The skin was still shown at Celænæ in Xenophon's time (Anab. I. ii. § 8.)

[7] Pliny calls Pythius a Bithynian (H. N. xxxiii. 10), Mr. Grote a Phrygian (Hist. of Greece, v. p. 34). There is no reason to doubt the statement of Herodotus.

[8] Antiochus the Arcadian, who had seen this plane-tree, declared that it was so small it would scarcely shade a grasshopper (τὴν ὑμνουμένην χρυσῆν πλάτανον οὐχ ἱκανὴν εἶναι τέττιγι σκιὰν παρέχειν, Xen. Hell. VII. i. § 38). He, however, may well be suspected of unfairness, since his object was to decry the resources of Persia. The plane-tree was very celebrated (Athen. xii. p. 539, D.; Plin. H. N. xii. 1; xxxiii. 10; Tzet. Chil. I. xxxii. 925; Dio Chrys. Orat. lvii. ad fin.). It was finally carried off from the citadel of Susa by Antigonus (B.C. 316), when he fought against Eumenes (Diod. Sic. xix. 48).

According to Plutarch, the wealth of Pythius was derived from gold-mines in the neighbourhood (De Virt. muliebr. ii. p. 262 D).

likewise the golden vine;[9] and he is still the wealthiest man we know of in all the world, excepting thee."

28. Xerxes marvelled at these last words, and now addressing Pythius with his own lips, he asked him, what the amount of his wealth really was. Pythius answered as follows:—

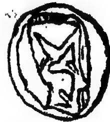
"Oh! King, I will not hide this matter from thee, nor make pretence that I do not know how rich I am; but as I know perfectly, I will declare all fully before thee. For when thy journey was noised abroad, and I heard thou wert coming down to the Grecian coast, straightway, as I wished to give thee a sum of money for the war, I made count of my stores, and found them to be two thousand talents of silver, and of gold four millions of Daric staters,[1] wanting seven thousand. All

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[9] The golden vine was even more famous than the plane-tree. It is said to have been the work of Theodore the Samian (Himer. Ecl. xxxi. 8). The bunches of grapes were imitated by means of the most costly precious stones (Phylarch. ap. Athen. l. s. c.). It overshadowed the couch on which the kings slept.

[1] The stater was the only gold coin known to the Greeks generally. It was adopted by them from the Asiatics, from whom their gold was in the earlier time entirely derived. The staters of different countries differed slightly in weight and value. The Macedonian weighed 133 grains (value 1*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*), the Attic 132½ grs. (value 1*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.*), the Lampsacene 129 grains (value 1*l.* 2*s.* 9½*d.*), the Phocæan 127 grs. (value 1*l.* 2*s.* 5½*d.*). The Persian Daric was a gold coin very like the stater: it weighed about 123·7 grains, and was consequently worth not quite twenty-two shillings (1*l.* 1*s.* 10½*d.*). Pythius therefore, according to the statement of Herodotus, possessed gold coin to the value of 4,339,546*l.* His 2000 talents of silver would be worth 487,500*l.*; so that the entire sum which Pythius offered to Xerxes would be a little short of five millions of our money (4,827,144*l.*). I do not know why this estimate should be thought incredible. (See Grote's Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 36, note.)

With respect to the word "Daric," which has been derived from a supposed ancient Persian root *Dará*, signifying a king (Gesenius, Heb. Lex. ad voc. אֲדַרְכֹּן; Scott and Liddell, ad voc. δαρεικός; Smith's Dict. of Ant., &c.), as there is no evidence of the existence of any such root in ancient Persian, perhaps it is best to acquiesce in the old derivation, suggested by the etymologists (Etym. Magn. ad voc.; Harpocrat. ad voc.), and to connect the term with Darius, whose gold coinage was so celebrated (supra, iv. 166). It would thus resemble the French words "*louis*" and "*napoleon*."

The Daric bore for its impression, on the one side, the figure of the king with a bow and arrow in his hands (cf. Plut. Vit. Artaxerx. c. 20), kneeling on one knee; and on the

this I willingly make over to thee as a gift; and when it is gone, my slaves and my estates in land will be wealth enough for my wants."

29. This speech charmed Xerxes, and he replied, "Dear Lydian, since I left Persia there is no man but thou who has either desired to entertain my army, or come forward of his own free will to offer me a sum of money for the war. Thou hast done both the one and the other, feasting my troops magnificently, and now making offer of a right noble sum. In return, this is what I will bestow on thee. Thou shalt be my sworn friend from this day; and the seven thousand staters which are wanting to make up thy four millions I will supply, so that the full tale may be no longer lacking, and that thou mayest owe the completion of the round sum to me. Continue to enjoy all that thou hast acquired hitherto, and be sure to remain ever such as thou now art. If thou dost, thou wilt not repent of it so long as thy life endures."

30. When Xerxes had so spoken and had made his promises to Pythius good, he pressed forward upon his march; and passing Anaua, a Phrygian city, and a lake from which salt is gathered,[2] he came to

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other an irregular cleft, or "quadrata incusa." The subjoined figure is taken from a Daric in the British Museum.

There are silver Darics, as well as gold ones, with the same device. These are generally tetradrachms, weighing about 235 grains.

A new theory has been recently started on the subject of the "Aryandics," or silver coins issued by Aryandes (supra, iv. 166). M. Lenormant has described two coins, upon which the name of Aryandes, or a part of it (ΑΥϤΑ or ΔИΑΥϤΑ), appears in *Greek characters*, and which he considers to have been issued by the celebrated Satrap (Essai sur les Monnaies des Lagides, p. 169). The device is a chariot drawn by two horses, containing a king and a charioteer, with a battlemented wall and a galley on the obverse. The name is on this latter side. Coins of the same type are in the British Museum series, but none with the name of Aryandes. On one there is some trace of a name, but it is very faint, and the characters appear to be Phœnician. The general type answers to the description of a coin in Mionnet (Supplément, tom. viii. pp. 426-7, No. 33), which he thinks Persian. Gesenius figures a coin nearly similar (Monumenta Phœnic. Tab. 36, G.), and calls it Cilician.

[2] Of Anaua itself no further notice is found, for Stephen merely quotes from Herodotus. The lake is evidently *Lake Chardak*, which lies on the route between *Deenair* (Celænæ) and Colossæ, and still supplies the

Colossæ,[3] a Phrygian city of great size, situated at a spot where the river Lycus plunges into a chasm and disappears. This river, after running underground a distance of about five furlongs, re-appears once more, and empties itself, like the stream above mentioned, into the Mæander. Leaving Colossæ, the army approached the borders of Phrygia where it abuts on Lydia; and here they came to a city called Cydrara,[4] where was

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whole country round with salt. Mr. Hamilton says,—"After passing this hill, we halted near the extremity of the lake to observe the process of collecting the salt, at which the inhabitants of the neighbouring village of Chardak were busily employed. The lake being nearly dry, the water in the centre is so thoroughly saturated that, owing to the great evaporation constantly going on, the salt chrystallises on the surface, and is scraped off with large wooden spades. . . . As it is obtained, it is brought on shore, and placed in large heaps along the banks, where it appeared clear and in large chrystals: it is procured in considerable quantities, and sells for ten paras the oke, or about a farthing a pound; and after supplying the neighbouring country, the rest is sent to Smyrna" (Asia Minor, vol. i. pp. 503-4). Arrian calls this lake Lake Ascania (Exp. Alex. i. 29). Strabo mentions it (xii. pp. 838-9), but does not give it a name.

[3] Colossæ has been generally supposed to have been situated at *Chonós* the ancient Chonæ, with which Constantine Porphyrogenitus identifies it (de Themat. i. 3, p. 24). Mr. Hamilton, however, seems to have discovered the true site, at the distance of three miles from *Chonós*, in the plain, on the banks of the Lycus (*Tchoruk*). Here he found an ancient theatre, and abundant remains of an extensive town by the side of the river, and at a point where it is very conceivable that the Lycus may have had in former times an underground course. Two streams fall into the Lycus at this point, from the north and from the south, both possessed of strong petrifying or incrusting qualities. The Lycus here flows in a deep chasm, and the streams trickling over the rocks gradually incrust them with their deposit. The operation of this process naturally causes the cliffs gradually to approach one another, and may, in the time of Herodotus, have actually arched over the main stream. Earthquakes, to which the district is very liable (cf. Strab. xii. 837), would naturally break up this soft crust, which would fall into the river and be carried away, after which the process would recommence. (See Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. i. pp. 510-2; and compare the passage of Pliny which he quotes, H. N. xxxi. 20.)

There seems to have been another similar covered passage, lower down the stream, in the time of Strabo (l. s. c.), which has also disappeared since his day. This was near Laodicea, just above the junction of the Lycus with the Cadmus (*Gieuk Bounar Su*). The traditions of the natives confirm the notion of such covered ways having existed and breaking up (Hamilton, p. 522).

[4] Cydrara is thought to be identical with the Carura of Strabo (l. s. c. and xiv. p. 948. See Leake's Asia Minor, p. 251, and cf. Bähr ad loc.), which in his time was the boundary between Phrygia and *Caria*. The hot springs near *Sarai Kieui* seem to mark this site. It is certain that the separation of the roads must have been nearly at this place (cf. Leake). The road to Sardis undoubtedly passed through the opening in Mount Messogis where Tripolis stands, and then struck into the valley of the Cogamus.

a pillar set up by Crœsus, having an inscription on it, showing the boundaries of the two countries.

31. Where it quits Phrygia and enters Lydia the road separates; the way on the left leads into Caria, while that on the right conducts to Sardis. If you follow this route, you must cross the Mæander, and then pass by the city Callatêbus,[5] where the men live who make honey out of wheat and the fruit of the tamarisk.[6] Xerxes, who chose this way, found here a plane-tree[7] so beautiful, that he presented it with golden ornaments, and put it under the care of one of his Immortals.[8] The day after, he entered the Lydian capital.

32. Here his first care was to send off heralds into Greece, who were to prefer a demand for earth and water, and to require that preparations should be made everywhere to feast the king. To Athens indeed and to Sparta he sent no such demand;[9] but these cities excepted, his messengers went everywhere. Now the reason why he sent for earth and water to states which had already refused, was this: he thought that although they had refused when Darius made the demand, they would now be too frightened to venture to say him nay. So he sent his heralds, wishing to know for certain how it would be.

33. Xerxes, after this, made preparations to advance to Abydos, where the bridge across the Hellespont[1]

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[5] Callatebus is mentioned by no other writer, if we except Stephen, who follows Herodotus. Perhaps it occupied the site of Philadelphia (*Allah Sheher*). The earthquakes to which this whole district (the Catacecaumenê of Strabo) is liable, account for the disappearance of cities.

[6] The tamarisk still grows in abundance down the whole valley of the Cogamus (Hamilton, vol. ii. pp. 374–6).

[7] The plane-trees of this district are magnificent. Mr. Hamilton noticed the "half ruined trunk of one of the most gigantic he had ever seen" near Laodicea (*Eski Hissar*), in the valley of the Lycus (Asia Minor, i. p. 517).

[8] Infra, ch. 83.

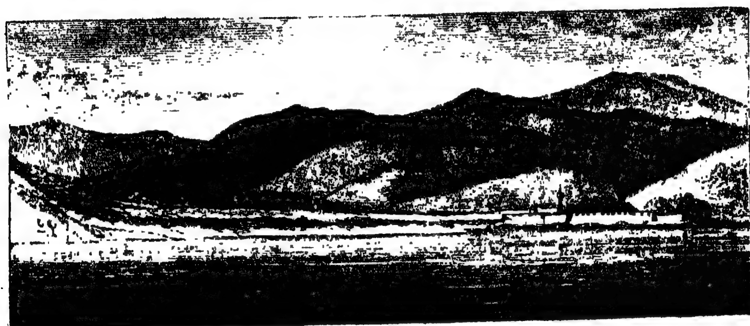
[9] The reason for this abstinence is given below (ch. 133).

[1] The site of this bridge is supposed to have been from Nagára point to the low spot eastward of Sestos, where the level shore on either side is convenient for the march of troops. The channel is *more* than 7 stadia broad, being about 1¼ mile English.—[G. W.]

from Asia to Europe was lately finished. Midway between Sestos and Madytus[2] in the Hellespontine



Nagára Point, Site of Abydus (from the West).



Site of Xerxes' Bridge, opposite Nagára Point.



Nagára Point, Abydus (from the East).

[2] Madytus was one of the less important cities of the Chersonese. It is omitted by Scylax and Ptolemy. Xenophon however mentions it (Hellen. I. i. § 3); and Livy in two places (xxxi. 16, and xxxiii. 38). It had

Chersonese, and right over against Abydos, there is a rocky tongue of land which runs out for some distance into the sea. This is the place where no long time afterwards the Greeks under Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, took Artaÿctes the Persian, who was at that time governor of Sestos, and nailed him living to a plank.[3] He was the Artaÿctes who brought women into the temple of Protesilaüs at Elæus, and there was guilty of most unholy deeds.

34. Towards this tongue of land then, the men to whom the business was assigned, carried out a double bridge from Abydos; and while the Phœnicians constructed one line with cables of white flax, the Egyptians in the other used ropes made of papyrus. Now it is seven furlongs across from Abydos to the opposite coast.[4] When, therefore, the channel had been bridged successfully, it happened that a great storm arising broke the whole work to pieces, and destroyed all that had been done.

35. So when Xerxes heard of it, he was full of wrath, and straightway gave orders that the Hellespont should receive three hundred lashes, and that a pair of fetters should be cast into it. Nay, I have even heard it said, that he bade the branders take their irons and therewith brand the Hellespont. It is certain that he commanded those who scourged the waters to utter, as they lashed them, these barbarian and wicked words: "Thou bitter water, thy lord lays on thee this punishment because thou hast wronged him without a cause, having suffered no evil at his hands. Verily King Xerxes will cross thee, whether thou wilt or no. Well dost thou deserve that no man should honour thee with sacrifice; for thou art of a truth a treacherous and unsavoury river."[5] While the sea was thus punished by his

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also been noticed by Hecatæus (Steph. Byz. ad voc.). The place and name remain in the modern *Maito*.

[3] Vide infra, ix. 116-120.

[4] Supra, iv. 85 note [7].

[5] The remark of Mr. Blakesley is

orders, he likewise commanded that the overseers of the work should lose their heads.[6]

36. Then they, whose business it was, executed the unpleasing task laid upon them; and other master-builders were set over the work, who accomplished it in the way which I will now describe.

They joined together triremes and penteconters, 360 to support the bridge on the side of the Euxine Sea, and 314 to sustain the other; and these they placed at right-angles to the Sea, and in the direction of the current of the Hellespont, relieving by these means the tension of the shore cables.[7] Having joined the vessels, they moored them with anchors of unusual size, that the vessels of the bridge towards the Euxine might resist the winds which blow from within the straits,

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just, that "the Hellespont, perfectly land-locked, and with a stream running some three knots an hour, presents to a person who is sailing on it altogether the appearance of a river;" and that "it is from this notion that the epithets πλατὺς and ἀπείρων are applied to it in the Homeric poems" (not. ad loc.).

[6] Mr. Grote has well vindicated the several points of this narrative from the sceptical doubts thrown out by Larcher (note ad loc.), Müller (Kleine Schriften, ii. pp. 77-78), Thirlwall (Hist. of Greece, ii. p. 252), Stanley (ad Æsch. Pers. 728), Blomfield (ibid.), and others (Hist. of Greece, v. pp. 21-4). They are thoroughly in keeping with the character of an oriental despot, and with traits which writers inimical to Herodotus record of Xerxes. (Compare the letter to Mount Athos in Plutarch, ii. p. 455, E, and the message of insult to Apollo, recorded by Ctesias, Exc. Pers. § 27.)

[7] I agree with Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, v. p. 26, note), as to the construction and meaning of this difficult passage. Herodotus considers the shore cables to be the real bridge (vide supra, ch. 34), and the ships to be only a support rendered necessary by the unusual width of the channel. He has in his mind the bridges over rivers, common in Persia (Xen. Anab. ii. 4), which gave the idea of this grand work, where, if the stream was narrow, the ropes passed from shore to shore required no support at all; if it was wider, they had to be sustained by boats, or some other contrivance. The ships sustaining the ropes were moored (he says) parallel to the stream of the Hellespont, and so *at right angles* with the Euxine, the longest direction of which he knew to be from east to west. Triremes and penteconters were used indifferently in the work, the greatest number in the upper bridge, either because the channel was wider at that part, or because, to meet the full force of the current, greater strength was required. *All* the ships were moored stem and stern down the stream of the Hellespont, which here runs with considerable rapidity (Wood's Description of the Troad, p. 320; Chandler, vol. i. p. 12; Rennell's Geograph. of Herod. p. 123. Compare the Homeric epithet, ἀγάῤῥοος, Il. ii. 845, xii. 30). Probably they almost touched one another, except in the three places where an interval was left.

and that those of the more western bridge[8] facing the Egean, might withstand the winds which set in from the south and from the south-east.[9] A gap was left in the penteconters in no fewer than three places, to afford a passage for such light craft as chose to enter or leave the Euxine. When all this was done, they made the cables taut from the shore by the help of wooden capstans. This time, moreover, instead of using the two materials separately, they assigned to each bridge six cables, two of which were of white flax, while four were of papyrus. Both cables were of the same size and quality; but the flaxen were the heavier, weighing not less than a talent the cubit. When the bridge across the channel was thus complete, trunks of trees were sawn into planks, which were cut to the width of the bridge, and these were laid side by side upon the tightened cables, and then fastened on the top. This done, brushwood was brought, and arranged upon the planks, after which earth was heaped upon the brushwood, and the whole trodden down into a solid mass. Lastly a bulwark was set up on either side of this causeway, of such a height as to prevent the sumpter-beasts and the horses from seeing over it and taking fright at the water.

37. And now when all was prepared—the bridges, and the works at Athos, the breakwaters about the mouths of the cutting, which were made to hinder the surf from blocking up the entrances,[1] and the cutting

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[8] We see here that Herodotus is aware of the fact, that the real direction of the Hellespont is north-*east* and south-*west*, not due north and south.

[9] One would have expected south-*west* here, rather than south-*east*, as the Hellespont lies most open to a wind from that quarter. Herodotus perhaps speaks from local knowledge of the actual direction of the highest winds. We certainly cannot take Notus and Eurus (as Mr. Blakesley does) for winds blowing up and down the channel respectively. They are separated by only one point of the compass. (See the tables in Göttling's Hesiod, pp. 38–39.)

[1] When these breakwaters were allowed to fall into decay, the two ends of the canal would soon be silted up, and disappear. Hence the comparative obliteration of the cutting at its two extremities. (See the Plan, page 26.)

itself; and when the news came to Xerxes that this last was completely finished,—then at length the host, having first wintered at Sardis, began its march towards Abydos, fully equipped, on the first approach of spring. At the moment of departure, the sun suddenly quitted his seat in the heavens, and disappeared, though there were no clouds in sight, but the sky was clear and serene.[2] Day was thus turned into night; whereupon Xerxes, who saw and remarked the prodigy, was seized with alarm, and sending at once for the Magians, inquired of them the meaning of the portent. They replied—"God is foreshowing to the Greeks the destruction of their cities; for the sun foretells for them, and the moon for us." So Xerxes, thus instructed,[3] proceeded on his way with great gladness of heart.

38. The army had begun its march, when Pythius the Lydian, affrighted at the heavenly portent, and emboldened by his gifts, came to Xerxes and said—"Grant me, O my lord, a favour which is to thee a light matter, but to me of vast account." Then Xerxes, who looked for nothing less than such a prayer as Pythius in fact preferred, engaged to grant him whatever he wished, and commanded him to tell his wish freely. So Pythius, full of boldness, went on to say—

"O my lord, thy servant has five sons, and it chances that all are called upon to join thee in this march against Greece. I beseech thee, have compassion upon my years, and let one of my sons, the eldest, remain behind, to be my prop and stay, and

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[2] Astronomers declare that there was no eclipse of the sun visible in Western Asia this year (see Larcher, note ad loc.), but that there was one the year before, in the spring, April 19th. Herodotus may perhaps have understood of the setting forth from Sardis, what was told him of the departure from Susa in the spring of the preceding year. It may then have been his own conjecture that the prodigy frightened Pythius.

[3] The explanation is not particularly clear. The Sun and Moon were both worshipped by the Persians from a very early date (supra, vol. i. p. 430), as the Greeks seem to have been aware (Aristoph. Pac. 396-403); and the Sun (Mithra) more especially (see Book i. ch. 131, note [6]). The anecdote is probably apocryphal.

the guardian of my wealth. Take with thee the other four; and when thou hast done all that is in thy heart, mayest thou come back in safety."

39. But Xerxes was greatly angered, and replied to him: "Thou wretch! darest thou speak to me of thy son, when I am myself on the march against Greece, with sons, and brothers, and kinsfolk, and friends? Thou, who art my bond-slave, and art in duty bound to follow me with all thy household, not excepting thy wife! Know that man's spirit dwelleth in his ears, and when it hears good things, straightway it fills all his body with delight; but no sooner does it hear the contrary than it heaves and swells with passion. As when thou didst good deeds and madest good offers to me, thou wert not able to boast of having outdone the king in bountifulness, so now when thou art changed and grown impudent, thou shalt not receive all thy deserts, but less. For thyself and four of thy five sons, the entertainment which I had of thee shall gain protection; but as for him to whom thou clingest above the rest, the forfeit of his life shall be thy punishment." Having thus spoken, forthwith he commanded those to whom such tasks were assigned, to seek out the eldest of the sons of Pythius, and having cut his body asunder, to place the two halves, one on the right, the other on the left of the great road, so that the army might march out between them.[4]

40. Then the king's orders were obeyed; and the army marched out between the two halves of the carcase. First of all went the baggage-bearers, and the sumpter-beasts, and then a vast crowd of many nations mingled together without any intervals,[5] amounting to

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[4] Compare with this the similar story of Œobazus (iv. 84). The tales are important, as indicating the rigour with which personal service was exacted among the Oriental nations, especially when the monarch was himself going to the field. See the remarks of Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, v. pp. 36-7).

[5] I do not understand Herodotus

more than one half of the army. After these troops an empty space was left, to separate between them and the king. In front of the king went first a thousand horsemen, picked men of the Persian nation—then spearmen a thousand, likewise chosen troops, with their spear-heads pointing towards the ground—next ten of the sacred horses called Nisæan, all daintily caparisoned. (Now these horses are called Nisæan, because they come from the Nisæan plain, a vast flat in Media, producing horses of unusual size.[6]) After the ten sacred horses came the holy chariot of Jupiter,[7] drawn by eight milk-white steeds, with the charioteer on foot behind them holding the reins; for no mortal is ever allowed to mount into the car. Next to this came Xerxes himself, riding in a chariot drawn by

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to mean that the soldiers of the different nations were mixed together, as the soldiers from different provinces in the French army (Larcher, ad loc.), but only that the contingents of the various nations were not separated by intervals, but marched without any regular order in a single body. It is plain from the whole narrative (infra, ch. 60-86, 210; ix. 31), that in the Persian army, as in the Greek, the contingents of the several nations formed distinct and separate *corps*. Compare the account of Xenophon (Anab. I. viii. § 9: *Πάντες δὲ οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη, ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον τὸ ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο*); and see also Arrian (Exped. Alex. iii. 11).

[6] The Nisæan breed of horses continued in repute down to the times of Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 6). They excelled all others in size and speed (Strab. *ἀρίστοις καὶ μεγίστοις*; Suid. ad voc. *ὤκιστοι*), and were generally the property of the Persian kings or nobles of the highest rank.

The situation of the Nisæan plain, from which they were said to derive their name, is uncertain. According to Strabo, some placed it in Armenia (xii. p. 763, 769). Others, according to Suidas (ad voc. *Νίσαιον*), in Persia. The *general* consent, however, of the best writers assigns it to Media, where we know from the Behistun inscription, that there was a district Nisæa or Nisaya (Col. I. Par. 3, § 11). As Alexander visited it on his way from Opis to Ecbatana (Arrian. Exp. Alex. vii. 13), it may probably have been the tract of excellent pasture land which lies between *Behistun* and *Khorram-Abad*, known now as the plains of *Khawah* and *Alistar*. (See Col. Rawlinson's march from Zohab to Khuzistan, in the Geographical Society's Journal, vol. ix. p. 100.)

[7] The sacred chariot of Jupiter (Ormuzd) is mentioned by Xenophon in his description of the train of Cyrus (Cyrop. VIII. iii. 12). The white horses had golden yokes, and were adorned with garlands. It was followed, he says, by the chariot of the Sun (Mithras), and by another chariot, sacred apparently to the element of fire. Does this mark the progress in corruption of the Persian religion between the date of Xerxes, and that of Artaxerxes Mnemon, with the customs of whose time Xenophon was alone acquainted?

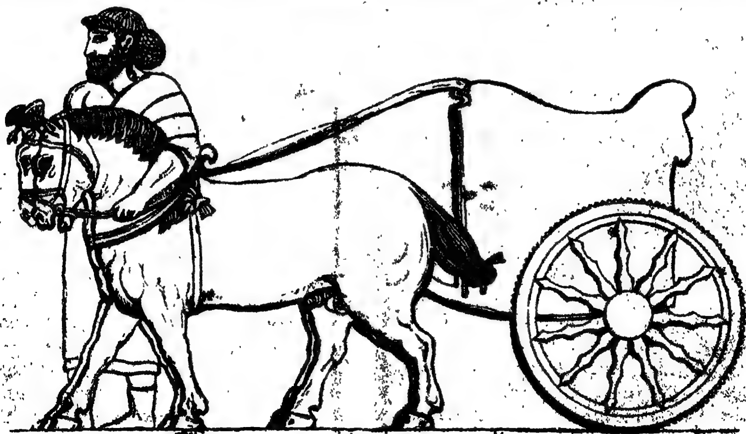
Nisæan horses, with his charioteer, Patiramphes, the son of Otanes, a Persian, standing by his side.[8]

41. Thus rode forth Xerxes from Sardis—but he was accustomed every now and then, when the fancy took him, to alight from his chariot and travel in a litter. Immediately behind the king there followed a body of a thousand spearmen, the noblest and bravest of the Persians, holding their lances in the usual manner[9]—then came a thousand Persian horse, picked men—then ten thousand, picked also after the rest, and serving on foot.[1] Of these last one thousand carried spears with golden pomegranates at their lower end instead of spikes; and these encircled the other nine thousand, who bore on their spears pomegranates of silver. The spearmen

[8] The Persian monarchs fought from chariots down to the era of the Macedonian conquest. This is plain from Arrian (Exp. Alex. ii. 11, iii. 15) and other writers (Q. Curt. iv. i. § 1 and 15, § 24; Diod. Sic. xvii. 34). Herein they followed the practice of the Assyrian kings, as appears from the sculptures recently excavated. The chariot used seems to have been (like those of the Greeks and Romans) light and small, affording barely room for three men to stand in it. In battle and in hunting, the king and his charioteer were the only occupants, and stood side by side; on occasions of state there was a third person in the car, an attendant who bore the royal parasol. The following representation, taken from Ker Porter, will furnish a tolerably correct notion of the chariots of the Persian kings.

[9] That is, with the point upward.

[1] These were probably the Immortals, who are spoken of in ch. 83, and are there said to have served on foot.



Persian Chariot (from Persepolis).

too who pointed their lances towards the ground, had golden pomegranates; and the thousand Persians who followed close after Xerxes, had golden apples.[2] Behind the ten thousand footmen came a body of Persian cavalry, likewise ten thousand; after which there was again a void space for as much as two furlongs; and then the rest of the army followed in a confused crowd.

42. The march of the army, after leaving Lydia, was directed upon the river Caïcus and the land of Mysia. Beyond the Caïcus the road, leaving Mount Cana upon the left, passed through the Atarnean plain,[3] to the city of Carina.[4] Quitting this, the troops advanced across the plain of Thebé,[5] passing Adramyttium,[6] and Antan-

[2] See Athen. Deipn. xii. p. 514, B. In the sculptures at Persepolis, the spearmen, who evidently represent the body-guard of the king, have the lower extremity of their spears ornamented with a ball, which may be either an apple or a pomegranate. They bear their spears erect.

[3] The route of Xerxes from Sardis to the Caïcus is uncertain. He may either have descended the valley of the Hermus, and then followed the coast road by Cyme, Myrina, Gryneum, and Elæa; or he may have crossed the hill by lake Gygæa, and entered the upper valley of the Caïcus, where moderns reach it on their way from Thyatira (*Ak-hissar*) to Pergamos (*Bergma*). The latter is the shorter, but the former the easier route.

With respect to the situation of the Atarnean plain, vide supra, i. 160, and vi. 28-9. The geography of this tract is still very partially known. By Mount Cana, Herodotus appears to mean the modern Mount *Karada*, opposite the south-eastern extremity of Mytilene. The army would naturally leave this mountain to the left before entering the Atarnean plain, which was on the coast near *Dekeli Kieui*. In after times the name of Cana or Canæ was applied to a much larger district (Strab. xiii. p. 883).

[4] The situation of Carina can only be conjectured. It appears from this passage to have lain on a ridge separating the Atarnean plain from that of Thebé. This district is still unexplored, I believe. Carina was a city of some consequence at the time of the Ionian colonisation, and furnished colonists to Ephesus (Ephor. ap. Steph. Byz. ad voc. Βέννα). After the time of Herodotus it disappears from history, being only mentioned by Pliny, and then as a place that had ceased to exist (H. N. v. 30).

[5] The plain of Thebé was so called from an ancient town of that name in the northern part of the plain, at the foot of Mount Ida. Ruins of this town, celebrated as being the native city of Andromaché (Hom. Il. vi. 395; xxii. 479), remained to the time of Strabo (xiii. p. 879). The plain, in the centre of which the city of *Adramyti* (Adramyttium) now stands, is one of great beauty and fertility (Fellows, Asia Minor, p. 42; cf. Liv. xxxvii. 19; Polyb. xvi. 1), and was in ancient times a constant object of contention, first between the Mysians and Lydians, and afterwards between them and the Greeks (Strab. l. s. c.).

[6] Adramyttium is said to have been founded by Adramytes, or

drus,[7] the Pelasgic city; then, holding Mount Ida upon the left hand,[8] it entered the Trojan territory. On this march the Persians suffered some loss; for as they bivouacked during the night at the foot of Ida, a storm of thunder and lightning burst upon them, and killed no small number.

43. On reaching the Scamander, which was the first stream, of all that they had crossed since they left Sardis, whose water failed them and did not suffice to satisfy the thirst of men and cattle,[9] Xerxes ascended into the Pergamus of Priam,[1] since he had a longing to behold the place. When he had seen everything, and

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Adramys, son of one of the Lydian kings (cf. Aristot. ap. Steph. Byz. sub voc. Ἀδραμυττεῖον, and Nic. Dam. Fr. 63). It was given to the ejected Delians by Pharnaces, in the tenth year of the Peloponnesian war (Thucyd v. 1; cf. viii. 108); and from that time seems to have been reckoned a Greek city (Scylax, Peripl. pp. 87, 88). The modern town of *Adramyti*, which retains both the name and site, boasts but few remains of the ancient city (Fellows, ut supra).

[7] For the situation of Antandrus, vide supra, v. 26. The march of Xenophon from Troy to Pergamus may conveniently be compared with this portion of the route of Xerxes (ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Τρῳάδος, καὶ ὑπερβάντες τὴν Ἴδην, εἰς Ἄντανδρον ἀφικνοῦνται πρῶτον· εἶτα παρὰ θάλατταν πορευόμενοι τῆς Λυδίας, εἰς Θήβης πέδιων. Ἐντεῦθεν δι' Ἀτραμυττίου καὶ Κερτονίου παρ' Ἀταρνέα εἰς Καΐκου πέδιον ἐλθόντες, Πέργαμον καταλαμβάνουσι τῆς Μυσίας. Anab. vii. viii. §§ 7, 8).

[8] The true Ida must have been left considerably to the right, the army crossing the ridge which extends from it westward, and terminates in Cape *Baba*. Herodotus appears to have given the name of Ida to the highlands which close in the valley of the Scamander on the left, lying west and south of *Bunarbashi*. (See the Chart on the opposite page.)

[9] Though the Scamander of Herodotus (the modern *Mendere*) has a bed from 200 to 300 feet broad, yet the stream in the dry season is reduced to a slender brook not more than three feet deep (Geograph. Journ. vol. xii. p. 34). It may therefore easily have proved insufficient to afford *good* water for the entire host. See the remarks of Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 37).

[1] By the "Pergamus of Priam" is to be understood the acropolis of New Ilium, which claimed, and was believed till after the time of Alexander, to stand upon the site of the ancient city (Strab. xiii. p. 855). Hither Alexander also ascended, and sacrificed to Minerva (Arrian. Exp. Alex. i. 11; Strab. l. s. c.). The ruins near *Kum-kieui*, 5 miles to the south-east of *Kum-kaleh*, or the lower castle of the Dardanelles, mark the situation of New Ilium. (See Leake's Asia Minor, p. 275.)

The question of the situation of the Homeric Ilium scarcely comes within the province of a commentator on Herodotus. I may however be allowed to express an opinion in favour of the views of those who distinguish between Old and New Ilium, and place the former at *Bunarbashi*, on the left bank of the river. (See the accompanying map.)

CHERSONESE

HELLESPONT

TOMB OF AJAX.

THYMBRIUS R.

PAGUS ILIENSIUM

RUINS OF TEMPLES

ILIUM NOVUM

BROKEN BATTERY

ARTIFICIAL CHANNEL

R. SCAMANDER

SIMOIS OF HOMER

ILIUM VETUS

MT IDA

CHART OF THE COUNTRY ABOUT TROY.

inquired into all particulars, he made an offering of a thousand oxen to the Trojan Minerva, while the Magians poured libations to the heroes who were slain at Troy.[2] The night after, a panic fell upon the camp: but in the morning they set off with daylight, and skirting on the left hand the towns Rhœteum, Ophryneum, and Dardanus[3] (which borders on Abydos), on the right the Teucrians of Gergis,[4] so reached Abydos.[5]

44. Arrived here, Xerxes wished to look upon all his host; so, as there was a throne of white marble upon a hill near the city,[6] which they of Abydos had prepared beforehand, by the king's bidding, for his especial use, Xerxes took his seat on it, and, gazing thence upon the shore below, beheld at one view all his land forces and all his ships. While thus employed, he felt a desire to behold a sailing-match among his ships, which accordingly took place, and was won by the Phœnicians of Sidon, much to the joy of Xerxes,

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[2] These acts are "strange if true." They may have been done to conciliate the Asiatic Greeks, whose defection was feared (infra, chs. 51, 52). Or they may have been acts of worship, of which the Greeks misunderstood, or misrepresented, the true character. The Magi would be as little likely as the Achæmenian Persians, to sacrifice to the heroes who fell at Troy and the Trojan Minerva.

[3] These were all places of small importance on or near the coast. Rhœteum, according to Strabo, was 7 miles from Sigeum, at the mouth of the Hellespont (Strab. xiii. p. 859). It was situated near the barrow of Ajax, which is still a marked feature on the eastern edge of the Trojan plain. Col. Leake identifies Rhœteum with the ruins (*Paleó-Kastro*) near *It-Ghelmes*, which stand on an eminence overlooking the strait (Leake's Asia Minor, p. 275); but these are most probably the remains of Ophryneum (see Geog. Journ. vol. xii. p. 39), which was said to have been the burial-place of Hector (Aristodem. Theb. Fr. 6). Rhœteum may have occupied the hill immediately opposite the tomb of Ajax, where there are traces of a town. Concerning the site of Dardanus, vide supra, v. 117.

[4] Supra, v. 122.

[5] The remains of Abydos lie a little north of the upper castle of the Dardanelles (*Sultanieh-Kalessi*), between the fort and the extremity of the promontory facing Sestos. They are so slight that Sir C. Fellows passed them once without perceiving them (Asia Minor, p. 80).

[6] It may be questioned whether by "προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ" a throne is intended, and not rather an *elevated platform* whereon the king's throne, which he carried with him (infra, viii. 90), was to be placed. Such artificial platforms are found in the Assyrian sculptures (Layard's Nineveh and Babylon, p. 150). Thrones of white marble were not, however, unknown to the Greeks. (See Walpole's Turkey, vol. i. p. 310.)

who was delighted alike with the race and with his army.

45. And now, as he looked and saw the whole Hellespont covered with the vessels of his fleet, and all the shore and every plain about Abydos as full as could be of men, Xerxes congratulated himself on his good fortune; but after a little while, he wept.

46. Then Artabanus, the king's uncle (the same who at the first so freely spake his mind to the king, and advised him not to lead his army against Greece), when he heard that Xerxes was in tears, went to him, and said—

"How different, sire, is what thou art now doing, from what thou didst a little while ago! Then thou didst congratulate thyself, and now, behold! thou weepest."

"There came upon me," replied he, "a sudden pity, when I thought of the shortness of man's life, and considered that of all this host, so numerous as it is, not one will be alive when a hundred years are gone by."

"And yet there are sadder things in life than that," returned the other. "Short as our time is, there is no man, whether it be here among this multitude or elsewhere, who is so happy, as not to have felt the wish—I will not say once, but full many a time—that he were dead rather than alive. Calamities fall upon us, sicknesses vex and harass us, and make life, short though it be, to appear long. So death, through the wretchedness of our life, is a most sweet refuge to our race: and God, who gives us the tastes that we enjoy of pleasant times, is seen, in his very gift, to be envious."

47. "True," said Xerxes; "human life is even such as thou hast painted it, O Artabanus. But for this very reason let us turn our thoughts from it, and not dwell on what is so sad, when pleasant things are in hand. Tell me rather, if the vision which we saw had

not appeared so plainly to thyself, wouldst thou have been still of the same mind as formerly, and have continued to dissuade me from warring against Greece, or wouldst thou at this time think differently? Come now, tell me this honestly."

"O King," replied the other, "may the dream which hath appeared to us have such issue as we both desire! For my own part, I am still full of fear, and have scarcely power to control myself, when I consider all our dangers, and especially when I see that the two things which are of most consequence are alike opposed to thee."

48. "Thou strange man," said Xerxes in reply—"what, I pray thee, are the two things thou speakest of? Does my land army seem to thee too small in number, and will the Greeks, thinkest thou, bring into the field a more numerous host? Or is it our fleet which thou deemest weaker than theirs? Or art thou fearful on both accounts? If in thy judgment we fall short in either respect, it were easy to bring together with all speed another armament."

49. "O king," said Artabanus, "it is not possible that a man of understanding should find fault with the size of thy army or the number of thy ships. The more thou addest to these, the more hostile will those two things, whereof I spake, become. Those two things are the land and the sea. In all the wide sea there is not, I imagine, anywhere a harbour large enough to receive thy vessels, in case a storm arise, and afford them a sure protection. And yet thou wilt want, not one such harbour only, but many in succession, along the entire coast by which thou art about to make thy advance. In default then of such harbours, it is well to bear in mind that chances rule men, and not men chances. Such is the first of the two dangers, and now I will speak to thee of the second. The land will also be thine enemy; for if no one resists thy advance, as

thou proceedest further and further, insensibly allured onwards (for who is ever sated with success?), thou wilt find it more and more hostile. I mean this, that, should nothing else withstand thee, yet the mere distance, becoming greater as time goes on, will at last produce a famine. Methinks it is best for men, when they take counsel, to be timorous, and imagine all possible calamities, but when the time for action comes, then to deal boldly."

50. Whereto Xerxes answered—"There is reason, O Artabanus, in everything which thou hast said; but I pray thee, fear not all things alike, nor count up every risk. For if in each matter that comes before us thou wilt look to all possible chances, never wilt thou achieve anything. Far better is it to have a stout heart always, and suffer one's share of evils, than to be ever fearing what may happen, and never incur a mischance. Moreover, if thou wilt oppose whatever is said by others, without thyself showing us the sure course which we ought to take, thou art as likely to lead us into failure as they who advise differently; for thou art but on a par with them. And as for that sure course, how canst thou show it us when thou art but a man? I do not believe thou canst. Success for the most part attends those who act boldly, not those who weigh everything, and are slack to venture. Thou seest to how great a height the power of Persia has now reached—never would it have grown to this point if they who sate upon the throne before me had been like-minded with thee, or even, though not like-minded, had listened to councillors of such a spirit. 'Twas by brave ventures that they extended their sway; for great empires can only be conquered by great risks. We follow then the example of our fathers in making this march, and we set forward at the best season of the year; and when we have brought Europe under us, we shall return, without suffering from want or expe-

riencing any other calamity. For while on the one hand we carry vast stores of provisions with us, on the other we shall have the grain of all the countries and nations that we attack; since our march is not directed against a pastoral people, but against men who are tillers of the ground."

51. Then said Artabanus—"If, sire, thou art determined that we shall not fear anything, at least hearken to a counsel which I wish to offer; for when the matters in hand are so many, one cannot but have much to say. Thou knowest that Cyrus the son of Cambyses reduced and made tributary to the Persians all the race of the Ionians, except only those of Attica.[7] Now my advice is, that thou on no account lead forth these men against their fathers;[8] since we are well able to overcome them without such aid. Their choice, if we take them with us to the war, lies between showing themselves the most wicked of men by helping to enslave their fatherland, or the most righteous by joining in the struggle to keep it free. If then they choose the side of injustice, they will do us but scant good; while if they determine to act justly, they may greatly injure our host. Lay thou to heart the old proverb, which says truly, 'The beginning and end of a matter are not always seen at once.'"

52. "Artabanus," answered Xerxes, "there is nothing in all that thou hast said, wherein thou art so wholly wrong as in this, that thou suspectest the faith of the Ionians. Have they not given us the surest proof of their attachment,—a proof which thou didst thyself witness, and likewise all those who fought with Darius against the Scythians? When it lay wholly with them to save or to destroy the entire Persian army, they

[7] This, of course, was not true; but the Persians might not unnaturally be supposed ignorant of all the Ionians of Europe except the Athenians.

[8] Vide infra, viii. 22, where Themistocles makes use of the same argument.

dealt by us honourably and with good faith, and did us no hurt at all. Besides, they will leave behind them in our country their wives, their children, and their properties—can it then be conceived that they will attempt rebellion? Have no fear, therefore, on this score; but keep a brave heart and uphold my house and empire. To thee, and thee only, do I intrust my sovereignty."

53. After Xerxes had thus spoken, and had sent Artabanus away to return to Susa, he summoned before him all the Persians of most repute, and when they appeared, addressed them in these words:—

"Persians, I have brought you together because I wished to exhort you to behave bravely, and not to sully with disgrace the former achievements of the Persian people, which are very great and famous. Rather let us one and all, singly and jointly, exert ourselves to the uttermost; for the matter wherein we are engaged concerns the common weal. Strain every nerve, then, I beseech you, in this war. Brave warriors are the men we march against, if report says true; and such that, if we conquer them, there is not a people in all the world which will venture thereafter to withstand our arms. And now let us offer prayers to the gods[9] who watch over the welfare of Persia, and then cross the channel."

54. All that day the preparations for the passage continued; and on the morrow they burnt all kinds of spices upon the bridges, and strewed the way with myrtle-boughs, while they waited anxiously for the sun, which they hoped to see as he rose. And now the sun appeared; and Xerxes took a golden goblet and poured from it a libation into the sea, praying the while with

[9] Ormuzd is spoken of throughout the inscriptions as "the chief of the gods" (*mathista Bágánam*), or "the great God" (*Baga vazarka*); and the "other gods" (*aniyá bagáha*) are often associated with him. The representation of Herodotus is therefore so far correct; but it is questionable whether the Persians had the notion ascribed to them in this place, of a special superintendence of different countries by distinct deities. Gods whose business it is to guard the king's house (*vithiya bagáha*) are mentioned, but national deities are nowhere indicated.

his face turned to the sun,[1] "that no misfortune might befal him such as to hinder his conquest of Europe, until he had penetrated to its uttermost boundaries." After he had prayed, he cast the golden cup into the Hellespont, and with it a golden bowl, and a Persian sword of the kind which they call *acinaces*.[2] I cannot say for certain whether it was as an offering to the sun-god that he threw these things into the deep, or whether he had repented of having scourged the Hellespont, and thought by his gifts to make amends to the sea for what he had done.

55. When, however, his offerings were made, the army began to cross; and the foot-soldiers, with the horsemen, passed over by one of the bridges—that (namely) which lay towards the Euxine—while the sumpter-beasts and the camp-followers passed by the other, which looked on the Egean. Foremost went the Ten Thousand Persians, all wearing garlands upon

[1] No indication of the worship of Mithra has yet been found in the inscriptions of Xerxes,—none indeed until the time of Artaxerxes Ochus, the fourth in descent from that monarch. The records however of the intervening period are almost a blank; and on the whole it is not improbable that, so early as the reign of Xerxes, the *cultus* was fully established. A reverential regard for Mithra seems to have been a part of the religion brought by the Arians from their primitive country. (See vol. i. Essay v. p. 430.)

[2] The Persian *acinaces* was a short sword, not a scymitar. It was straight, not curved, as Josephus expressly declares (Ant. Jud. xx. 7, § 10). Representations of it abound in the Persepolitan and other sculptures. It is seen hanging in its sheath, at the wearer's *right* side (Amm. Marc. xvii. 4), in the figures of attendants, while in those supposed to represent Mithra (see the woodcut on the next page, and compare F. Lajard's Culte de Mithras, a magnificent work!), it appears out of its scabbard. A similar poiniard is worn commonly by the Persians of the present day.



their heads; and after them a mixed multitude of many nations. These crossed upon the first day.

On the next day the horsemen began the passage; and with them went the soldiers who carried their spears with the point downwards, garlanded like the Ten Thousand;—then came the sacred horses and the sacred chariot; next Xerxes with his lancers and the thousand horse; then the rest of the army. At the same time the ships sailed over to the opposite shore. According, however, to another account which I have heard, the king crossed the last.

56. As soon as Xerxes had reached the European side, he stood to contemplate his army as they crossed under the lash.[3] And the crossing continued during seven days and seven nights, without rest or pause. 'Tis said that here, after Xerxes had made the passage, a Hellespontian exclaimed—

"Why, O Jove, dost thou, in the likeness of a Persian man, and with the name of Xerxes instead of thine own, lead the whole race of mankind to the destruction



[3] Supra, ch. 22, note [3].

of Greece? It would have been as easy for thee to destroy it without their aid!"

57. When the whole army had crossed, and the troops were now upon their march, a strange prodigy appeared to them, whereof the king made no account, though its meaning was not difficult to conjecture. Now the prodigy was this:—a mare brought forth a hare. Hereby it was shown plainly enough, that Xerxes would lead forth his host against Greece with mighty pomp and splendour, but, in order to reach again the spot from which he set out, would have to run for his life. There had also been another portent, while Xerxes was still at Sardis—a mule dropped a foal, neither male nor female;[4] but this likewise was disregarded.

58. So Xerxes, despising the omens, marched forwards; and his land army accompanied him. But the fleet held an opposite course, and, sailing to the mouth of the Hellespont, made its way along the shore. Thus the fleet proceeded westward, making for Cape Sarpêdon,[5] where the orders were that it should await the coming up of the troops; but the land army marched eastward along the Chersonese, leaving on the right the tomb of Hellé,[6] the daughter of Athamas, and on the left the city of Cardia. Having passed through the

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[4] "Mulus mulum peperit genitalia habentem tum maris tum feminæ; superiora autem masculina erant." The credulity of Herodotus with respect to portents is certainly great. He relates these without the slightest doubt of their reality. His knowledge of the wonderful things that do occur, and his belief in the frequent active interposition of Divine Providence in the affairs of men, are the cause of his ready faith.

[5] This passage alone sufficiently determines the position of Cape Sarpedon. The point where the fleet and army would naturally reunite, and the only important promontory between the Hellespont and Doriscus, is the modern Cape *Gremea*. The Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (i. 922) indicates this site.

[6] The more general tradition was that Hellé fell into the sea to which she gave her name (Apollod. i. ix. § 5); but according to some, she arrived in the Chersonese, and died there;—Hellanicus (Fr. 88) says at Pactya. We may conclude that the tomb shown as hers was near this city, which was on the east coast, and so to the right of the army.

town which is called Agora,[7] they skirted the shores of the Gulf of Melas, and then crossed the river Melas, whence the gulf takes its name,[8] the waters of which they found too scanty to supply the host. From this point their march was to the west; and after passing Ænos,[9] an Æolian settlement, and likewise lake Stentoris,[1] they came to Doriscus.[2]

59. The name Doriscus is given to a beach and a vast plain upon the coast of Thrace, through the middle of which flows the strong stream of the Hebrus. Here was the royal fort which is likewise called Doriscus, where Darius had maintained a Persian garrison ever since the time when he attacked the Scythians. This place seemed to Xerxes a convenient spot for reviewing and numbering his soldiers; which things accordingly he proceeded to do. The sea-captains, who had brought the fleet to Doriscus, were ordered to take the vessels to the beach adjoining, where Salé stands, a city of the Samothracians, and Zôné, another city.[3] The beach

[7] This place is mentioned by Scylax (Peripl. p. 68) as lying between Pactya and Cardia; and by Demosthenes as marking, in the opinion of some, the boundary of the Chersonese to the north (de Halones. § 40, p. 93). Apparently therefore it occupied the site of Lysimachia, which became Hexamilium (Ptol. Geogr. iii. 11), and is now *Hexamili* (vide supra, vi. 33, note [8]).

[8] Supra, vi. 41, note [7].

[9] Ænos retains its name almost unchanged in the modern *Enos* (lat. 40° 45′, long. 26° 4′). It was a place of considerable strength (Liv. xxx. 16). According to Stephen (ad voc.) it was once called Apsynthus, and was a colony from Cumæ. Ephorus however asserted that the first settlement was made from Alopeconnesus in the Chersonese, colonists being afterward added from Cumæ and Mitylene (Fr. 75). The ancient name of Ænos was Poltyobria (Strab. vii. p. 462; Steph. Byz. sub voc.), from which arose the stories of King Poltys (Apollod. II. v. § 9; Plutarch, Apophtheg. ii. p. 174, C.).

[1] Pliny seems to have read λιμένα for λίμνην in this passage—at least he speaks of a "*portus* Stentoris" between the mouth of the Hebrus and Ænos (H. N. iv. 11); but Herodotus appears to intend the vast lake or marsh on the left bank of the Hebrus (*Maritza*), near its mouth, which is one of the most remarkable features of this district. So Kiepert rightly judges (Karte von Hellas, Blatt. v.).

[2] Supra, v. 98, note [3].

[3] Zoné is mentioned by several ancient writers, from Hecatæus downwards (Hecat. Fr. 132; Scyl. Peripl. p. 65; Plin. H. N. l. s. c.; Pomp. Mela. ii. 2; Apoll. Rhod. i. 29); but the name of Salé is not found elsewhere. This latter city had probably perished before the time of Alexander. Zoné was not a place of any consequence, but it acquired some celebrity from the tradition which

extends to Serrhêum,[4] the well-known promontory; the whole district in former times was inhabited by the Ciconians.[5] Here then the captains were to bring their ships, and to haul them ashore for refitting, while Xerxes at Doriscus was employed in numbering the soldiers.

60. What the exact number of the troops of each nation was I cannot say with certainty—for it is not mentioned by any one—but the whole land army together was found to amount to one million seven hundred thousand men. The manner in which the numbering took place was the following. A body of ten thousand men was brought to a certain place, and the men were made to stand as close together as possible; after which a circle was drawn around them, and the men were let go: then where the circle had been, a fence was built about the height of a man's middle; and the enclosure was filled continually with fresh troops, till the whole army had in this way been numbered. When the numbering was over, the troops were drawn up according to their several nations.

61. Now these were the nations that took part in this expedition.[6] The Persians, who wore on their

made it the scene of the famous miracle of Orpheus (see Apollonius and Mela, l. s. c.; compare also the Scholiast on Nicander, p. 23).

[4] Serrhêum is undoubtedly Cape *Makri*. It lay east of Mesambria, as is apparent both from the present passage and from another further on (infra, ch. 108). Pliny (H. N. iv. 11) and Appian (de Bell. Civ. iv. p. 648) give the name of Serrhêum to the mountain, which causes the coast to project at this point; and Livy (xxxi. 16) applies it to a fortified post built here to command the coast-road. This last is the Σερρεῖον τεῖχος of Stephen (sub voc. Σερρεῖον).

[5] The Ciconians were among the most celebrated of the early Thracian tribes. Homer represents them as inhabiting this same tract at the time of the Trojan war (Odyss. ix. 39-59). According to Herodotus, when Xerxes made his expedition, they were still masters of a portion of the country near this coast (infra, chs. 108 and 110). At one time their limits seem to have extended eastward even beyond the Hebrus (see Plin. H. N. iv. 11, "Os Hebri; portus Stentoris; Oppidum Ænos . . . Ciconum quondam regio;" and compare Virg. Georg. iv. 520-5). After the expedition of Xerxes they disappear from history.

[6] Many people of Asia and Africa are represented in the Egyptian sculptures; and as some of them were doubtless in the army of Xerxes, it will be interesting to compare their armature with that mentioned by Herodotus (see pp. 58-9, and compare vol. ii. p. 236). There is no appear-

heads the soft hat called the tiara,[7] and about their bodies, tunics with sleeves, of divers colours, having iron scales upon them like the scales of a fish.[8] Their legs were protected by trousers; and they bore wicker shields for bucklers; their quivers hanging at their backs,[9] and their arms being a short spear, a bow of uncommon size, and arrows of reed. They had like-

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ance of the amentum (ἀγκύλη), or thong for throwing the spear, in any of those subjects; though there is a kind of thong which fitted into a notch at the end of the fishing-spears of the Egyptians; but the amentum passed round the shaft about half way down, and was sometimes left on it when thrown; as when Philopœmen was wounded by a javelin that passed through both his thighs.

Those in No. I. are—1. the Shairetana; 2. the Tokari; 3. the Sh.... ; 4. the Rebo.

In No. II. are—5. a man of Pount; 6. Chiefs of Shari; 7. the Rot-n-no, and one of their women.

In No. III.—1. a man of Kufa; 2. to 5. some of the Khita (Hittites?).

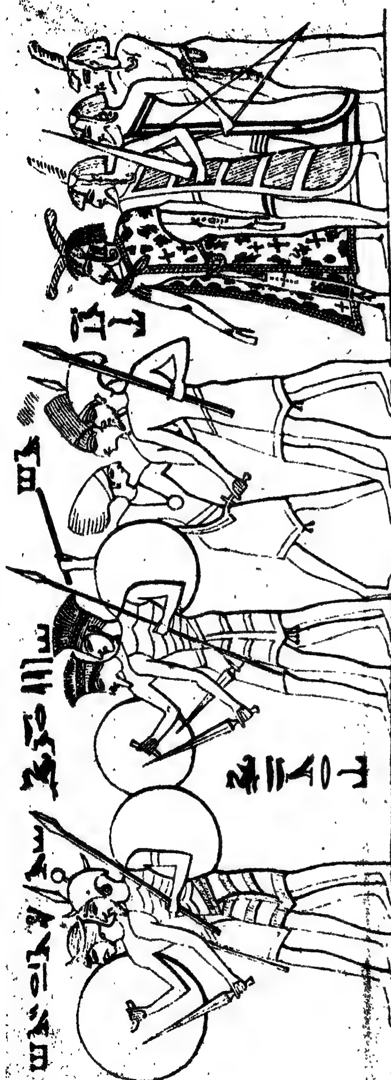
In No. IV. are—5. a man of Asmaor (Samaria?); 6. of Lemnn (Lebanon?); 7. of Kanana or Kanaan (Canaan); 8, 9, Blacks of Dar-sus and Dar-Ao?; and 10, 11. Chiefs of Cush (Ethiopia).—[G. W.]

[7] The hat or cap here described, and called by Herodotus indifferently κυρβασία (v. 49) and τιάρα, seems to be the same with the plain "round-topped cap, projecting at the top a little over the brows," which is the ordinary head-dress of those who wear the *Persian* costume in the sculptures of Persepolis. A representation has been already given (vol. i. p. 276). In other respects the description of Herodotus does not show any great correspondence with the Persepolitan representations. The weapons indeed are the same. The spear, the bow, the quiver pendant at the back, and the dagger hanging from the girdle on the right side, are all found. The spears however are not remarkably short, being little less than the length of the Greek, *i. e.* about seven feet; nor are the bows long, but what we should call very short, namely about *three* feet. Coats of scale armour, common in the Assyrian sculptures, are nowhere found. Trousers are worn, but no shield resembling our author's description of the γέῤῥον (infra, ix. 62). The only shield found is very like the Bœotian. Herodotus probably describes the Persian costume *of his own day*, as does Xenophon that of his (Cyrop. VII. i. § 2; compare Anab. I. viii. § 6). The subjoined figures, which are Persepolitan, will illustrate this note.

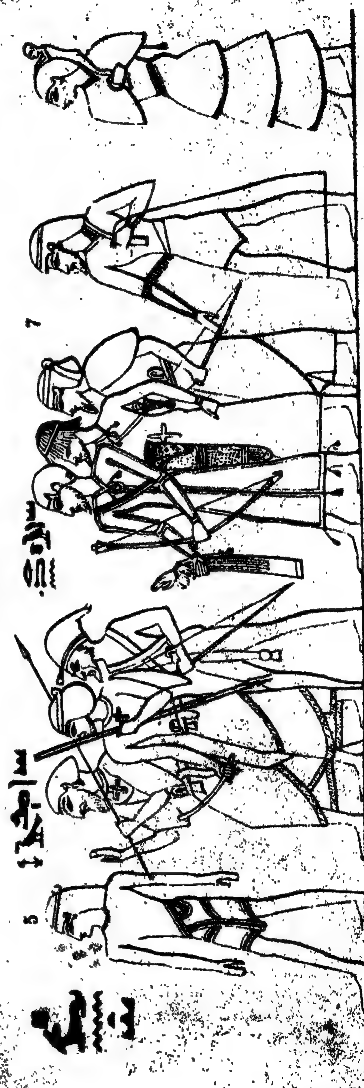
[8] Compare infra, ix. 22.

[9] See Schweighæuser's Lex. Herod. sub voc. ὑπό.

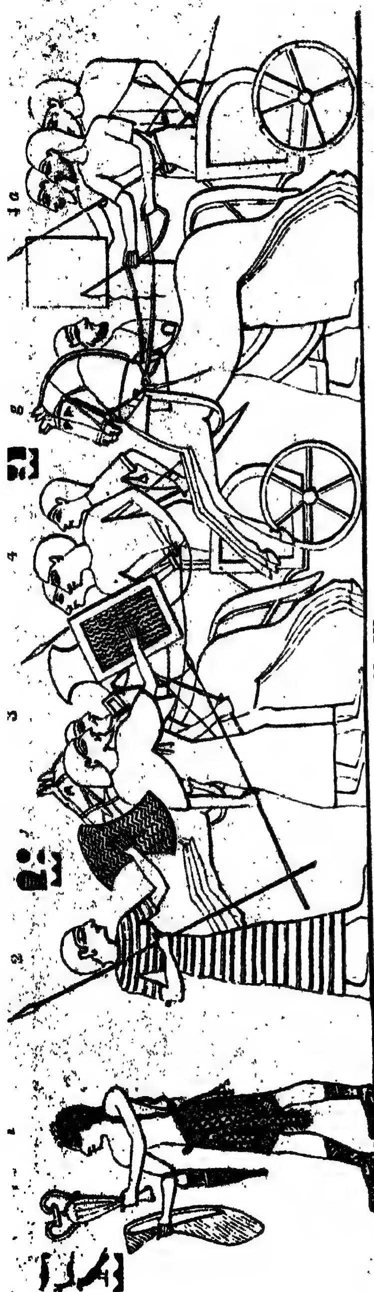




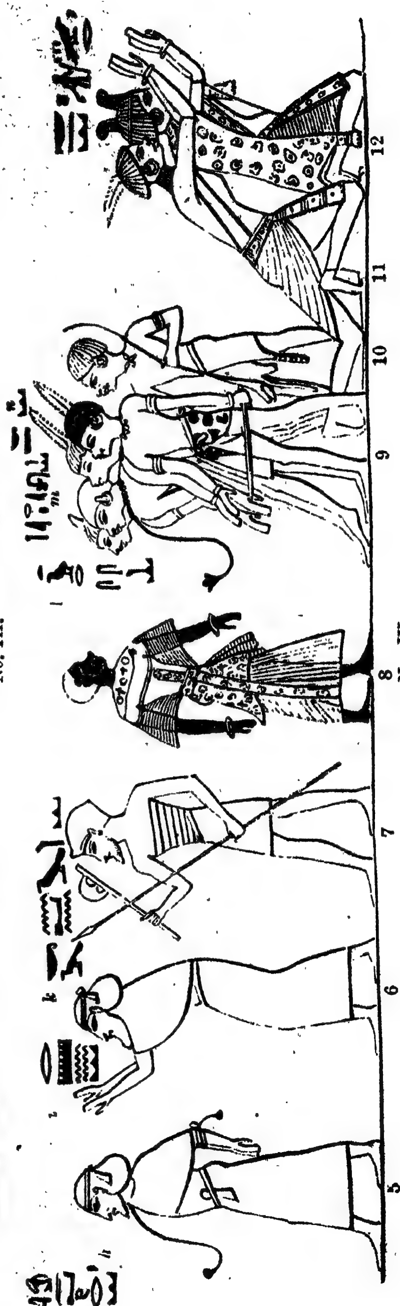
No. I.



No. II.



No. III.



No. IV.

wise daggers suspended from their girdles along their right thighs. Otanes, the father of Xerxes' wife, Amestris,[1] was their leader. This people was known to the Greeks in ancient times by the name of Cephenians; but they called themselves and were called by their neighbours, Artæans.[2] It was not till Perseus, the son of Jove and Danaë, visited Cepheus the son of Belus, and, marrying his daughter Andromeda, had by her a son called Perses (whom he left behind him in the country because Cepheus had no male offspring), that the nation took from this Perses the name of Persians.[3]

62. The Medes had exactly the same equipment as the Persians; and indeed the dress common to both is not so much Persian as Median.[4] They had for com-

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[1] Ctesias says (Exc. Pers. § 20) that Amestris was the daughter of Onophas, or Anaphes, who was the son of Otanes the conspirator (infra, ch. 62). He however names the conspirator Onophas (§ 14), so that he really agrees with Herodotus in everything except the name.

[2] Stephen of Byzantium gives several accounts of this word. Artæa, he says, was, according to Hellanicus, the name of the region inhabited by the Persians, who were called Artæans on that account—an explanation which leaves the real origin and import of the term untouched (cf. Steph. Byz. sub voc. Ἀρταῖα). Again, he says, the Persians called "men" in old times *Artæi*, as the Greeks called them "heroes," where *Artæi* seems confounded with *Arii*. Finally he connects the prefix ἀρτα in Artaxerxes, Artabazus, &c., with Artæan, which would give the meaning of "great" (see above, vol. iii. p. 552, ad voc. Artæus). Lassen agrees with this (Keilinscriften, p. 162). Perhaps the most probable account that can be given of the name "Artæans" is the following. It stands for the *Afarti* of the Scythic tablets, which is not an Arian name at all, but the old Scythic title for the ancient inhabitants of Susiana, and (probably) of Persia Proper—which appears in later times under the forms of Iberi, perhaps of Albanians, and again of Avars or Abars—all Turanian races. (See As. Soc. Journ. vol. xv. part i. p. 4; and part ii. pp. 234-6.) The Persians were thus Artæans only in the same sense that we are Britons; the title was first ethnic; then territorial, as Hellanicus said; it belonged really to the inhabitants of the region in question before the Persians invaded it.

[3] Vide infra, ch. 150. I can discern no ray of truth in the fables respecting Perseus. Belus, king of Egypt (!), Cepheus his son, king of Ethiopia (!), and Perses, the grandson of the latter, who proceeds from Ethiopia to Persia, and there becomes the progenitor of the Persian kings (!), contradict all that is known of these countries, either historically or ethnologically (see Apollod. ii. i. § 4; and iv. § 3; compare above, vi. 54, note [6]; and see also Sir G. Wilkinson's note [6] on Book ii. ch. 91).

[4] Compare Book i. ch. 135, where the adoption by the Persians of the ordinary Median costume is mentioned. It appears by this passage that they likewise adopted their military equipment.

mander Tigranes, of the race of the Achæmenids. These Medes were called anciently by all people Arians;[5] but when Medêa, the Colchian, came to them from Athens, they changed their name. Such is the account which they themselves give.[6]

The Cissians were equipped in the Persian fashion, except in one respect:—they wore on their heads, instead of hats, fillets.[7] Anaphes, the son of Otanes, commanded them.

The Hyrcanians[8] were likewise armed in the same way as the Persians. Their leader was Megapanus, the same who was afterwards satrap of Babylon.

63. The Assyrians went to the war with helmets upon their heads made of brass, and plaited in a strange fashion which is not easy to describe. They carried shields, lances, and daggers very like the Egyptian;[9]

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[5] See Appendix to Book i. Essay iii. § 1.

[6] It is evident that the Oriental nations in the time of Herodotus were not unwilling to claim a connexion with the flourishing and powerful Greek people, with whom they had recently made acquaintance. The Egyptians accepted the story of Danaus (ii. 91), and maintained that they conferred favours on Menelaus at the time of the Trojan war (ii. 118-9). The Persians declared they got their name from Perseus (vi. 54), and the Medes theirs from Medea! I doubt if truth *of any kind* is hidden under these fictions, which seem to me rather the produce of unscrupulous servility.

[7] The μίτρα, which was worn also by the Cyprian princes in the fleet of Xerxes (infra, ch. 90), and by the Babylonians as part of their ordinary costume (supra, i. 195), was regarded both by Greeks and Romans as a token of effeminacy (Aristoph. Thesm. 898, ed. Bothe; Virg. Æn. iv. 216). It is generally thought to have been a sort of turban (see Dict. of Antiq. *s.* v. *Calantica;* Scott and Liddell, Lex. s. v. μίτρα); but this is uncertain. It may perhaps have been a mere band or fillet, such as the Assyrian sculptures assign to the people in question.



Susianian Head-dress.

[8] On the Hyrcanians, and the other obscure tribes here mentioned, see the Appendix, Essay i. pp. 197 et seqq.

[9] The Assyrians do not appear from the monuments to have been armed like the Egyptians. The "spears and daggers" (see woodcuts in n. on Bk. ix. ch. 32) may have been similar, but the "shields" of the Egyptians were of peculiar shape, and remarkable for a small circular depression instead of a boss (No. 1). They were a wooden frame, sometimes covered with bull's

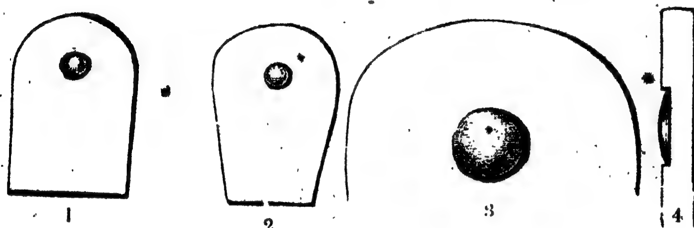
but in addition, they had wooden clubs knotted with iron, and linen corselets.[10] This people, whom the

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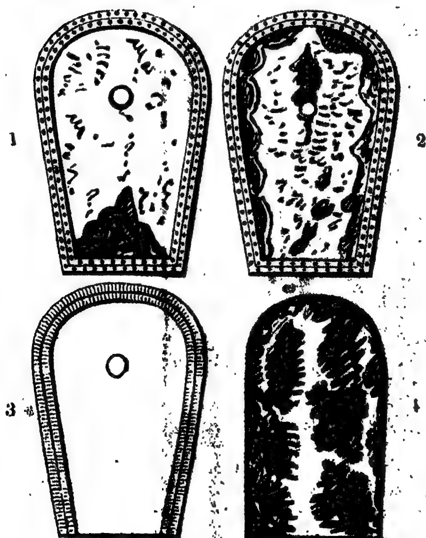
hide, and bound round the rim with metal. Their form, round at the summit, and squared at the base (Nos. I. and II.), is still retained in that used at the present day by the people of Bornou. (See Denham and Clapperton, p. 166.) The dagger was sometimes used for stabbing downwards. (No. III.) The hair, in a mass at the back of the head, and bound by a fillet, as worn by the Assyrians, is commonly given to Asiatics on the Egyptian monuments.—[G. W.]

[10] This description agrees tolerably, but not quite exactly, with the costume seen in the sculptures. The difference is not surprising, as the latest sculptures are at least two centuries earlier than the time of Xerxes. The warriors wear, for the most part, metal helmets, some of which have been found entire. They are made of iron, not of brass or copper (Layard's Nineveh, vol. ii. p. 339), and have no appearance about them of any twisted or plaited work. The woodcuts (p. 64) give the chief varieties.

Their ordinary offensive weapons



No. I.



No. II.

Greeks call Syrians, are called Assyrians by the barbarians.[1] The Chaldæans[2] served in their ranks, and they had for commander Otaspes, the son of Artachæus.

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are the spear, the bow, the sword, the battle-axe, and the dagger. The club, such as Herodotus describes it, nowhere appears, but its place is taken by a sort of mace, not unlike the Egyptian. (See overleaf.) It is not very clear whether they have corselets, but their shields, which are generally round, but sometimes oblong, and of a great size, are very conspicuous. One of the latter is given (infra, ix. 62) as an illustration of the Persian γέρρον. See p. 64 for some of the most common forms.



No. III.

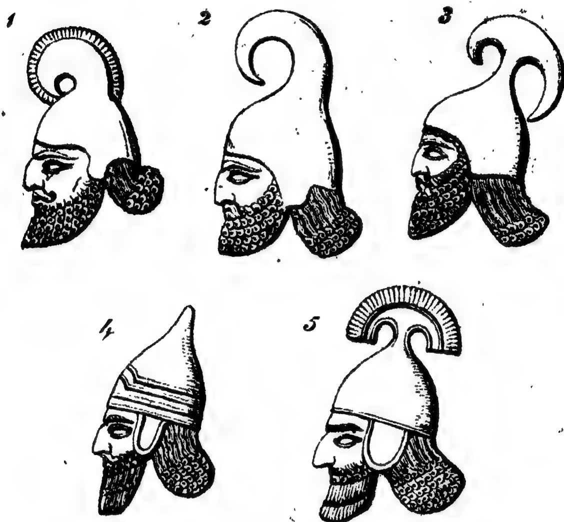
[1] "Syrian" and "Assyrian" are in reality two entirely different words. "Syrian" is nothing but a variant of "Tyrian." The Greeks when they first became acquainted with the country between Asia Minor and Egypt, found the people of Tyre (*Tzur*) predominant there, and from them called the country in which they dwelt Syria (for *Tsyria*, which was beyond their powers of articulation). Afterwards, when they heard of the Assyrians, they supposed the name to be the same, though it had really a very different sound and origin. Hence the use of the term Συριηγενές by the Delphic oracle (vii. 140), and of Σύριον by Æschylus (Pers. 86), where "Assyrian" is plainly intended. Herodotus seems to have been the first writer who took notice of the fact, that the great people of Upper Mesopotamia called themselves, not Syrians, but Assyrians. The confusion however continued after his time. Xenophon, though sometimes drawing the distinction, which Herodotus practically makes, between the two terms (see note [4] on Book i. ch. 6), as for instance in the Cyropædia (I. i. 4, and I. v. 2), yet in many places carelessly uses "Syrian" for "Assyrian" (Cyrop. v. iv. 51; VI. ii. 19; VIII. vii. 20, &c.). Scylax, on the other hand, calls the Cappadocians "Assyrians" (p. 80), an epithet to which they could not possibly be entitled; yet in this he is followed by Dionysius Periegetes (l. 772), Arrian (Fr. 48), and others. "Syrian" again is used for "Assyrian" by the Latin writers, Pliny (H. N. v. 12), Mela (i. 11), &c.

The difference between the two words will be seen most plainly by reference to the original languages. The root of "Syrian" is in Hebrew צור (*Tzur*); the root of "Assyrian" is אשור (*Asshur*). A still greater distinction is found in the Assyrian inscriptions, where Assyria is called *As-sur*, while the Tyrians are the *Tsur-ra-ya*, the characters used being entirely different. With respect to original meaning, *Tzur* seems to be rightly explained as so called from the *rock* (צור) on which the town was built; *Asshur* is perhaps to be connected with אשר "happiness"; at any rate it can have no connexion with *tzur*.

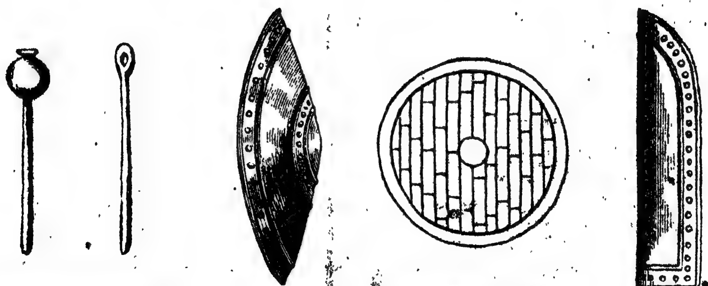
[2] Herodotus seems here to use the

64. The Bactrians went to the war wearing a head-dress very like the Median, but armed with bows of cane, after the custom of their country, and with short spears.

The Sacæ, or Scyths, were clad in trousers, and had on their heads tall stiff caps rising to a point.[3]



Assyrian Helmets.



Assyrian Maces (Layard).

Assyrian Shields (Layard).

word "Chaldæan" in an ethnic sense, and to designate, not the priest-caste of his first Book (chs. 181-3), but the inhabitants of lower Babylonia. (Cf. Strab. xvi. p. 1050; ἔστι δὲ φῦλόν τι τῶν Χαλδαίων, καὶ χώρα τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ὑπ' ἐκείνων οἰκουμένη, πλησιάζουσα τοῖς Ἄραψι, καὶ τῇ κατὰ Πέρσας λεγομένῃ θαλάττῃ; and see above, vol. i. p. 571.)

[3] Pointed caps and helmets of a peculiar kind are common in the ancient sculptures of Asia. The Scythian captive in the Behistun

They bore the bow of their country and the dagger; besides which they carried the battle-axe, or *sagaris*.[4] They were in truth Amyrgian[5] Scythians, but the Persians called them Sacæ, since that is the name which they give to all Scythians.[6] The Bactrians and the Sacæ had for leader Hystaspes, the son of Darius and of Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus.

65. The Indians wore cotton dresses, and carried bows of cane, and arrows also of cane, with iron at the point. Such was the equipment of the Indians, and they marched under the command of Pharnazathres the son of Artabates.

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sculpture, bears on his head a most remarkable cap of this character. It is more than one-third of the height of the man, and must, therefore, if drawn in proportion, have been about two feet long. There is a slight bend in it towards the point, which seems to indicate that it was made of felt,





No. 1. No. 2.

Scythian Peaked Caps.

not of metal. The Assyrian pointed helmet (page 64, No. 4), which in some respects resembled it, was of metal (Layard's Nineveh, vol. ii. p. 341), and not more than half the height. Of the accompanying woodcuts, No. 1 is from the Behistun sculpture, while No. 2 is from a very archaic tablet in Cappadocia (figured by Texier).

[4] The warriors who wear the head-



Scythian Battle-Axe.

dress (No. 2) in the last note, bear a battle-axe, of which the preceding is a representation. It is probable that this is the Sacan *sagaris*.

[5] In the inscription on the tomb of Darius at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, the Asiatic Scythians under Persian rule are distinguished as "*Saka Humavarga*" and "*Saka Tigrakhuda*," the former apparently designating the eastern Scythians on the confines of India; the latter, those scattered through the empire, who are known simply as "bowmen." According to Hellanicus, the word "Amyrgian" was strictly a geographical title, *Amyrgium* being the name of the plain in which these Scythians dwelt. (Steph. Byz. ad voc. Ἀμ. Ἀμύργιον, πεδίον Σακῶν · Ἑλλάνικος Σκύθαις.)

[6] "*Saká*" is the word used throughout the Persian inscriptions. It may perhaps be the true national appellative, whence the other names by which the Greeks knew the race were derived.

Compare Σακα—Σακα-ται (=Σκύθαι)
Σακα-λοι—Σακα-λι-ται
(=Σκολόται)
with Ap. or Op.—Opi-sci (=Osci)
Apu-li—Apu-li-sci (=
Volsci.)

Later writers distinguish the Sacæ as a particular tribe of the Scythæ (Strab. xi. p. 744; Q. Curt. vii. 8, and viii. 4; Plin. H. N. vi. 17; Ptol. vi. 13; &c.).

66. The Arians carried Median bows, but in other respects were equipped like the Bactrians. Their commander was Sisamnes the son of Hydarnes.

The Parthians and Chorasmians, with the Sogdians, the Gandarians, and the Dadicæ, had the Bactrian equipment in all respects. The Parthians and Chorasmians were commanded by Artabazus the son of Pharnaces, the Sogdians by Azanes the son of Artæus, and the Gandarians and Dadicæ by Artyphius the son of Artabanus.

67. The Caspians were clad in cloaks of skin, and carried the cane bow of their country, and the scymitar. So equipped they went to the war, and they had for commander Ariomardus the brother of Artyphius.

The Sarangians had dyed garments which showed brightly, and buskins which reached to the knee: they bore Median bows, and lances. Their leader was Pherendates, the son of Megabazus.

The Pactyans wore cloaks of skin, and carried the bow of their country and the dagger. Their commander was Artyntes, the son of Ithamatres.

68. The Utians, the Mycians, and the Paricanians were all equipped like the Pactyans. They had for leaders, Arsamenes the son of Darius, who commanded the Utians and Mycians; and Siromitres, the son of Œobazus, who commanded the Paricanians.

69. The Arabians wore the *zeyra*,[7] or long cloak, fastened about them with a girdle; and carried at their right side long bows, which when unstrung bent backwards.[8]

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[7] The flowing dress or petticoat called zeira (zira), supported by a girdle, is very similar to their present costume. Zirra, "tassel," is said by Reiske (in Golius) to signify also a "night dress," though it is not found in any Arabic lexicon; and the only word like it is *zirah*, "a coat of mail" in Persian, answering to the Arabic *serd*.—[G. W.]

[8] Bows of this kind were not usual among either the Greeks or the oriental nations. They are said to have been borne by the Scythians (Athen. x. p. 454, D), and are sometimes depicted in the hands of Asiatics on

The Ethiopians were clothed in the skins of leopards and lions,[9] and had long bows made of the stem of the palm-leaf, not less than four cubits in length. On these they laid short arrows made of reed,[1] and armed at the tip, not with iron, but with a piece of stone,[2] sharpened to a point, of the kind used in en-

ancient vases. (See the subjoined woodcut.) Sophocles, in the Trachiniæ (l. 511), ascribes a bow of this character to Hercules. ["A small bow, 'bent back,' is carried by the Assyrian captives of Sheshonk (Shishak) at Karnak."—G. W.]



Ancient Bow (from a Greek vase).

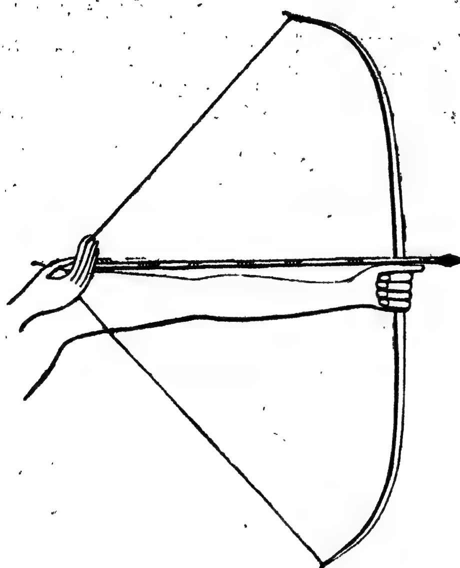
[9] One of the Caryatides at Persepolis, whose features prove him to be an Ethiopian, has an upper garment made of the skin of an animal, as the accompanying representation clearly shows. Prisoners girt with skins likewise appear in some of the Nubian temples, where the conquest of Ethiopia by Egypt seems to be commemorated (see Heeren's African Nations, i. pp. 357-8, E. T.).



Ethiopian (Persepolis).

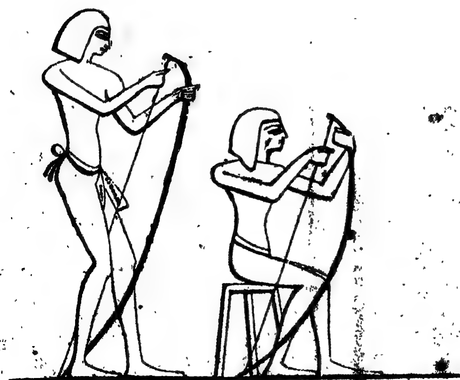
[1] These were sometimes used by the Egyptians also, mostly in the chase, and many have been found at Thebes. (No. I.) The stone "of which they make seals" was an agate, the so-called Egyptian pebble, or some other of the silicious stones so common in Ethiopia. The hard wooden clubs, *ροπαλα τυλωτα*, were the same the Ethiopians now use (made of acacia, or of ebony, and called *lissán*, from the supposed resemblance to a "tongue"), and were also adopted by the Egyptian infantry. Their dress, of bull's, or other hide, is often represented on the Egyptian monuments. (See n. on Bk. ii. ch. 104, and Bk. iii. ch. 97.) Their bows, not less than 4 cubits, or 6 feet in length, were very like the military long-bow of Egypt; but though probably longer, they do not appear to have exceeded 5 feet. They were of a similar kind of wood; and those of the palm-branch must have been used by inferior tribes (see woodcut No. II. in n. [4], Bk. iii. ch. 97), as well as their spears, tipped with the oryx-horn instead of iron. Neither this long-bow, nor that emblematic of Tosh, could have been of palm-branch. —[G. W.]

[2] The long black flints found at Marathon have been supposed to be these Ethiopian arrow-heads (Thirl-





No. II.



No. III.



graving seals. They carried likewise spears, the head of which was the sharpened horn of an antelope, and in addition they had knotted clubs. When they went into battle they painted their bodies, half with chalk, and half with vermilion. The Arabians,[3] and the Ethiopians who came from the region above Egypt, were commanded by Arsames,[4] the son of Darius and of Artystônê daughter of Cyrus. This Artystônê was the best-beloved of all the wives of Darius, and it was she whose statue he caused to be made of gold wrought with the hammer. Her son Arsames commanded these two nations.

70. The eastern Ethiopians—for two nations of this name served in the army—were marshalled with the Indians. They differed in nothing from the other Ethiopians, save in their language, and the character of their hair. For the eastern Ethiopians have straight hair, while they of Libya are more woolly-haired than any other people in the world.[5] Their equipment was in most points like that of the Indians, but they wore upon their heads the scalps of horses,[6] with the ears and mane attached; the ears were made to stand upright, and the mane served as a crest. For shields this people made use of the skins of cranes.

71. The Libyans wore a dress of leather,[7] and car-

wall, Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 242, Bähr ad loc.). But the discovery of similar stones in great abundance on a vast number of ancient Attic sites makes it impossible to regard them, in any place where they occur, as tokens of Persian invasion. It has even been questioned whether they are arrow-heads at all, and not rather natural productions (see Col. Leake's Demi of Attica, p. 101, note of 1837).

[3] The Arabians here spoken of, who served under the same commander as the Ethiopians, were probably those of Africa, who occupied the tract between the valley of the Nile and the Red Sea. Vide supra, ii. 8, and compare Juba ap. Plin. (H. N. vi. 29, p. 374) and Strabo (xvii. p. 1143). The Asiatic Arabs were not subject to Persia (iii. 88).

[4] This is one of the few places where there is a close agreement between Herodotus and Æschylus. Æschylus makes Arsames—"great Arsames," as he calls him—governor of Egypt (Pers. 37), which would be quite in accordance with the position here assigned him.

[5] Vide supra, ii. 104, note [4].

[6] Some Greek bronze helmets had horse's ears of metal, as well as the mane.—[G. W.]

[7] On the manufacture of leather

ried javelins made hard in the fire. They had for commander Massages, the son of Oarizus.

72. The Paphlagonians went to the war with plaited helmets[8] upon their heads, and carrying small shields and spears of no great size. They had also javelins and daggers, and wore on their feet the buskin of their country, which reached half way up the shank. In the same fashion were equipped the Ligyans, the Matienians, the Mariandynians, and the Syrians (or Cappadocians, as they are called by the Persians[9]). The Paphlagonians and Matienians were under the command of Dôtus the son of Megasidrus; while the Mariandynians, the Ligyans, and the Syrians had for leader Gobryas, the son of Darius and Artystônê.

73. The dress of the Phrygians closely resembled the Paphlagonian, only in a very few points differing from it. According to the Macedonian account, the Phrygians, during the time that they had their abode in Europe and dwelt with them in Macedonia, bore the name of Brigians; but on their removal to Asia they changed their designation at the same time with their dwelling-place.[10]

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and use of leather dresses among the native Africans, vide supra, iv. 189, notes [6] and [7].

[8] The Paphlagonian helmets were of leather (Xen. Anab. v. iv. § 13), probably of plaited thongs.

[9] Supra, i. 72, and v. 49. On the name "Cappadocia," see note [3] on the former passage.

[10] It is quite possible that the Briges or Bryges, who were from very ancient times the immediate neighbours of the Macedonians (see Müller's Dorians, i. p. 500, E. T., and the authorities there cited), and of whom a remnant continued to exist in these regions long after the time of Herodotus (vide supra, vi. 45, note [4]), may have been connected ethnically with the Phrygians of the opposite continent. But it is not at all likely that the entire Phrygian nation, as Herodotus and Xanthus (Fr. 5) seem to have thought, proceeded from them. Rather, they must be regarded as colonists of the Phrygians, the stream of Indo-European colonisation having set westward, from Armenia into Phrygia, and from Phrygia across the straits into Europe. Of course, it is compatible with this view, and highly probable, that the Briges in large numbers, when compelled to yield to the attacks of Macedonian or Illyrian enemies, re-crossed the straits into Asia, and sought a refuge (like the Tyrrhenian Pelasgi) among their kindred.

The word "Bryges" in Macedonian would be identical with "Phryges;" for the Macedonians could not sound the letter φ, but said Βίλιππος, Βερενίκη, βάλακρος, for Φίλιππος, Φερενίκη, φάλακρος (see Steph. Byz. ad voc. Βρίγες).

The Armenians, who are Phrygian colonists,[1] were armed in the Phrygian fashion. Both nations were under the command of Artochmes, who was married to one of the daughters of Darius.

74. The Lydians were armed very nearly in the Grecian manner. These Lydians in ancient times were called Mæonians,[2] but changed their name, and took their present title from Lydus the son of Atys.

The Mysians wore upon their heads a helmet made after the fashion of their country, and carried a small buckler; they used as javelins staves with one end hardened in the fire. The Mysians are Lydian colonists,[3] and from the mountain-chain of Olympus,[4] are called Olympiêni. Both the Lydians and the Mysians were under the command of Artaphernes, the son of that Artaphernes who, with Datis, made the landing at Marathon.

75. The Thracians went to the war wearing the skins of foxes upon their heads, and about their bodies tunics, over which was thrown a long cloak of many colours.[5] Their legs and feet were clad in buskins made from the skins of fawns; and they had for arms javelins, with light targes, and short dirks. This people, after crossing into Asia, took the name of Bithynians;[6]

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[1] The modern Armenian language is allied to the most ancient dialects of the Arian race (supra, vol. i. p. 652). It does not seem, however, notwithstanding the remark of Stephen (τῇ φωνῇ πολλὰ φρυγίζουσι), to be particularly near to the ancient Phrygian,—so far as the few traces remaining of that language enable us to judge. Nevertheless, the geographical position of the two countries, and their common Indo-European character, make it probable that one was peopled from the other. Herodotus, and Stephen (ad voc. Ἀρμενία), who follows him, derive the Armenians from the Phrygians. The modern ethnologist would invert this theory (see Appendix to Book i. Essay xi., p. 663).

[2] Supra, i. 7. And see Appendix to Book i. Essay i. pp. 360–1.

[3] Compare i. 171, where the Lydian and Mysian are represented, probably with more truth, as *sister* races.

[4] On the Mysian Olympus see Book i. ch. 36; and compare vol. i. Essay ii. p. 388.

[5] The Thracians of Europe wore exactly the same costume, as appears from a passage in Xenophon (Anab. VII. iv. § 4, *οἱ Θρᾷκες ἀλωπεκίδας ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶ, καὶ χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς· καὶ ζειρὰς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ χλαμύδας*). It was necessary to guard against the extreme rigour of the climate in those regions.

[6] Supra, i. 28.

before, they had been called Strymonians, while they dwelt upon the Strymon; whence, according to their own account, they had been driven out by the Mysians and Teucrians.[7] The commander of these Asiatic Thracians was Bassaces the son of Artabanus.

76. [The Chalybians[8]] had small shields made of the hide of the ox, and carried each of them two spears such as are used in wolf-hunting. Brazen helmets protected their heads, and above these they wore the ears and horns of an ox fashioned in brass. They had also crests on their helms; and their legs were bound round with purple bands. There is an oracle of Mars in the country of this people.

77. The Cabalians, who are Mæonians, but are called Lasonians, had the same equipment as the Cilicians—an equipment which I shall describe when I come in due course to the Cilician contingent.[9]

The Milyans bore short spears, and had their garments fastened with buckles. Some of their number carried Lycian bows.[10] They wore about their heads skull-caps made of leather. Badres the son of Hystanes led both nations to battle.

78. The Moschians wore helmets made of wood, and carried shields and spears of a small size: their spear-heads, however, were long. The Moschian equipment was that likewise of the Tibarenians, the Macronians, and the Mosynœcians.[1] The leaders of these nations

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[7] Compare ch. 20 sub fin. and note [6] ad loc.

[8] There is a defect here in the text of Herodotus; the name of the nation has been lost. Wesseling was the first to conjecture "Chalybians," which later editors have adopted. Certainly the Chalybians, who are of sufficient importance to occur in the enumeration of the nations of Asia Minor, not only in Herodotus (i. 28) but in Ephorus (Fr. 80), might be expected to receive a distinct mention in this place, especially since all the other nations mentioned in the list of Herodotus are spoken of as contributing either to the fleet or to the land army. And further, the Chalybians, if really Scythians (Æschyl. Sept. c. Th. 729), might be likely to have an oracle of Mars in their country (supra, iv. 62). The description of the arms, however, is unlike that of the more eastern Chalybes in Xenophon (Anab. iv. vii. § 15).

[9] Infra, ch. 91.

[10] That is, bows *of cornel-wood*. Vide infra, ch. 92.

[1] These three nations had become independent of Persia by the time of

were the following: the Moschians and Tibarenians were under the command of Ariomardus, who was the son of Darius and of Parmys, daughter of Smerdis son of Cyrus; while the Macronians and Mosynœcians had for leader Artayctes, the son of Cherasmis, the governor of Sestos upon the Hellespont.

79. The Mares wore on their heads the plaited helmet peculiar to their country, and used small leathern bucklers, and javelins.

The Colchians wore wooden helmets, and carried small shields of raw hide, and short spears; besides which they had swords. Both Mares and Colchians were under the command of Pharandates, the son of Teaspes.

The Alarodians and Saspirians were armed like the Colchians; their leader was Masistes, the son of Siromitras.

80. The Islanders who came from the Erythræan sea, where they inhabited the islands to which the king sends those whom he banishes,[2] wore a dress and arms almost exactly like the Median. Their leader was Mardontes the son of Bagæus, who the year after perished in the battle of Mycalé, where he was one of the captains.[3]

81. Such were the nations who fought upon the dry land, and made up the infantry of the Persians. And they were commanded by the captains whose names have been above recorded. The marshalling and numbering of the troops had been committed to them, and by them were appointed the captains over a thousand, and the captains over ten thousand; but the

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Xenophon (Anab. VII. viii. § 25). They were also better armed. They had substituted the γέῤῥον for the light targe; their spears, at least those of the Mosynœci, were nine feet long; their helmets were of leather; and they had steel battle-axes (Anab. IV. viii. § 3; V. iv. § 12-3).

[2] Supra, iii. 93. Ctesias mentions the banishment of Megabyzus to Cyrtæ in the Erythræan sea by the command of Artaxerxes (Exc. Pers. § 40).

[3] Infra, ix. 102.

leaders of ten men, or a hundred, were named by the captains over ten thousand. There were other officers also, who gave the orders to the various ranks and nations; but those whom I have mentioned above were the commanders.

82. Over these commanders themselves, and over the whole of the infantry, there were set six generals,—namely, Mardonius, son of Gobryas; Tritantæchmes, son of the Artabanus who gave his advice against the war with Greece; Smerdomenes son of Otanes—these two were the sons of Darius' brothers, and thus were cousins of Xerxes—Masistes, son of Darius and Atossa; Gergis son of Arizus; and Megabyzus son of Zopyrus.

83. The whole of the infantry was under the command of these generals, excepting the Ten Thousand. The Ten Thousand, who were all Persians and all picked men, were led by Hydarnes, the son of Hydarnes. They were called "the Immortals," for the following reason. If one of their body failed either by the stroke of death or of disease, forthwith his place was filled up by another man, so that their number was at no time either greater or less than 10,000.

Of all the troops the Persians were adorned with the greatest magnificence, and they were likewise the most valiant. Besides their arms, which have been already described, they glittered all over with gold, vast quantities of which they wore about their persons.* They were followed by litters, wherein rode their concubines, and by a numerous train of attendants handsomely dressed. Camels and sumpter-beasts carried their provision, apart from that of the other soldiers.

* All accounts agree in representing the use of ornaments in pure gold as common among the Persians (see Ion, Fr. 4; Xen. Anab. I. ii. § 27; viii. § 29, &c.; Quint. Curt. III. iii. § 13; Justin. xi. 9; Aristid. Panath. p. 210; Dio Chrysost. Orat. II. p. 29, B, &c.). That there was no mistake about the matter seems evident from what is related concerning the spoils gained at Platæa, and the great wealth which thereby accrued to the Eginetans (infra, ix. 80).

84. All these various nations fight on horseback; they did not, however, at this time all furnish horsemen, but only the following:—

(i.) The Persians, who were armed in the same way as their own footmen, excepting that some of them wore upon their heads devices fashioned with the hammer in brass or steel.

85. (ii.) The wandering tribe known by the name of Sagartians—a people Persian in language, and in dress half Persian, half Pactyan, who furnished to the army as many as eight thousand horse. It is not the wont of this people to carry arms, either of bronze or steel, except only a dirk; but they use lassoes made of thongs plaited together, and trust to these whenever they go to the wars. Now the manner in which they fight is the following: when they meet their enemy, straightway they discharge their lassoes, which end in a noose; then, whatever the noose encircles, be it man or be it horse, they drag towards them, and the foe, entangled in the toils, is forthwith slain.[5] Such is the manner in which this people fight, and now their horsemen were drawn up with the Persians.

86. (iii.) The Medes, and Cissians, who had the same equipment as their foot-soldiers.

(iv.) The Indians, equipped as their footmen, but some on horseback and some in chariots,—the chariots drawn either by horses, or by wild asses.[6]

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[5] The use of the lasso was common in ancient times to many of the nations of Western Asia. It is seen in the Assyrian sculptures from the palace of Asshur-bani-pal, son of Esarhaddon, which are now in the British Museum. Pausanias mentions it as a custom of the Sarmatians (I. xxi. § 8), Suidas as in use among the Parthians (ad voc. σειρά). It was also practised by the Huns, the Alani, and many other barbarous nations (see the observations of Kuster on Suidas, vol. iii. p. 303, and those of Lipsius in his treatise De Milit. Roman. vol. iii. p. 443), as it is at the present day by the inhabitants of the Pampas. The scarcity of metals, or want of the means of working them, gave rise to such a contrivance (cf. Pausan. l. s. c.).

[6] The wild ass must not be confounded (as it has been by Larcher) with the zebra. It is an entirely different animal. Ker Porter (Travels, vol. i. p. 460) has described one

(v.) The Bactrians and Caspians, arrayed as their foot-soldiers.

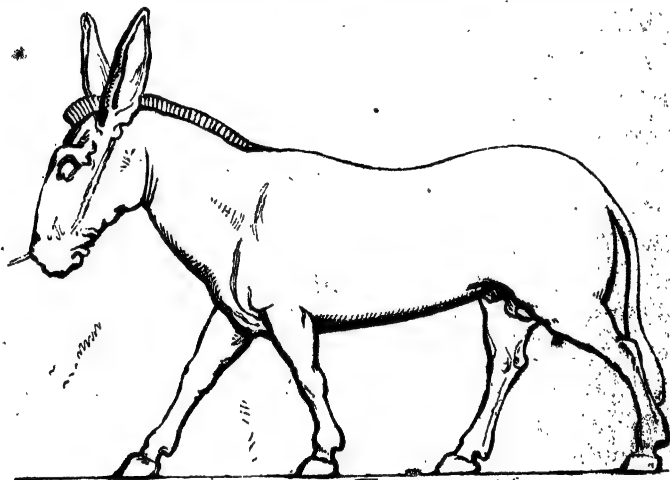
(vi.) The Libyans, equipped as their foot-soldiers, like the rest; but all riding in chariots.[7]

(vii.) The Caspeirians[8] and Paricanians, equipped as their foot-soldiers.

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which he saw at a short distance very accurately. "He appeared to me," he says, "about ten or twelve hands high, the skin smooth like a deer's, and of a reddish colour, the belly and hinder parts partaking of a silvery grey; his neck was finer than that of a common ass, being longer, and bending like a stag's, and his legs beautifully slender; the head and ears seemed large in proportion. . . The mane was short and black, as also was a tuft which terminated his tail. No line whatever ran along his back or crossed his shoulders, as are seen in the tame species." A representation appears among the presents brought to the Persian king as tribute at Persepolis. See the subjoined woodcut. Wild asses of this species are common in the desert between India and Affghanistan (see Elphinstone's Cabul, and compare Ctes. Indic. § 25). They are naturally very wild, but are sometimes tamed.

[7] Supra, iv. 170 and 189.



Wild Ass (Persepolis).

[8] The MSS. give "Caspians," who have been already mentioned, in a proper connexion, with the Bactrians. Reize conjectured, and the later editors have given, "Caspeirians" from Stephen of Byzantium, who quotes the name "Caspeirus" as from Herodotus. (He refers however to Book iii. instead of Book vii., and his "Caspeirus" clearly represents the Caspatyrus of iii. 102.) The Caspeirians were a people on the borders of India (Steph. Byz. προσεχὴς τῇ Ἰνδικῇ. Dionys. ap. Steph. Nonn. Dionys. xxii., and perhaps Ptolem. vii. 1, p. 201-2). They seem to have been the inhabitants of Cashmeer. (See Appendix, Essay i. p. 219.)

(viii.) The Arabians, in the same array as their footmen, but all riding on camels, not inferior in fleetness to horses.[9]

87. These nations and these only furnished horse to the army: and the number of the horse was eighty thousand, without counting camels or chariots. All were marshalled in squadrons, excepting the Arabians; who were placed last, to avoid frightening the horses, which cannot endure the sight of the camel.[10]

88. The horse was commanded by Armamithras and Tithæus, sons of Datis. The other commander, Pharnuches, who was to have been their colleague, had been left sick at Sardis; since at the moment that he was leaving the city, a sad mischance befell him:—a dog ran under the feet of the horse upon which he was mounted, and the horse, not seeing it coming, was startled, and, rearing bolt upright, threw his rider. After this fall Pharnuches spat blood, and fell into a consumption. As for the horse, he was treated at once as Pharnuches ordered: the attendants took him to the spot where he had thrown his master, and there cut off his four legs at the hough. Thus Pharnuches lost his command.

89. The triremes amounted in all to twelve hundred and seven; and were furnished by the following nations:—

(i.) The Phœnicians, with the Syrians of Palestine, furnished three hundred vessels, the crews of which were thus accoutred: upon their heads they wore helmets

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[9] The speed of the dromedary being equal to that of a horse is an error; it scarcely exceeds nine miles an hour. The camel answers to the cart-horse, the dromedary to the saddle-horse. Each has one hump; the Bactrian camel has two. It is singular that the camel is not represented in the Egyptian sculptures. An instance is only found of late time. But this does not prove its non-existence in Egypt, as it was there in the age of Abraham. Poultry are also unnoticed on the monuments; and it is possible that they were rare in Egypt in early times. They appear to have come originally from Asia, where alone they are still found wild on the mainland and its islands.—[G. W.]

[10] Supra, i. 80.

made nearly in the Grecian manner; about their bodies they had breastplates of linen;[1] they carried shields without rims;[2] and were armed with javelins. This nation, according to their own account, dwelt anciently upon the Erythræan sea,[3] but crossing thence, fixed themselves on the sea-coast of Syria, where they still inhabit. This part of Syria, and all the region extending from hence to Egypt, is known by the name of Palestine.[4]

(ii.) The Egyptians furnished two hundred ships.[5] Their crews had plaited helmets upon their heads, and bore concave shields with rims of unusual size.[6] They

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[1] For a description of these corselets, see Book ii. ch. 182, note [1]. They were worn also by the Assyrians (supra, ch. 63.)

[2] This was the characteristic of the *pelta*, or light targe, introduced among the Greeks by Iphicrates (Com. Nep. Iphicr. i. 3; Diod. Sic. xv. 44; Hesych. ad voc., &c.). It consisted of a framework of wood or wickerwork, over which was stretched a covering of raw hide or leather (see Dict. of Antiq. p. 882).

[3] See Appendix, Essay ii.

[4] The name Palestine is beyond a doubt the Greek form of the Hebrew פְּלֶשֶׁת, *Philistia*, or the country of the Philistines (compare note [8] on ii. 128). And the persons here indicated are the inhabitants of the seaboard between Phœnicia and Egypt, which is the proper Συρίη Παλαιστίνη or Syria of the Philistines. It has been assumed by Rennell (Geography of Herod. pp. 245-7) and others that the inhabitants of this tract in the time of Xerxes were the Jews. But this seems to be incorrect. The coast tract, commanded by the three towns of Gaza, Ashdod, and Ascalon, which was conquered at the first entrance of the Jews into the land of Canaan (Judges i. 18), was afterwards recovered by the Philistines (Judges xiii. 1 et seq.), and continued in their possession, with only temporary and occasional exceptions (2 Chron. xxvi. 6), till the Macedonian conquest (cf. Jerem. xlvii.; Zephan. ii. 4-7; Zech. ix. 5-6; Nehem. xiii. 23; Judith ii. 28, et seq.). This tract, with Gaza (Cadytis) for its chief town, is the only portion of Herodotus's Palestine Syria, which reached the coast, and its inhabitants are Canaanites, the descendants of the ancient Philistines. The Jews dwelt inland, and if they served at all in the army of Xerxes, must have been enrolled among his land forces. But in the time between Zerubbabel and Ezra they were too weak to be of any account.

[5] Of the Egyptians as sailors, see notes on Bk. viii. ch. 17, and Bk. ix. ch. 32.

[6] These concave shields, with large rims, are more like Greek than

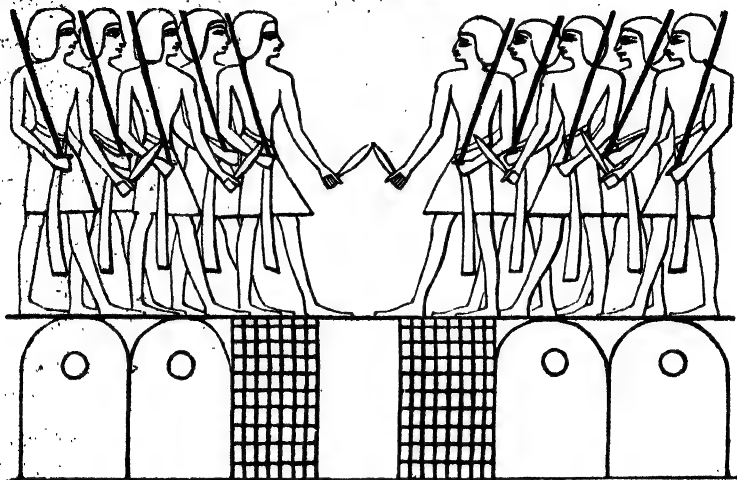


No. I.

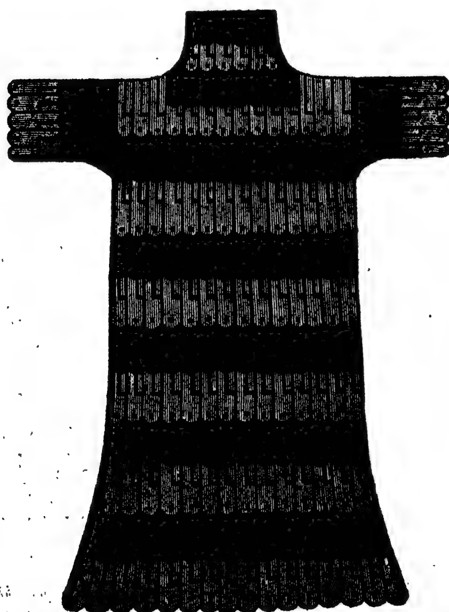
Egyptian, unless Herodotus means that they were edged with metal (as in woodcut No. II. in n. on Bk. vii.

were armed with spears suited for a sea-fight, and with

ch. 63). There is, however, an instance (No. I.) of concave Egyptian shields. Their trowel-shaped daggers, or swords (No. II.), were not uncommon; and ship-spears, or boarding pikes, are represented in the sea-fight at Medeenet Haboo, as well as large swords. A quilted *thorax*,



No. II.



No. III.

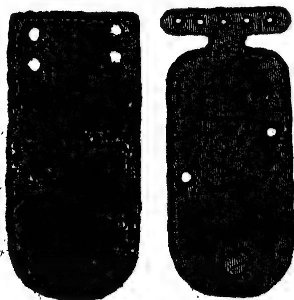
huge pole-axes. The greater part of them wore breast-plates, and all had long cutlasses.

90. (iii.) The Cyprians furnished a hundred and fifty ships, and were equipped in the following fashion. Their kings had turbans bound about their heads, while the

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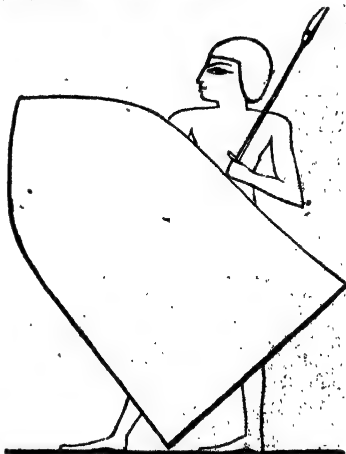
sometimes covered with small metal plates (No. III.), was commonly worn by soldiers and sailors. (See figs. 14, 15, in No. V. woodcut in n. on Bk. ix. ch. 32.) Scale and chain-armour were used by many people, and even in the Roman army, as the monuments of the empire, and Latin writers sufficiently prove, whence Virgil speaks of "Loricam consertam hamis auroque trilicem" (Æn. iii. 467), and "thoraca indutus ahenis horrebat squamis." (Æn. xi. 467, comp. 771.) They were also adopted by the Assyrians (as shown by Mr. Layard), and by the Persians. Herodotus, vii. 61, "λεπίδος σιδηρέης ὄψιν ἰχθυοειδέος;" and ix. 22, "θώρηκα κρύσεον λεπιδωτόν."

In Egypt scale-armour is represented at a much earlier period in the tomb of Remeses III. at Thebes (see At. Eg. vol. i. p. 331, and plate III.), and in Dr. Abbott's collection is part of a cuirass formed of plates sewed upon a leather doublet. The plates are of bronze, in form imitative of the Egyptian shield, with the round



No. IV.

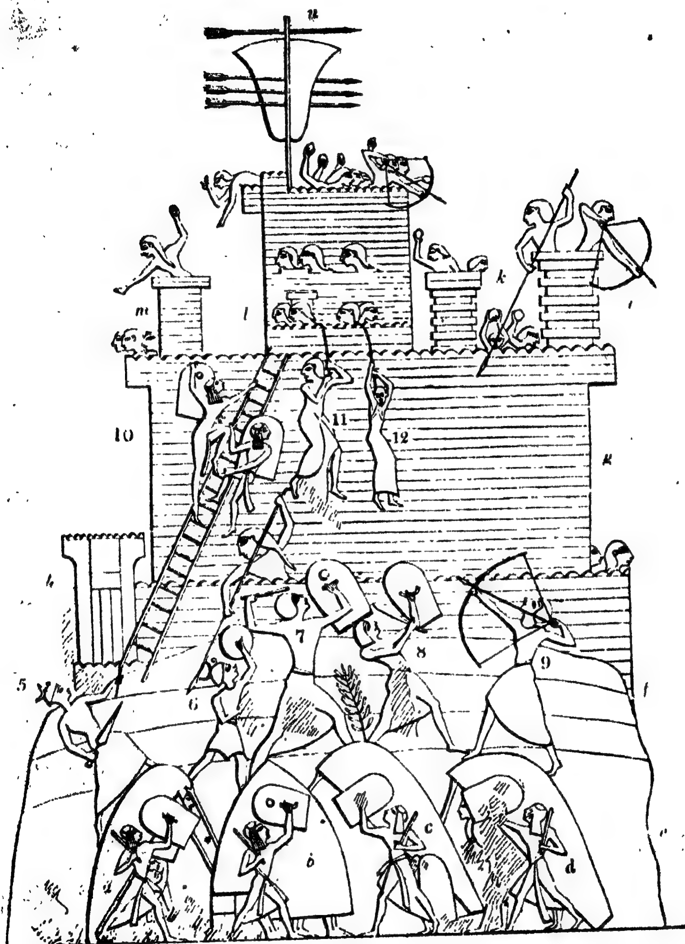
end downwards, and on two of them is the name of Sheshonk, Shishak, to whom the cuirass probably belonged. The Sarmatians and others wore scale-armour, made of pieces of horn, or horse-hoofs, cut and sewn in the form of feathers, upon a linen doublet (Pausan. i. 21). The huge shields mentioned by Xenophon (Cyroped. VII. i. § 33), which (according to him) the Egyptian phalanx had in the army of Crœsus, are represented at Sioót. These, he says, covered their bodies far more than the Persian γέῤῥον and the thorax. They were



No. V.

of wood (Xen. Anab. i. and ii.), and reached to their feet, and being supported by a thong over the shoulder, gave them a power of pushing in a charge (one of the great uses of a shield often represented in Greek sculpture), which the Persians, holding their *gerra* in the hand at arm's length, could not withstand. The gerra used by the Persians at Platæa and Mycale appear to have resembled the shield adopted by the Egyptians at sieges, which were supported by a crutch (woodcut No. VI., figs. *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*), or rather those in the Nineveh sculp-

people wore tunics; in other respects they were clad like the Greeks. They are of various races;[7] some are



No. VI.

tures (see Layard, vol. ii. p. 348) where they are also represented in sieges, illustrating the expression in Isa. xxxvii. 33: "nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it (the city) with shields, nor cast a bank against it."—[G. W.]

[7] The mixed character of the population of Cyprus has been already noticed (supra, v. 104, note [8]). The island appears to have been originally colonised from Phœnicia, as the names of its most ancient towns, and the testimonies of early writers, sufficiently indicate (see Bochart's Geograph. Sac. III. ch. 3). The traditions with respect to Cinyras (Apollod. III. xiv. § 3; Theopomp. Fr. 111; Ister. Fr. 39), and Belus (Virg. Æn. i. 621; Step. Byz. ad voc. Λάπηθος), the early

sprung from Athens and Salamis, some from Arcadia, some from Cythnus,[8] some from Phœnicia, and a portion, according to their own account, from Ethiopia.

91. (iv.) The Cilicians furnished a hundred ships. The crews wore upon their heads the helmet of their country, and carried instead of shields light targes made of raw hide; they were clad in woollen tunics, and were each armed with two javelins, and a sword closely resembling the cutlass of the Egyptians. This people bore anciently the name of Hypachæans,[9] but took their present title from Cilix, the son of Agenor, a Phœnician.

(v.) The Pamphylians furnished thirty ships, the crews of which were armed exactly as the Greeks. This nation is descended from those who on the

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coins, inscriptions, and other remains, the language so far as known (Hesych. ad voc. Μάλικα, &c.), are in accordance with the direct testimony of Scylax (Peripl. p. 98, 'Αμαθοῦς, αὐτόχθονές εἰσιν: compare Theopomp. l. s. c.) and Stephen (ad voc. 'Αμαθοῦς); and all point to a Phœnician occupation of the country at a very remote era, probably before it had received inhabitants from any other quarter. The first Greek immigrants found the Phœnicians established. They are said to have arrived under Teucer, soon after the Trojan war (supra, v. 110, note [2]), and to have settled at Salamis, which they so called after the name of the island they had left. About the same time the Athenians are reported to have colonised Soli, called at first (we are told) Æpeia (supra, v. 110, note [4]). A large influx of Greek settlers must have soon followed; for Cyprus is represented in the early Assyrian inscriptions as the land of the *Yavnan* ('Ιάϝονες), and in the time of Esarhaddon Citium, Idalium, Curium, Ammochosta, Limenia, and Aphrodisias, as well as Salamis and Soli, seem to have been governed by Greek kings (see vol. i. Essay vii. p. 483, note [3]). Subsequently there must have been a reaction. Scylax (Peripl. pp. 97-8) appears only to have regarded Salamis and Marium as Greek cities. All the towns of the interior he expressly calls "barbarian." When the Arcadians and Cythnians arrived is uncertain. The Ethiopian Cyprians may have been a remnant of the Egyptian conquest (supra, ii. ad fin.).

[8] Cythnus was one of the Cyclades (Artemid. ap. Strab. x. p. 708; Plin. H. N. iv. 12; Steph. Byz. ad voc.). It lay between Ceos and Seriphus (Strab. l. s. c.). The modern name is *Thermia* (Ross's Inselreise, Pref. to vol. iii. p. xi.).

[9] No other ancient writer mentions this name, which is seemingly of Hellenic origin. The Cilicians were undoubtedly a kindred race to the Phœnicians. Their arms and equipment are almost identical (supra, ch. 89), and traditions as to their origin, however they differed in detail, were unanimous in this respect (compare with the present passage Apollod. iii. i. § 1, and xiv. § 3). The Greek colonies upon the coast were not numerous. Scylax mentions but two, Holmi and Soli (Peripl. p. 96). The latter was founded by the Achæans and Rhodians (Strab. xiv. p. 958).

return from Troy were dispersed with Archilochus and Calchas.[1]

92. (vi.) The Lycians furnished fifty ships. Their crews wore greaves and breastplates, while for arms they had bows of cornel wood, reed arrows without feathers, and javelins. Their outer garment was the skin of a goat, which hung from their shoulders; their head-dress a hat encircled with plumes; and besides their other weapons they carried daggers and falchions.[2] This people came from Crete, and were once called Termilæ; they got the name which they now bear from Lycus, the son of Pandion, an Athenian.[3]

93. (vii.) The Dorians of Asia furnished thirty ships. They were armed in the Grecian fashion, inasmuch as their forefathers came from the Peloponnese.

(viii.) The Carians furnished seventy ships, and were equipped like the Greeks, but carried, in addition, falchions and daggers. What name the Carians bore anciently was declared in the first part of this history.[4]

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[1] Pamphylia seems to have been Hellenised at a much earlier period than either Lycia or Cilicia. The tradition here recorded by Herodotus, and in part repeated by Pausanias (VII. iii. § 4), however little credit it may deserve as a matter of fact, yet indicates the early and complete Hellenisation of the people of this region. It derives the Pamphylians *generally* from the Greeks (cf. Theopomp. Fr. 111, ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἡ Παμφυλία κατῳκίσθη). No doubt the Greek was intermingled here with Lycian and Cilician, perhaps also with Phrygian and Pisidian blood, whence probably the name of Πάμφυλοι, but the Greek race was the predominant one, as the adoption of the Hellenic costume would alone imply.

Various stories were told of the wanderings of Calchas and Amphilochus. They were said to have left Troy on foot (Theopomp. Fr. 112; Strab. xiv. p. 921), and proceeded to Clarus near Colophon, where, according to some, the contest took place between Calchas and Mopsus (Strab. l. c. Pherecyd. Fr. 95; Conon. Narr. vi. p. 249; Tzetz. Lycophr. 980), and Calchas died of grief. Others conducted both Calchas and Amphilochus to the southern coast, which was called indifferently Pamphylia or Cilicia (Strab. xiv. p 963), and made the contest take place there. Amphilochus is by common consent carried on to Cilicia, where he founds the city Mallus (Strab. ut supra. Compare Arrian. Exp. Alex. ii. 5, end), afterwards famous for his oracle (Arrian. l. c.; Lucian. Alex. § 29, Philopseud. § 38), and near which his tomb was shown (Strab. l. c.), and also Posideium (*Bosyt*), on the confines of Syria (supra, iii. 91).

[2] The striking contrast offered by this description to the dress of the warriors in the Lycian monuments is a strong proof, among many others, of the comparatively recent date of those sculptures.

[3] Vide supra, i. 173.

[4] Supra, i. 171. We may conclude

94. (ix.) The Ionians furnished a hundred ships, and were armed like the Greeks. Now these Ionians, during the time that they dwelt in the Peloponnese and inhabited the land now called Achæa (which was before the arrival of Danaüs and Xuthus in the Peloponnese), were called, according to the Greek account, Ægialean Pelasgi, or "Pelasgi of the Sea-shore,"[5] but afterwards, from Ion the son of Xuthus, they were called Ionians.

95. The Islanders furnished seventeen ships,[6] and wore arms like the Greeks. They too were a Pelasgian race, who in later times took the name of Ionians for the same reason as those who inhabited the twelve cities founded from Athens.[7]

The Æolians furnished sixty ships, and were equipped in the Grecian fashion. They too were anciently called Pelasgians, as the Greeks declare.

The Hellespontians from the Pontus,[8] who are colonists of the Ionians and Dorians, furnished a hundred ships, the crews of which wore the Grecian armour. This did not include the Abydenians, who stayed in their own country, because the king had assigned them the special duty of guarding the bridges.

96. On board of every ship was a band of soldiers,

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from this passage that Herodotus regarded his work as divided into certain definite portions, though of course we are not entitled to identify these with the divisions which have come down to us (see Blakesley, note ad loc.). Other places, where he speaks of the chapters (λόγοι) into which his work was divided, are, i. 75, 106; ii. 38, 161; v. 36; vi. 39; and vii. 213.

[5] See Book i. ch. 145, and Book v. ch. 68, with note [9] at the latter place. The supposed date of the Ionic migration was about B.C. 1050. Danaus, Xuthus, and Ion seem to be purely mythological personages.

[6] The Islanders here intended do not seem to be those of the Cyclades, who did not join the fleet till after Artemisium (infra, viii. 66); but rather the inhabitants of Lemnos, Imbrus, and Samothrace. That the inhabitants of these islands were of Pelasgic origin Herodotus has elsewhere stated (ii. 51, v. 26).

[7] That is, they received colonies from Athens, but at what time is uncertain.

[8] Herodotus includes in this expression the inhabitants of the Greek cities on both sides of the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Bosphorus. Far the greater number of these were founded from Ionia (see Hermann's Pol. Ant. § 78). Chalcedon, however, and Byzantium, as well as Selymbria and Astacus, were Dorian, having been settlements of the Megarians (see Müller's Dorians, vol. i. pp. 138-140, E. T.).

Persians, Medes, or Sacans. The Phœnician ships were the best sailers in the fleet, and the Sidonian[9] the best among the Phœnicians. The contingent of each nation, whether to the fleet or to the land army, had at its head a native leader; but the names of these leaders I shall not mention, as it is not necessary for the course of my history. For the leaders of some nations were not worthy to have their names recorded; and besides, there were in each nation as many leaders as there were cities. And it was not really as commanders that they accompanied the army, but as mere slaves, like the rest of the host. For I have already mentioned the Persian generals who had the actual command, and were at the head of the several nations which composed the army.

97. The fleet was commanded by the following—Ariabignes, the son of Darius, Prêxaspes, the son of Aspathines,[1] Megabazus the son of Megabates, and Achæmenes the son of Darius. Ariabignes, who was the child of Darius by a daughter of Gobryas, was leader of the Ionian and Carian ships, Achæmenes, who was own brother to Xerxes, of the Egyptian;[2] the rest of the fleet was commanded by the other two. Besides the triremes, there was an assemblage of thirty-oared and fifty-oared galleys, of cercuri,[3] and transports for conveying horses, amounting in all to three thousand.

[9] Supra, ch. 44. Xerxes therefore embarks in a Sidonian galley (infra, ch. 100).

[1] Probably the *Aspachaná* who was quiver-bearer to Darius, and whom Herodotus regarded as one of the seven conspirators (supra, iii. 70, note [8]). We may surmise from this passage that *Aspachaná* was the son of the Prexaspes whom the Pseudo-Smerdis put to death.

[2] Achæmenes was satrap of Egypt (supra, ch. 7).

[3] Cercuri were light boats of unusual length (Etym. Mag. ad voc.). They are said to have been invented by the Cyprians (Plin. H. N. vii. 56), or, according to others, by the Corcyræans (Suidas, ad voc.); but this last is probably an etymological fancy. They belong properly to Asia (Non. Marc. p. 533: "Cercurus navis est *Asiana* prægrandis"), where they continued in use down to the time of Antiochus (Liv. xxxiii. 19). The word connects plainly with the Hebrew כִּרְכֵּר, "to dance, or move quickly," whence dromedaries are called כִּרְכָּרוֹת (cf. Gesen. Lex. Hebr.).

98. Next to the commanders, the following were the most renowned of those who sailed aboard the fleet:—Tetramnêstus, the son of Anysus, the Sidonian; Mapên, the son of Sirom,[4] the Tyrian; Merbal,[5] the son of Agbal, the Aradian; Syennesis,[6] the son of Oromedon, the Cilician; Cyberniscus, the son of Sicas, the Lycian; Gorgus, the son of Chersis,[7] and Timônax, the son of Timagoras, the Cyprians; and Histiæus, the son of Timnes,[8] Pigres, the son of Seldômus, and Damasithymus, the son of Candaules, the Carians.

99. Of the other lower officers I shall make no mention, since no necessity is laid on me; but I must speak of a certain leader named Artemisia,[9] whose participation in the attack upon Greece, notwithstanding that she was a woman, moves my special wonder. She had obtained the sovereign power after the death of her husband, and though she had now a son grown up,[1] yet her brave spirit and manly daring sent her forth to the war, when no need required her to adventure. Her name, as I said, was Artemisia, and she was the

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[4] Sirom is probably the same name with Hiram (חִירָם), the rough aspirate being replaced indifferently by χ or σ. Josephus (contr. Ap. 21) contents himself with a simple *h*, and gives Εἴρωμος for Hiram.

[5] Merbal seems to be the Carthaginian Maharbal, which Bochart explains as *Diognetus* (Geog. Sacr. II. xiii. p. 744). It is found again as the name of a Tyrian king in a fragment of Menander (Fr. 2).

[6] Concerning the constant occurrence of this name wherever a Cilician prince is mentioned, vide supra, i. 74, note [7]. According to Æschylus (Pers. 328-330), Syennesis distinguished himself more than any one else in the battle of Salamis, and perished gloriously.

[7] Supra, v. 104.

[8] Histiæus was king of Termera (supra, v. 37), and had no doubt been restored to his government on the suppression of the Ionian revolt.

[9] The special notice taken of Artemisia is undoubtedly due in part to her having been queen of Halicarnassus, the native place of the historian. Though he became an exile from his country, and though the grandson of Artemisia, Lygdamis, became a tyrant in the worst sense of the term (Suidas, ad voc. Ἡρόδοτος), yet with Herodotus patriotism triumphs over every other motive, and he does ample justice to the character of one who he felt had conferred honour upon his birthplace. Further notices of the Halicarnassian queen will be found infra, viii. 68-9, 87-8, 93, 101-3.

[1] Probably Pisindêlis, who succeeded her upon the throne of Halicarnassus (Suidas, ad voc. Ἡρόδοτος; and compare Clinton, F. H. ii. p. 49; Ol. 80, 4).

daughter of Lygdamis; by race she was on his side a Halicarnassian, though by her mother a Cretan. She ruled over the Halicarnassians, the men of Cos, of Nisyrus, and of Calydna;[2] and the five triremes which she furnished to the Persians were, next to the Sidonian, the most famous ships in the fleet. She likewise gave to Xerxes sounder counsel than any of his other allies. Now the cities over which I have mentioned that she bore sway, were one and all Dorian; for the Halicarnassians were colonists from Trœzen,[3] while the remainder were from Epidaurus.[4] Thus much concerning the sea-force.

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[2] It is remarkable that Cos, though one of the five states of the Doric πεντάπολις which had excluded Halicarnassus from their Amphictyony (supra, i. 144), should at this time have been subject to the rejected city. Probably the energy of Artemisia had enabled her to obtain a sovereignty, which cannot but be regarded as exceptional, over Cos and its dependencies. Nisyrus and Calydna (or Calymna) were two small islands on either side of Cos (now *Kò*, or with the prefix 'ς τὰν, *Stanko*) which had from a very early age been subject to that state (Hom. Il. ii. 676-9; Diod. Sic. v. 54). These islands retain their names, being called respectively *Nisyro* and *Calymno* (Ross, vol. iii. Pref. pp. x.-xi.).

[3] Trœzen, anciently Posidonia (Strab. viii. p. 542; Steph. Byz. ad voc.), was situated on the eastern coast of the Peloponnese, not quite two miles (15 stades) from the shore, between the peninsula of Methana and Hermioné. The remains of the ancient city may be traced near the modern village of *Dhámala*, but they are scanty and possess little interest. (See Chandler, ii. p. 244; Gell's Morea, p. 195; Leake's Morea, ii. p. 446.)

The colonisation of Halicarnassus seems to have taken place shortly after the return of the Heraclidæ, and the conquest of Argolis and the adjacent states. Some writers assigned to the colony a far earlier date (Strab. viii. p. 543; xiv. p. 939; Steph. Byz. ad voc.), but their statements are contradictory, and incompatible with the original *Dorian* character of the settlement. The truth seems to be, that upon the occupation of Trœzen by the Dorians, a portion of the former inhabitants determined to emigrate. Doric leaders, of the tribe of the Dymanes (Callimach. ap. Steph. Byz.), accompanied them, but the bulk of the colonists were Achæans, descendants of the mythic Anthes (Pausan. II. xxx. § 8), and so sometimes called *Antheadæ* (Steph. Byz. ad voc. Ἀθῆναι). They carried with them the Trœzenian worship (Müller's Dorians, i. p. 120, note [1], E. T.), and continued to regard Trœzen as their mother city. (Cf. Pausan. II. xxxii. § 6: ναὸν Ἴσιδος ἅτε ἐν μητροπόλει τῇ Τροιζῆνι Ἁλικαρνασσεῖς ἐποίησαν.)

[4] Epidaurus was situated on the same coast with Trœzen, but higher up, and close upon the sea-shore. Its site is marked by the small village of *Pídhávro*, which bears, in a corrupted form, the ancient name (Ἐπίδαυρος would have been pronounced Epídavros). The features of this locality exactly correspond with the description in Strabo: Κεῖται ἡ πόλις ἐν μυχῷ τοῦ Σαρωνικοῦ κόλπου τὸν περίπλουν ἔχουσα σταδίων πεντεκαίδεκα, βλέπουσα πρὸς ἀνατολὰς θερινάς· περικλείεται δ᾽ ὄρεσιν ὑψηλοῖς μέχρι πρὸς

100. Now when the numbering and marshalling of the host was ended, Xerxes conceived a wish to go himself throughout the forces, and with his own eyes behold everything. Accordingly he traversed the ranks seated in his chariot, and going from nation to nation, made manifold inquiries, while his scribes wrote down the answers; till at last he had passed from end to end of the whole land army, both the horsemen and likewise the foot. This done, he exchanged his chariot for a Sidonian galley, and, seated beneath a golden awning, sailed along the prows of all his vessels (the vessels having now been hauled down and launched into the sea), while he made inquiries again, as he had done when he reviewed the land-force, and caused the answers to be recorded by his scribes.[5] The captains

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τὴν θάλατταν, ὥστ' ἐρυμνὴ κατεσκεύασται φυσικῶς πανταχόθεν (viii. p. 543). Within a little distance are the ruins of the famous temple of Æsculapius (Liv. xlv. 28; Pausan. II. xxvii. § 1-2), whose worship was common to Cos with Epidaurus (Strab. xiv. p. 941; Pausan. III. xxiii. § 4; Theopomp. Fr. 111), a fact confirmatory of the connexion between the two places which is here asserted by Herodotus. The remains of Epidaurus are insignificant (Chandler, ii. p. 249; Leake, ii. p. 430).

The circumstances of the colonisation of Cos were probably similar to those of Halicarnassus. That Homer made it a Greek city before the Trojan war (Il. ii. 677), as he did also Lindus and the other Rhodian towns (ib. 656), Carpathus (ib. 676), Symé (ib. 671), &c., is only a proof that it was Hellenised long before his time. It must not be supposed that Homer was a learned antiquarian.

[5] Heeren first suggested that Herodotus had personal access to the documents drawn out on this occasion, and derived his estimate of the fleet (supra, ch. 89) and army (infra, chs. 184-6) from them (As. Nat. vol. i. p. 441, E. T.). Mr. Grote thinks this improbable (Hist. of Greece, v. p. 51, note [1]), and believes that the Greeks who accompanied the expedition were our author's informants. To me the minuteness of the description, which comprises the armour of forty-five nations, the mode in which they were marshalled, whether separately or in combination with others, the names of their commanders and of the other generals and admirals, thirty-nine in number, and in all but a very few cases *the names of these officers' fathers*, is proof positive that the foundation of the whole is not desultory inquiry, but a document. (See the Introductory Essay, ch. ii. p. 70.)

With respect to the numbers themselves, that of the triremes may be regarded as certain. They would be easily counted, and the number given (1207), which bears exactness upon its face, is (I think) confirmed by the famous passage of Æschylus (Pers. v. 343-5), a passage which has clearly *not* furnished our author with his information, since it assigns the 1207 ships to the period of the battle of Salamis. (On this passage see Stanley ad Æschyl. Pers. 343.) Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, v. p. 47) appears to prefer the statement of Æschylus to that of Herodotus, but to me it seems

took their ships to the distance of about four hundred feet from the shore, and there lay to, with their vessels in a single row, the prows facing the land, and with the fighting-men upon the decks accoutred as if for war, while the king sailed along in the open space between the ships and the shore, and so reviewed the fleet.

101. Now after Xerxes had sailed down the whole line and was gone ashore, he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston, who had accompanied him in his march upon Greece, and bespake him thus:—

"Demaratus, it is my pleasure at this time to ask thee certain things which I wish to know. Thou art a Greek, and, as I hear from the other Greeks with whom I converse, no less than from thine own lips, thou art a native of a city which is not the meanest or the weakest in their land. Tell me, therefore, what thinkest thou? Will the Greeks lift a hand against us? Mine own judgment is, that even if all the Greeks and all the barbarians of the west were gathered together in one place, they would not be able to abide my onset, not being really of one mind. But I would fain know what thou thinkest hereon."

Thus Xerxes questioned; and the other replied in his turn,—"O king, is it thy will that I give thee a true answer, or dost thou wish for a pleasant one?"

Then the king bade him speak the plain truth, and promised that he would not on that account hold him in less favour than heretofore.

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unlikely that the exact number which fought at Salamis would be known. The fleet is not likely to have been counted more than once, and when Æschylus asked the captives taken at Salamis its numbers, they would tell him what had been ascertained at Doriscus. The three thousand transports and small craft are manifestly a rough estimate, on which very little dependence can be placed. The seventeen hundred thousand infantry, which form by far the most marvellous item in the whole list, are no doubt calculated from the known fact that the circular enclosure was filled one hundred and seventy times. As however it would be the wish of the satraps to exaggerate, the space may often have been very far from fully filled. The most that we can conclude with certainty from the estimate is, that such a report was made to Xerxes at the time, and was not too extravagant to obtain belief (vide infra, ch. 186, note [8]).

102. So Demaratus, when he heard the promise, spake as follows :—

"O king, since thou biddest me at all risks speak the truth, and not say what will one day prove me to have lied to thee, thus I answer. Want has at all times been a fellow-dweller with us in our land, while Valour is an ally whom we have gained by dint of wisdom and strict laws. Her aid enables us to drive out want and escape thraldom. Brave are all the Greeks who dwell in any Dorian land, but what I am about to say does not concern all, but only the Lacedæmonians. First then, come what may, they will never accept thy terms, which would reduce Greece to slavery; and further, they are sure to join battle with thee, though all the rest of the Greeks should submit to thy will. As for their numbers, do not ask how many they are, that their resistance should be a possible thing; for if a thousand of them should take the field, they will meet thee in battle, and so will any number, be it less than this, or be it more."

103. When Xerxes heard this answer of Demaratus, he laughed and answered,—

"What wild words, Demaratus! A thousand men join battle with such an army as this! Come then, wilt thou—who wert once, as thou sayest, their king—engage to fight this very day with ten men? I trow not. And yet, if all thy fellow citizens be indeed such as thou sayest they are, thou oughtest, as their king, by thine own country's usages,[6] to be ready to fight with twice the number. If then each one of them be a match for ten of my soldiers, I may well call upon thee to be a match for twenty. So wouldest thou assure the truth of what thou hast now said. If, however, you Greeks, who vaunt yourselves so much, are of a

[6] The allusion is apparently to the "double portion" whereto the kings were entitled at banquets (supra, vi. 57), and perhaps to their (supposed) "double vote" (ibid. ad fin. Comp. Thucyd. i. 20).

truth men like those whom I have seen about my court, as thyself, Demaratus, and the others with whom I am wont to converse,—if, I say, you are really men of this sort and size, how is the speech that thou hast uttered more than a mere empty boast? For, to go to the very verge of likelihood,—how could a thousand men, or ten thousand, or even fifty thousand, particularly if they were all alike free, and not under one lord,—how could such a force, I say, stand against an army like mine? Let them be five thousand, and we shall have more than a thousand men to each one of theirs.[7] If, indeed, like our troops, they had a single master, their fear of him might make them courageous beyond their natural bent, or they might be urged by lashes against an enemy which far outnumbered them.[8] But left to their own free choice, assuredly they will act differently. For mine own part, I believe, that if the Greeks had to contend with the Persians only, and the numbers were equal on both sides, the Greeks would find it hard to stand their ground. We too have among us such men as those of whom thou spakest—not many indeed, but still we possess a few. For instance, some of my body-guard would be willing to engage singly with three Greeks. But this thou didst not know, and therefore it was thou talkedst so foolishly."

104. Demaratus answered him,—"I knew, O king, at the outset, that if I told thee the truth, my speech would displease thine ears. But as thou didst require me to answer thee with all possible truthfulness, I informed thee what the Spartans will do. And in this I spake not from any love that I bear them—for none knows better than thou what my love towards them is likely to be at the present time, when they have robbed me of my rank and my ancestral honours, and

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7 See below, ch. 186, where the entire Persian host is reckoned to exceed five millions of men.

8 Supra, vi. 70.

made me a homeless exile, whom thy father did receive, bestowing on me both shelter and sustenance. What likelihood is there that a man of understanding should be unthankful for kindness shown him, and not cherish it in his heart? For mine own self, I pretend not to cope with ten men, or with two,—nay, had I the choice, I would rather not fight even with one. But, if need appeared, or if there were any great cause urging me on, I would contend with right good-will against one of those persons who boast themselves a match for any three Greeks. So likewise the Lacedæmonians, when they fight singly, are as good men as any in the world, and when they fight in a body, are the bravest of all. For though they be freemen, they are not in all respects free; Law is the master whom they own, and this master they fear more than thy subjects fear thee. Whatever he commands they do; and his commandment is always the same: it forbids them to flee in battle, whatever the number of their foes, and requires them to stand firm, and either to conquer or die. If in these words, O king, I seem to thee to speak foolishly, I am content from this time forward evermore to hold my peace. I had not now spoken unless compelled by thee. Certes, I pray that all may turn out according to thy wishes."

105. Such was the answer of Demaratus, and Xerxes was not angry with him at all, but only laughed, and sent him away with words of kindness.

After this interview, and after he had made Mascames the son of Megadostes governor of Doriscus, setting aside the governor appointed by Darius, Xerxes started with his army, and marched upon Greece through Thrace.

106. This man, Mascames, whom he left behind him, was a person of such merit that gifts were sent him yearly by the king as a special favour, because he excelled all the other governors that had been appointed

either by Xerxes or by Darius. In like manner, Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, sent gifts yearly to the descendants of Mascames. Persian governors had been established in Thrace and about the Hellespont before the march of Xerxes began; but these persons, after the expedition was over, were all driven from their towns by the Greeks, except the governor of Doriscus: no one succeeded in driving out Mascames, though many made the attempt.[9] For this reason the gifts are sent him every year by the king who reigns over the Persians.[1]

107. Of the other governors whom the Greeks drove out, there was not one who, in the judgment of Xerxes, showed himself a brave man, excepting Boges, the governor of Eïon. Him Xerxes never could praise enough, and such of his sons as were left in Persia, and survived their father, he very specially honoured. And of a truth this Boges was worthy of great commendation; for when he was besieged by the Athenians under Cimon, the son of Miltiades,[2] and it was open to him to retire from the city upon terms, and return to Asia, he refused, because he feared the king might think he had played the coward to save his own life, wherefore,

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[9] Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, v. pp. 396-7) notices the importance of this passage as showing how much history is passed over in silence by Thucydides in his brief summary (i. 98-99). Athens, he observes, during the first ten years of her hegemony, must have been engaged most actively in constant warfare against the Persians. Not Eïon alone, but a vast number of Persian posts in Europe were taken, and frequent attacks made upon Doriscus without success. Plutarch (Cimon. c. 7) is the only other writer who makes allusion to these enterprises.

[1] Doriscus appears by this passage to have continued under the Persians *to the time when Herodotus wrote.* The present tense (πέμπεται) proves this. Mascames, though dead, is regarded as living on in his descendants, who, it is probable, still held the government.

[2] See Plut. Vit. Cim. c. 7, and compare Pausan. VIII. viii. § 5, where Cimon is said to have taken the city by turning the force of the stream upon the walls, which were of sun-dried brick. This narrative is with reason doubted by Larcher and others (see Kutzen de Atheniens. Imp. p. 8; Grote, v. p. 397, note). It seems certain that Eïon was reduced by a strict blockade. See the inscription preserved in Æschines (adv. Ctes. § 62). The date of the capture lies within the years B.C. 476-466, but cannot be fixed with any certainty (see Mr. Grote's note, vol. v. pp. 409-411.)

instead of surrendering, he held out to the last extremity. When all the food in the fortress was gone, he raised a vast funeral pile, slew his children, his wife, his concubines, and his household slaves, and cast them all into the flames. Then collecting whatever gold and silver there was in the place, he flung it from the walls into the Strymon, and when that was done, to crown all, he himself leaped into the fire. For this action Boges is with reason praised by the Persians even at the present day.

108. Xerxes, as I have said, pursued his march from Doriscus against Greece, and on his way he forced all the nations through which he passed to take part in the expedition. For the whole country as far as the frontiers of Thessaly had been (as I have already shown) enslaved and made tributary to the king by the conquests of Megabazus, and, more lately, of Mardonius.[3] And first, after leaving Doriscus, Xerxes passed the Samothracian fortresses, whereof Mesembria is the furthermost as one goes toward the west.[4] The next city is Strymé,[5] which belongs to Thasos. Midway between it and Mesembria flows the river Lissus, which did not suffice to furnish water for the army, but was drunk up and failed. This region was formerly called Gallaïca; now it bears the name of Briantica; but in strict truth it likewise is really Ciconian.[6]

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[3] Supra, v. 2-18; vi. 44-5.

[4] Samothrace possessed a tract upon the mainland, extending from near Doriscus to the Lissus (supra, ch. 59). Most of the larger islands secured to themselves this advantage, as Chios (i. 160), Lesbos (v. 94), Thasos, &c.

The Samothracian Mesambria stood at *Tekieh*, and must not be confounded with the city of the same name (now *Missevri*, upon the Euxine), supra, iv. 93).

[5] Strymé, according to Harpocration (ad voc. Στρύμη), was situated on a small island, formed probably by two branches of the Lissus. It was a cause of quarrel between the Thracians and the Maronites (Philoch. Fr. 128).

[6] See above, ch. 59, which passage is in the writer's mind. He means to say that not only the plain of Doriscus, but the whole country thence to the Lissus, was anciently Ciconian. Perhaps the chapters from 61 to 104 are a later insertion, breaking the continuity of the original narrative.

With respect to the names of this district, that of Gallaïca, which seems to point at an original Celtic occupation, is not mentioned elsewhere. The

109. After crossing the dry channel of the Lissus, Xerxes passed the Grecian cities of Marôneia,[7] Dicæa,[8] and Abdêra,[9] and likewise the famous lakes which are in their neighbourhood,[1] Lake Ismaris between Marôneia and Stryme, and Lake Bistonis near Dicæa, which receives the waters of two rivers, the Travus and the Compsatus.[2] Near Abdêra there was no famous lake for him to pass, but he crossed the river Nestus,[3] which there reaches the sea. Proceeding further upon his way, he passed by several continental cities, one of them possessing a lake nearly thirty furlongs in circuit, full of fish, and very salt, of which the sumpter-beasts only drank, and which they drained dry. The name of this

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Briantica of our author reappears in the Priantæ of Pliny (H. N. iv. 11), and in Livy's "Campus Priaticus" (xxxviii. 41).

[7] Maroneia was a place of some consequence, situated on the coast, a little to the west of the Lissus (Scylax, Peripl. p. 65; Ephor. Fragm. 74; Liv. xxxi. 16, &c.). It was a colony of the Chians (Scymn. Ch. l. 677). The name still remains in the modern *Marogna*.

[8] Dicæa appears in Scylax (Peripl. p. 65), and is mentioned by Pliny (l. s. c.) and Stephen. It was never a place of much note, and probably perished during the wars of Philip (see Bähr ad loc.).

[9] Abdêra was founded by the Teians (supra, i. 168; Scymn. Ch. 669-670). Its exact site has, I believe, never been identified, though Choiseul-Gouffier (ii. p. 113) speaks of its ruins as "distinguishable at the western extremity of the Bay of *Lagos*." The position which is given it on our maps, ten or twelve miles east of the mouth of the Nestus, and only six or seven from Lake Bistonis, rests mainly on the authority of Ptolemy, who interposes a considerable space between the Nesus' embouchure and the city. Herodotus seems to have thought that the river passed *through* the city (infra, ch. 126). It is certain that there are now no ruins near the mouth of the stream (Clarke's Travels in Greece, vol. iii. p. 422). But the whole country is here "a flat and swampy plain" (ibid. p. 425, and compare p. 421); and the course of the Nestus has probably undergone many changes. Scylax (Peripl. p. 65) and Strabo (vii. p. 482) both place Abdêra immediately east of the river.

[1] Lake Ismaris was named from a town Ismarum, the ancient capital of the Ciconians (Hom. Od. ix. 40), which is identified by some with Maroneia (Ephor. Fr. 74; Hesych. ad voc.). It does not exist now. Lake Bistonis, which is the modern lake of *Buru*, derived its appellation from the Bistonian Thracians who inhabited its banks (Scym. Ch. v. 673). According to Strabo, it had been formed, within the historic period, by the bursting in of the sea (Strab. i. p. 87). Probably it shrank in size after it was joined to the sea by a canal.

[2] Only one river of any size (the *Jardymly Dere*) now enters the lake of *Buru*. This is no doubt the Travus. The Compsatus may be the stream which reaches the sea a little to the west of the lake, and which, if the lake were somewhat larger, would run into it (see Kiepert's Atlas von Hellas, Blatt xvi.).

[3] The *Mesto* or *Kara Su*. This stream at present falls into the sea more than ten miles to the west of the supposed site of Abdêra. It has probably changed its course frequently (see above, note [9]).

city was Pistyrus.[4] All these towns, which were Grecian, and lay upon the coast, Xerxes kept upon his left hand as he passed along.

110. The following are the Thracian tribes through whose country he marched: the Pæti, the Ciconians, the Bistonians, the Sapæans, the Dersæans, the Edonians, and the Satræ.[5] Some of these dwelt by the sea, and furnished ships to the king's fleet; while others lived in the more inland parts, and of these all the tribes which I have mentioned, except the Satræ, were forced to serve on foot.

111. The Satræ, so far as our knowledge goes, have never yet been brought under by any one, but continue to this day a free and unconquered people, unlike the other Thracians.[6] They dwell amid lofty mountains clothed with forests of different trees and capped with snow, and are very valiant in fight. They are the Thracians who have an oracle of Bacchus in their country, which is situated upon their highest mountain-range. The Bessi,[7] a Satrian race, deliver the oracles; but the prophet, as at Delphi, is a woman, and her answers are not harder to read.

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[4] There are some salt lakes on the shore, about 10 miles from the *Mesto*, which may help to fix the site of Pistyrus (see Leake's Map, Northern Greece, vol. i. end); but this whole district is unexplored by travellers.

Stephen mentions Pistyrus as "Πίστιρον Θρᾳκῶν ἐμπόριον" (sub voc. Compare also Βίστιρος). Harpocration calls the place Pisteira.

[5] These tribes, except the last, appear to be enumerated in their order from east to west. This is evident from the position of the Ciconians, Bistonians, and Edonians, which is elsewhere fixed (supra, chs. 108 and 109; and infra, ch. 114). We may therefore place the Pæti, of whom nothing else is known, about the Hebrus, between the Apsynthians and Ciconians, and the Sapæans (mentioned by Pliny, l. s. c.) and Dersæans (mentioned by Thucydides, ii. 101) about the Nestus—the former eastward, the latter westward of that river. The Satræ (mentioned by Hecatæus, Fr. 128) dwelt inland above the Dersæans (see Leake's Northern Greece, iii. p. 190).

[6] Herodotus seems here to allude to the conquests of the Odrysæ, which robbed so many Thracian tribes of their independence (Thucyd. ii. 95-7); but his statement is overdrawn, as may be seen from Thucydides.

[7] The Bessi are mentioned by Livy (xxxix. 53) and Pliny (H. N. iv. 11) as a distinct Thracian race. Their name is probably connected with the title *Bassareus*, by which the Thracian Bacchus was known (Hor. Od. I. xviii. 11), and with the terms βασσαρίς, βασσάρα, βασσαρέω, κτλ.

112. When Xerxes had passed through the region mentioned above, he came next to the Pierian fortresses, one of which is called Phagres, and another Pergamus.[8] Here his line of march lay close by the walls, with the long high range of Pangæum[9] upon his right, a tract in which there are mines both of gold and silver,[1] some worked by the Pierians and Odomantians, but the greater part by the Satræ.

113. Xerxes then marched through the country of the Pæonian tribes—the Doberians and the Pæoplæ[2]—which lay to the north of Pangæum, and, advancing westward, reached the river Strymon and the city Eïon, whereof Boges, of whom I spoke a short time ago,[3] and who was still alive, was governor. The tract of land lying about Mount Pangæum, is called Phyllis; on the west it reaches to the river Angites,[4] which flows into the Strymon, and on the south to the Strymon itself, where at this time the Magi were sacrificing white horses to make the stream favourable.[5]

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[8] The original Pieria was the district between the Haliacmon and the Peneus. When this was conquered by the Macedonians, the inhabitants sought a refuge beyond the Strymon. Phagres was their principal town (Thucyd. ii. 99; Scylax, Peripl. p. 64). It is placed, with some probability, at *Orfand*, and Pergamus at *Právista* (Leake's Northern Greece, vol. iii. pp. 177-8).

[9] Vide supra, v. 16.

[1] The whole region from Philippi and Datum on the east to Dysorum on the west was most rich in the precious metals. Aristotle relates that after heavy rains "nuggets" of virgin gold were often found of above a pound weight (ὑπὲρ μνᾶν). There were two—one of three pounds and one of five—in the possession of the Macedonian kings (De Ausc. Mir. p. 833, § 42. See also, supra, v. 17, 23; vi. 46; infra, ix. 75; Strab. vii. p. 481; Thuc. iv. 105; Diod. Sic. xvi. 8; Appian. B. Civ. iv. 105; Justin, viii. 3; Plin. H. N. vii. 56, &c.)

[2] These Pæonian tribes have been mentioned before in connexion with the same locality (supra, v. 15-6). The army of Xerxes evidently divided about Pergamus; and part marched north, part south of Pangæum. (Vide infra, ch. 121.)

[3] Supra, ch. 107.

[4] The Angites is undoubtedly the river of *Anghista*, which however does not now join the Strymon, but flows into the Palus Strymonicus at some distance from its lower extremity. (See Leake's Northern Greece, vol. iii. p. 183.)

[5] The victims were sacrificed at the edge of the stream, but not (as Mr. Grote says, vol. v. p. 56) "thrown into it," or allowed to pollute it with their blood (Strab. xv. p. 1040). The custom continued to a late date (see Tacit. An. vi. 37). *White* horses seem to have been regarded as especially sacred (supra, ch. 40).

There is no need to suppose, with Kleuker (Appendix to Zendavesta, vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 24 et seqq.) and Rhode (Heilige Sage, p. 512), that Herodotus has misreported this occurrence.

114. After propitiating the stream by these and many other magical ceremonies,[6] the Persians crossed the Strymon by bridges made before their arrival, at a place called 'The Nine Ways,'[7] which was in the territory of the Edonians. And when they learnt that the name of the place was 'The Nine Ways,' they took nine of the youths of the land and as many of their maidens, and buried them alive on the spot. Burying alive is a Persian custom.[8] I have heard that Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, in her old age buried alive seven pairs of Persian youths, sons of illustrious men, as a thank-offering to the god who is supposed to dwell underneath the earth.[9]

115. From the Strymon the army, proceeding westward, came to a strip of shore, on which there stands the Grecian town of Argilus.[1] This shore, and the whole tract above it, is called Bisaltia.[2] Passing this, and

[6] Of these Strabo (l. s. c.) gives the following account:—

"When the Persians," he says, "come to a lake, a stream, or a spring of water, they dig a pit, and there sacrifice their victim, taking care that the pure liquid near them be not stained with the blood, since that would be a pollution. The flesh of the victim is then placed on myrtle or laurel leaves, and the Magi set it on fire with taper wands, making incantations all the while, and pouring a libation of oil mingled with milk and honey, not upon the fire or into the water, but upon the ground."

[7] Afterwards Amphipolis. (See note [6] on Book v. ch. 126; and compare Thucyd. i. 100, and iv. 102, to which may be added Polyænus (Strateg. vi. 53) and Stephen of Byzantium (ad voc.) The Athenian town had not been founded when Herodotus left Greece for Italy; which may account for his omission to mention it.

[8] See note [8] on Book iii. ch. 35.

[9] Is this *Ahriman*? or does Herodotus merely speak as a Greek? Perhaps the latter is the more probable supposition.

[1] Argilus, like Sané and Stagirus, was a colony of the Andrians (Thucyd. iv. 103 and 109). It was situated at a very short distance from Amphipolis, near the coast, between the mouth of the Strymon and that of the stream which carries off the superfluous water from Lake Bolbé. Colonel Leake places it on the skirts of the mountain chain, eight miles from Amphipolis (Northern Greece, vol. iii. p. 171 and map). According to Heraclides Ponticus it was originally a Thracian town (Fr. xlii.). After the Peloponnesian war it disappears from history.

[2] The Bisaltæ were a brave and powerful Thracian people (fortissimi viri, Liv. xlv. 30), who, though conquered by the Macedonians (Thucyd. ii. 99), preserved their name and nationality for many centuries afterwards. They seem, while retaining the region assigned them by Herodotus, gradually to have extended themselves beyond the Strymon nearly to the Nestus (cf. Liv. xlv. 29-30; and Plin. H. N. iv. 10-1). Herodotus informs us in the next

keeping on the left hand the Gulf of Posideium,[3] Xerxes crossed the Sylean plain,[4] as it is called, and passing by Stagirus,[5] a Greek city, came to Acanthus.[6] The inhabitants of these parts, as well as those who dwelt about Mount Pangæum, were forced to join the armament, like those others of whom I spoke before; the dwellers along the coast being made to serve in the fleet, while those who lived more inland had to follow with the land forces. The road which the army of Xerxes took remains to this day untouched: the Thracians neither plough nor sow it, but hold it in great honour.

116. On reaching Acanthus, the Persian king, seeing the great zeal of the Acanthians for his service, and hearing what had been done about the cutting, took them into the number of his sworn friends, sent them as a present a Median dress,[7] and besides commended them highly.

117. It was while he remained here that Artachæes,

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book (ch. 116), that at this time they fled to the mountains, and refused all submission to Xerxes. Charon of Lampsacus told a strange story of their on one occasion attacking *Cardia!* (Fr. 9. See the Introductory Essay, vol. i. p. 148, note [4], where this fragment is given from Col. Mure's translation).

[3] Pliny mentions Posidium as a town with a bay in this locality (H. N. iv. 11). I believe no other author speaks of it. The bay intended must be a portion of the Gulf of *Rendina.* The town lay close to the coast ("in orâ," Plin. l. s. c.), but its exact site has still to be discovered.

[4] By the Sylean plain, which no other writer mentions, is to be understood the flat tract, about a mile in width, near the mouth of the river which drains the lake of Bolbé (*Besikia*). (See Leake's Northern Greece, iii. p. 168-170.) It is uncertain whence the name is derived.

[5] Stagirus (now *Stavros*, Leake, iii. p. 167-8; or *Nisvoro*, Bowen, p. 120) is said by Thucydides to have been a colony of the Andrians (iv. 88). It was a small place, and derives all its celebrity from having given birth to Aristotle. Some ancient walls, "of a very rough and irregular species," were noticed by Colonel Leake on the eastern side of the height which he supposes to have been occupied by the city. Sir G. Bowen pleads in favour of the claim of *Nisvoro* to represent Stagirus, 1. "the universal tradition of the Macedonian peasants," and 2. the situation, which would make it natural that the army of Xerxes should have "passed it *by*," whereas they would have passed *through* Stavros. He also found "substructions of Hellenic masonry all around," and particularly "in the beautiful glen to the west."

[6] Vide supra, vi. 44, note [1].

[7] Compare iii. 84, and note [6] ad loc. Xerxes contracted a similar friendship with the Abderites (infra, viii. 120).

who presided over the canal,[8] a man in high repute with Xerxes, and by birth an Achæmenid, who was moreover the tallest of all the Persians, being only four fingers short of five cubits, royal measure,[9] and who had a stronger voice than any other man in the world, fell sick and died. Xerxes therefore, who was greatly afflicted at the mischance, carried him to the tomb and buried him with all magnificence; while the whole army helped to raise a mound over his grave.[1] The Acanthians, in obedience to an oracle, offer sacrifice to this Artachæes as a hero,[2] invoking him in their prayers by name. But King Xerxes sorrowed greatly over his death.

118. Now the Greeks who had to feed the army, and to entertain Xerxes, were brought thereby to the very extremity of distress, insomuch that some of them were forced even to forsake house and home. When the Thasians received and feasted the host, on account of their possessions upon the mainland,[3] Antipater, the son of Orges, one of the citizens of best repute, and the man to whom the business was assigned, proved that the cost of the meal was four hundred talents of silver.[4]

119. And estimates almost to the same amount were made by the superintendents in other cities. For the entertainment, which had been ordered long beforehand, and was reckoned to be of much consequence,

[8] Supra, ch. 21. The presidency of the work was shared between him and Bubares.

[9] That is, about 8 feet 2 inches.

[1] The tomb of Artachæes is thought to be still visible on the eastern side of the cutting, near the southern shore, the supposed site of Sané. See the plan, p. 26, and compare the paper by M. Forchammer in the Journal of the Geographical Society, vol. xvii. p. 149. But it would appear from the words of Herodotus, that the tomb is rather to be sought in the neighbourhood of Acanthus (*Erisso*) west of the cutting, and on the northern coast.

[2] Compare the conduct of the people of Amphipolis with regard to Brasidas (Thucyd. v. 11; Arist. Eth. Nic. v. 7, § 1).

[3] Strymé, and other places (supra, ch. 108).

[4] Nearly 100,000*l.* of our money—a sum not far short of the whole annual revenue received by Athens from her allies under the rating of Aristides.

was, in the manner of it, such as I will now describe. No sooner did the heralds who brought the orders[5] give their message, than in every city the inhabitants made a division of their stores of corn, and proceeded to grind flour of wheat and of barley for many months together. Besides this, they purchased the best cattle that they could find, and fattened them; and fed poultry and water-fowl in ponds and buildings, to be in readiness for the army; while they likewise prepared gold and silver vases and drinking-cups, and whatsoever else is needed for the service of the table. These last preparations were made for the king only, and those who sat at meat with him; for the rest of the army nothing was made ready beyond the food for which orders had been given. On the arrival of the Persians, a tent ready pitched for the purpose received Xerxes, who took his rest therein, while the soldiers remained under the open heaven. When the dinner hour came, great was the toil of those who entertained the army; while the guests ate their fill, and then, after passing the night at the place, tore down the royal tent next morning, and seizing its contents, carried them all off, leaving nothing behind.

120. On one of these occasions Megacreon of Abdera wittily[6] recommended his countrymen "to go to the temples in a body, men and women alike, and there take their station as suppliants, and beseech the gods that they would in future always spare them one-half of the woes which might threaten their peace—thanking them at the same time very warmly for their past goodness in that they had caused Xerxes to be content with one meal in the day." For had the order been to provide breakfast for the king as well as dinner, the Abderites must either have fled before Xerxes came, or else have awaited his coming, and been brought to

[5] Supra, ch. 32. [6] See the Introductory Essay, vol. i. p. 141, note [7].

absolute ruin. As it was, the nations, though suffering heavy pressure, complied nevertheless with the directions that had been given.

121. At Acanthus Xerxes separated from his fleet, bidding the captains sail on ahead and await his coming at Therma,[7] on the Thermaic Gulf, the place from which the bay takes its name. Through this town lay, he understood, his shortest road. Previously, his order of march had been the following:—from Doriscus to Acanthus his land force had proceeded in three bodies, one of which took the way along the sea-shore in company with the fleet, and was commanded by Mardonius and Masistes, while another pursued an inland track under Tritantæchmes and Gergis; the third, with whom was Xerxes himself, marching midway between the other two, and having for its leaders Smerdomenes and Megabyzus.[8]

122. The fleet, therefore, after leaving the king, sailed through the channel which had been cut for it by Mount Athos, and came into the bay whereon lie the cities of Assa, Pilôrus, Singus, and Sarta;[9] from all which it received contingents. Thence it stood on for the Thermaic Gulf, and rounding Cape Ampelus,[10] the

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[7] Therma was a place of small consequence, till under Cassander, the brother-in-law of Alexander (ab. B.C. 305), it became Thessalonica, when it grew to be the most important city of these parts, deserving Livy's title of "urbs celeberrima" (xlv. 30). The great Egnatian road connected it with Dyrrachium. (See Strab. vii. pp. 467-8; Plin. H. N. iv. 10.)

The name Thessalonica remains in the *Salonîki* of the present day, which gives name to the gulf called anciently the Thermaic.

[8] See above, ch. 82, where the same six persons were named as the generals-in-chief.

[9] The Sinus Singiticus, or modern Gulf of *Aghion-oros*. Colonel Leake places Assa at *Pirgardhíkia*, near Cape *Mavro*, Pilôrus at Port *Vurvurí*, Singus at Port *Sikiá*, and Sarta at *Kartali*. All these towns must certainly have lain on the eastern coast of the peninsula of Torônê, between the southern mouth of the canal of Athos, and Cape *Dhrepano*. Singus, from which the bay derived its name, was the most important. It occurs in Thucydides (v. 18), Pliny (H. N. iv. 10), and Ptolemy (Geograph. iii. 13, p. 92), and also in an inscription (Böckh's Corp. Ins. i. p. 304). The other places are only mentioned by Stephen.

[10] Cape Ampelus lay eastward of Cape Derrhis, as appears from Ptolemy (Geograph. l. s. c.). It closed the Singitic Gulf upon the west, and must either have been the

promontory of the Torônæans, passed the Grecian cities Torôné, Galepsus, Sermyla, Mecyberna, and Olynthus,[1] receiving from each a number of ships and men. This region is called Sithonia.[2]

123. From Cape Ampelus the fleet stretched across by a short course to Cape Canastræum,[3] which is the point of the peninsula of Pallêné that runs out furthest into the sea,[4] and gathered fresh supplies of ships and men from Potidæa, Aphytis, Neapolis, Ægа, Therambus, Scîôné, Mendé, and Sané.[5] These are the cities of the

modern Cape *Dhrepano*, or a point still further to the eastward. Colonel Leake has misplaced capes Derrhis and Ampelus. (Map of Northern Greece at the end of vol. i.)

[1] All these were places of some consequence except Galepsus, which seems not to be mentioned by any other ancient writer. There is indeed a Galepsus, a colony of the Thasians, of which we have frequent notices, both in the historians and the geographers (Hecat. Fr. 121; Thucyd. iv. 107, v. 6; Scylax, Peripl. p. 64; Liv. xliv. 45; Philoch. Fr. 128, &c.), but it lies eastward of the Strymon, between Phagres and Œsyma. The site of this Galepsus must be sought for on the coast between Torôné and Sermylia. Torôné was at the mouth of the gulf, near Port *Kufo*, where there are extensive remains, still called by the ancient name (Leake, iii. p. 119). Its harbour was excellent (Liv. xlv. 30). Sermylia, called also Hermylia (Thucyd. i. 65), was in the recess of the bay. It retains its ancient appellation almost unchanged in the modern *Ormylia* (Leake, iii. p. 153), Mecyberna was probably at *Molivó* (ib. p. 155). That it lay outside the peninsula of Pallêné, between Olynthus and Sermylia, appears from this passage, as also from Scylax (Peripl. p. 62). Hecatæus must have been mistaken in calling it "*πόλις Παλλήνης*" (Steph. Byz. ad voc.). It was a very short distance from Olynthus (Diod. Sic. xii. 77, xvi. 53), and having been taken by the Olynthians in the Peloponnesian war (Thucyd. v. 39), became the naval station or port of that town (Strab. vii. p. 480). Olynthus is too well known from the wars of Philip to need any comment. Its position is marked by the modern village of *Aio Mamás* (Leake, p. 153), where vestiges of the ancient city are still to be found.

[2] The Sithonians were probably an ancient Thracian people. They are found on the Euxine, as well as in the Toronæan peninsula (Plin. H. N. iv. 11). Tradition connected them with Orpheus ("Sithonii, Orphei vatis genitores;" Plin. ut supra). Sithon, the father of Pallêné, was their mythic progenitor (Conon. Narrat. x. p. 252, where Σίθων is to be read for Οἴθων; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Παλλήνη). By the Latin writers, the name is used as a mere synonym for Thracian (Virg. Ecl. x. 66; Hor. Od. I. xviii. 9, &c.).

[3] It is plain from this that only a portion of the ships made the circuit of the bay in order to collect ships and men. The main body of the fleet sailed across the mouth of the bay.

[4] This description sufficiently identifies the Canastræan promontory with the modern Cape *Paliúri*; other accounts agree (cf. Thucyd. iv. 110; Scyl. Peripl. p. 62; Liv. xxxi. 45; and xliv. 11).

[5] The situation and origin of Potidæa are well known from Thucydides (i. 56-65). Livy relates the change by which it became Cassandrea (xliv. 11; compare Plin. H. N. iv. 10). The site is now

tract called anciently Phlegra, but now Pallênê.[6] Hence they again followed the coast, still advancing towards the place appointed by the king, and had accessions from all the cities that lie near Pallênê and border on the Thermaic Gulf, whereof the names are Lipaxus, Cômbreia, Lisæ, Gigônus, Campsa, Smila, and Ænêa.[7] The tract where these towns lie still retains its

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in part occupied by the village of *Pinaka* (Leake, iii. p. 152). Aphytis, Neapolis, Æga, and Therambus, were places of small consequence. They seem all to have lain on the east coast of the peninsula. The first is mentioned by Thucydides (i. 64), and Strabo (vii. p. 480); the first and last by Scylax (Peripl. l. p. c.). Of Æga and Neapolis no other notice is anywhere found. Aphytis is placed by Leake with much probability at *Athyto* (Northern Greece, iii. p. 156). Neapolis and Æga are, on less sure grounds, identified respectively with *Polýkrono* and *Kapsokhóri* (ibid. Map). Therambus is placed a little inside Cape Canastræum (ibid. p. 156). Sciônê, Mendê, and Sanê, lay certainly on the other side of that promontory, towards the west. Sciônê was the most important of these cities. It was said to have been a colony from Pellênê in Achæa, and to date from the time of the Trojan war (Thucyd. iv. 120)—an indication at any rate of very high antiquity. It lay probably about half-way between Capes Canastræum (*Paliuri*) and Posideum (*Possidhi*), certainly nearer to the former than Mendê (Thucyd. iv. 130). Mendê was an Eretrian colony (Thucyd. iv. 123). It was situated a very little to the east of Cape Posideum (ibid. and compare Liv. xxxi. 45), and was famous for the softness of its wine (Phan. Eres. Fr. 30). Like Sciônê it suffered greatly in the Peloponnesian war (Thucyd. iv. 130). Concerning Sanê but little is known. Strabo barely mentions it (vii. p. 480). Mela (ii. 2) places it near Cape Canastræum, but the order of names in Herodotus would lead us to look for it between Cape *Possidhi* and the isthmus. The Sanæans of Thucyd. v. 18, belong probably to the other Sanê (supra, ch. 22).

[6] Phlegra, the ancient home of the giants whom Hercules slew, was by some placed in Italy, about Vesuvius (Polyb. III. xci. 7; Diod. Sic. iv. 21, who quotes Timæus), by others identified with Pallênê (Strab. vii. p. 480; Eph. ap. Theon. Progymn. Fr. 70; Theagen. Fr. 11; Eustath. ad Dionys. Per. 327; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Παλλήνη; compare Apollod. I. vi. § 1). The name Phlegra was supposed to mark the destruction of the giants by lightning (Eustath. l. s. c.). Pallênê or Pellênê (Thucyd. passim) was the name of the peninsula extending from Potidæa to Cape Canastræum (Liv. xliv. 11). It was supposed to have derived its appellation from the Achæan town, whence Sciônê claimed to have been founded (see the preceding note). The tract was celebrated for its fertility (Liv. xliv. 10, xlv. 30).

[7] These towns must all of them have lain on the coast between the Potidæan isthmus and Therma. Except Ænêa they were of little consequence. Most of them seem to have fallen into decay when Thessalonica and Cassandrea were built. Ænêa was at Cape *Karaburnu* (Æneum),* fifteen miles (Roman) from Therma, opposite the mouth of the Haliacmon (see Leake, iii. p. 451-4, and cf. Liv. xliv. 10). It was situated in a fertile territory ("fertili agro," Liv.), and was from its position an important station (Liv. xliv. 32). Tradition ascribed its foundation to the great Æneas (Liv. xl. 4). Gigônus was

old name of Crossæa.[8] After passing Ænea, the city which I last named, the fleet found itself arrived in the Thermaic Gulf,[9] off the land of Mygdonia.[1] And so at length they reached Therma, the appointed place, and came likewise to Sindus[2] and Chalestra upon the river Axius,[3] which separates Bottiæa[4] from Mygdonia. Bottiæa has a scanty seaboard, which is occupied by the two cities, Ichnæ and Pella.[5]

124. So the fleet anchored off the Axius, and off Therma, and the towns that lay between, waiting the

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probably at *Apanomi* (Leake, iii. p. 453). It is mentioned by Thucydides (i. 61). Smila and Lipaxus were known to Hecatæus (Fr. 118-9). Of Combreia and Lisæ there is no other notice. Campsa is clearly the Capsa of Stephen, which he calls a town of Chalcidicé, near Pallêné, situated on the Thermaic Gulf (ad voc. Κάψα).

[8] Crusis or Crusæa is the name more commonly given to this district (see Thucyd. ii. 79; Dionys. Hal. i. 47, 49; Steph. Byz. ad voc.), which is now called *Kalamariá*. In the later times of Greece it was considered a portion of Mygdonia (Steph. Byz. who quotes Strabo).

[9] Herodotus confines the name of the Thermaic Gulf to the small bay contained within the Ænean promontory and the mouth of the Axius (*Vardhari*). It had usually a far wider acceptation (Scylax. Peripl. p. 61; Plin. H. N. iv. 10; Strab. vii. p. 479; Ptol. iii. 13, p. 92).

[1] The name Mygdonia was sometimes applied to the whole tract between the Strymon and the Axius (Thucyd. ii. 99). The Mygdones, according to Pliny, were a Pæonian people (l. s. c.).

[2] No other writer mentions Sindus, except Stephen, who writes the name Sinthus. It probably experienced the same fate as Chalestra (see the next note). The site cannot be fixed.

[3] Chalestra (or Chalastra) was, according to Hecatæus (Fr. 116), a Thracian city. It lay on the right bank of the Axius (Strab. vii. p. 479). The port and town, both called by the same name, were separated by an interval (Steph. Byz. ad voc.). According to Strabo (vii. p. 480), the inhabitants were transferred to Thessalonica on its foundation by Cassander. Still Pliny speaks of the city as existing in his day: "in orâ sinus Macedonici oppidum Chalastra" (H. N. iv. 10). The Axius is beyond a doubt the *Vardhari* (see Leake, iii. p. 258).

[4] The western must be distinguished from the eastern Bottiæa. The western tract, which lay between the Axius and the Haliacmon (infra, ch. 127), was the original settlement of the nation. From this the Bottiæans were driven by the Macedonians, when they found a refuge with the Chalcideans in the country above Pallêné (Thucyd. ii. 99; Herod. viii. 127). Still the western Bottiæa retained its name (Thucyd. ii. 100).

[5] Pella (which became under Philip the capital of Macedonia) was not upon the coast, as we should gather from this passage, but above twenty miles from the sea, on the borders of a lake formed by the overflowings of the Lydias (Scylax. Peripl. p. 61; Liv. xliv. 46). Its exact site is fixed by Colonel Leake at a place where there are extensive remains, not far from *Jannitza* (Northern Greece, iii. p. 262). It has been supposed that Ichnæ was also an inland town (Kupert's Atlas, Blatt xvi.; Mannert, vii. p. 505). But Pliny agrees with Herodotus in placing it upon the coast ("in orâ," H. N. iv. 10).

king's coming. Xerxes meanwhile with his land force[6] left Acanthus, and started for Therma, taking his way across the land. This road led him through Pæonia[7] and Crestonia[8] to the river Echidôrus,[9] which, rising in the country of the Crestonians, flows through Mygdonia, and reaches the sea near the marsh upon the Axius.

125. Upon this march the camels that carried the provisions of the army were set upon by lions, which left their lairs and came down by night, but spared the men and the sumpter beasts, while they made the camels their prey. I marvel what may have been the cause which compelled the lions to leave the other animals untouched and attack the camels, when they had never seen that beast before, or had any experience of it.

126. That whole region is full of lions, and wild bulls, with gigantic horns which are brought into Greece. The lions are confined within the tract lying between the river Nestus (which flows through Abdêra[10]) on the one side, and the Acheloüs (which waters Acarnania) on the other.[11] No one ever sees a lion in the fore part[1] of Europe east of the Nestus, or

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[6] The bulk of the land force would undoubtedly have kept the direct road through Apollonia which St. Paul followed (Acts xvii. 1; comp. Antonin. Itin. p. 22); while Xerxes with his immediate attendants visited Acanthus, to see the canal, and then rejoined the main army by a mountain-path which fell into the main road beyond Apollonia.

[7] Herodotus appears here, as in v. 17, to extend Pæonia beyond the Strymon, and to include in it portions of what are commonly called Mygdonia and Bisaltia.

[8] The Crestonia of Herodotus is clearly the Grestonia or Grestonæa of other writers (Thuc. ii. 99-100; Theopomp. Fr. 265), which commonly occurs in close connexion with Bisaltia (vide supra, ch. 115) and Mygdonia. Besides the upper valley of the Echidôrus, this district appears to have contained the country between that river and the mountain range of *Khortiatzi*. Within this region must be placed the ancient Pelasgic town of Creston (supra, i. 57; Steph. Byz. ad voc.).

[9] The Echidorus is undoubtedly the *Galliko*, which flows from the range of *Karadagh* (Cercinê), and running nearly due south, empties itself into the Gulf of *Saloniki*, five or six miles west of the city (Leake, iii. p. 439). A large salt marsh lies between its mouth and that of the Axius (ib. p. 437).

[10] See above, ch. 109, note [8].

[11] Vide supra, ii. 10.

[1] We have here an indication that this part of the work was written in

through the entire continent westward of the Acheloüs; but in the space between these bounds lions are found.[2]

127. On reaching Therma Xerxes halted his army, which encamped along the coast, beginning at the city of Therma in Mygdonia, and stretching out as far as the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon,[3] two streams which, mingling their waters in one, form the boundary between Bottiæa and Macedonia. Such was the extent of country through which the barbarians encamped. The rivers here mentioned were all of them sufficient to supply the troops, except the Echidôrus, which was drunk dry.

128. From Therma Xerxes beheld the Thessalian mountains, Olympus and Ossa,[4] which are of a wonderful height. Here, learning that there lay between these mountains a narrow gorge[5] through which the river

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Asia. To an Asiatic alone would the part of Europe east of the Nestus be the *fore* part.

[2] Col. Mure ridicules this whole story of the lions, and denies that the lion can have ever been indigenous in Europe (Lit. of Greece, vol. iv. p. 402). He believes that "the creatures alluded to, if not altogether fictitious, may safely be classed as some species of lynx or wild cat." But Aristotle, a native of this district, makes the same statement as Herodotus (Hist. Anim. vi. 31), and Pliny follows him (H. N. viii. 16). Dio Chrysostom mentions that by his time (A.D. 120) lions had disappeared from Europe (Orat. xxi. p. 269 C.).

[3] The Lydias and Haliacmon are the modern *Karasmák*, and *Ingékara*, or *Vistritza*. At present the Lydias forms a junction with the Axius (*Vardhári*) near its mouth. From the time of Scylax (B.C. 350) to that of Ptolemy (A.D. 140), it had an embouchure of its own, distinct alike from that of the Haliacmon and that of the Axius (Scylax, Peripl. p. 61; Strabo, vii. p. 479; Ptol. iii. 13, p. 92). In great alluvial plains, like this of the ancient Bottiæa, the courses of rivers are liable to continual changes (compare the changes of the rivers in Lower Babylonia, and in Cilicia Campestris, supra, vol. i. p. 391, note [8], and pp. 566-8).

[4] In clear weather Olympus and Ossa are in full view from Therma (*Saloniki*), though the latter is more than seventy miles distant (Clarke's Travels, ch. xi. p. 372; Leake's Northern Greece, vol. iii. p. 240). Olympus, still called *Elymbo*, is the highest of the Thessalian mountains. Its principal summit attains an elevation of above 6000 feet (ib. p. 342). It is covered with snow during a great portion of the year. Ossa, the modern *Kissavo*, to the south of the Peneus, is inferior in height, but even more striking in appearance. It scarcely exceeds 5000 feet; but its conical peak, often capped with snow, and its well-wooded slopes, thickly covered with beeches, render it one of the most remarkable as well as one of the most beautiful of the Greek mountains (see Leake, i. p. 434; iv. p. 411).

[5] This description of the pass of Tempé (vide infra, ch. 173), though brief, is remarkably accurate. Modern travellers observe that Tempé has improperly been termed a valley.

Peneus ran, and where there was a road that gave an entrance into Thessaly, he formed the wish to go by sea himself, and examine the mouth of the river. His design was to lead his army by the upper road through the country of the inland Macedonians, and so to enter Perrhæbia,[6] and come down by the city of Gonnus;[7] for he was told that that way was the most secure. No sooner therefore had he formed this wish than he acted accordingly. Embarking, as was his wont on all such occasions, aboard a Sidonian vessel,[8] he gave the signal to the rest of the fleet to get under weigh, and quitting his land army, set sail and proceeded to the Peneus.

"Tempé," says a recent tourist of remarkable powers of description, "is not a vale—it is a narrow pass—and though extremely beautiful on account of the precipitous rocks on each side, the Peneus flowing deep in the midst between the richest overhanging plane-woods, still its character is distinctly that of a ravine or gorge. In some parts the pass, which is five or six miles from end to end, is so narrow as merely to admit the road and the river; in others the rocks recede from the stream, and there is a little space of green meadow. The cliffs themselves are very lofty, and beautifully hung with creepers and other foliage" (Lear's Tour in Albania, &c., pp. 409, 410). It is interesting to compare with this account the two well-known descriptions of the Latin writers.

"Sunt Tempe saltus, etiamsi non bello fiat infestus, transitu difficilis. Nam præter angustias per quinque millia, quâ exiguum jumento onusto iter est, rupes utrinque ità abscisse sunt ut despici vix sine vertigine quâdam simul oculorum animique possit. Terret et sonitus et altitudo per mediam vallem fluentis Penei amnis." (Liv. xliv. 6.)

"In eo cursu (sc. Penei fluminis) Tempe vocantur quinque millia passuum longitudine, et ferme sesquijugeri latitudine, ultrà visum hominis attollentibus se dextrâ lævâque leniter convexis jugis. Intùs verò luco viridante allabitur Peneus, viridis calculo (?), amœnus circà ripas gramine, canorus avium concentu." (Plin. H. N. iv. 8.)

[6] Perrhæbia was the country west and south of Olympus, watered by the streams which form the river Titaresius. It did not reach to the sea (Scylax, Peripl. p. 60, ἐν μεσογείᾳ ἐποικοῦσιν ἔθνος Περῥαιβοί, Ἕλληνες), being bounded on the east by the Olympic chain. The Perrhæbians, at a later time, were subject to the Thessalians (Thuc. iv. 78). For the exact route pursued by Xerxes, vide infra, ch. 173.

[7] Gonnus was at the western extremity of the pass of Tempe, near the modern *Dereli* (see Leake, iii. p. 389). It commanded two passes, one leading across the flanks of Olympus to Heracleia and Dium, the other by Oloösson, Pythium, and Petra, round Olympus, to Pydna and Methônê. It was thus always a place of consequence, and seems to have been one of considerable strength (see Liv. xxxvi. 10; xlii. 54 and 57; xliv. 6). Remains of an ancient Hellenic town have been discovered in this position, which go by the name of *Lykóstemo* (Leake, vol. iii. p. 384).

[8] Supra, ch. 100.

Here the view of the mouth caused him to wonder greatly, and sending for his guides, he asked them whether it were possible to turn the course of the stream, and make it reach the sea at any other point.

129. Now there is a tradition that Thessaly was in ancient times a lake, shut in on every side by huge hills. Ossa and Pelion—ranges which join at the foot[9]—do in fact inclose it upon the east, while Olympus forms a barrier upon the north,[1] Pindus upon the west,[2] and Othrys towards the south.[3] The tract contained within these mountains, which is a deep basin, is called Thessaly. Many rivers pour their waters into it, but five of them are of more note than the rest,[4] namely,

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[9] Mount Pelium (the modern *Plessidhi*) lies south-east of Ossa at a distance of about 40 miles. The bases of the two mountains nevertheless join, as Herodotus states. Colonel Leake says, "The only deficiency in this beautiful situation (the situation of *Aghia*) is that of a view of the sea, of which, although only a few miles distant, it is deprived by a ridge, noticed by Herodotus, which closes the valley of *Dhésiani*, and unites the last falls of Ossa and Pelium" (Northern Greece, iv. p. 411).

The height of Pelium is estimated at 5300 feet. It is richly clothed with wood, nearly to the summit (Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, Hom.), producing chesnuts, oaks, planes, and towards the top "a forest of beeches" (Leake, iv. p. 393).

[1] The name Olympus is here applied to the entire range, called sometimes the Cambunian (Liv. xlii. 53; xliv. 2), which stretches westward from the Olympic summit, separating between the valley of the Haliacmon and that of the Peneus and its tributaries.

[2] Mount Pindus, the back-bone of Greece, runs in a direction nearly due north and south, from the 41st to the 39th parallel. It attains an elevation in places of about 6000 feet.

[3] Othrys, now Mount *Iérako*, is situated due south of Ossa, and south-west of Pelion. Its height is estimated at 5670 feet. It is connected with Pindus by a chain of hills, averaging 3000 or 4000 feet, and running nearly due west, and with Pelion by a curved range which skirts the Gulf of *Volo* (Sinus Pagasæus) at the distance of a few miles from the shore (see Leake, vol. iv. ch. 40, and map).

[4] To these five Pliny adds a sixth, the Phœnix (H. N. iv. 8), and Lucan three more, the Asopus, the Melas, and the Titaresius (Phars. vi. 374-6.) But these streams, except the Titaresius, seem to have been tributaries of the Apidanus (Leake, iv. p. 515). The Titaresius is not included by Herodotus among the rivers of Thessaly, being regarded by him as belonging to Perrhæbia (see note [6] p. 108). With respect to the five streams which he names, it is certain that the Peneus is the *Salamoria*, the main river, which, rising at the *Zygos* of *Metzovo*, runs with a course at first south-east, and then east to the general meeting of the waters near *Kolokotó* (Leake, iv. p. 318). The Enipeus is also beyond a doubt the *Fersalíti*, for it flowed from Othrys (Strab. viii. p. 516, Vib. Sequest. de flumin. p. 9), and passed by Pharsalus (Strab. viii. p. 625). About the other streams there

the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochônus, the Enipeus, and the Pamisus. These streams flow down from the mountains which surround Thessaly, and meeting in the plain, mingle their waters together, and discharge themselves into the sea by a single outlet, which is a gorge of extreme narrowness. After the junction all the other names disappear, and the river is known as the Peneus. It is said that of old the gorge which allows the waters an outlet did not exist; accordingly the rivers, which were then, as well as the Lake Bœbêïs,[5] without names, but flowed with as much water as at present, made Thessaly a sea. The Thessalians tell us that the gorge through which the water escapes was caused by Neptune, and this is likely enough; at least any man who believes that Neptune causes earthquakes, and that chasms so produced are his handiwork, would say, upon seeing this rent, that Neptune did it. For it

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is some uncertainty. The Apidanus (or Epidanus, infra, ch. 196) was a tributary of the Enipeus (Strab. viii. p. 516), flowing from nearly the same quarter (ib. Eurip. Hec. 451-3), and therefore must be either the river of *Vrysiá*, or that of *Sofádhes*, probably the former (Leake, iv. p. 320). The Onochônus has been thought to be the river of *Suplí* (ib. p. 514). This stream would undoubtedly have lain upon the route of Xerxes, and may easily have failed his army, for it is a mere summer torrent (infra, ch. 196); but the fact that it is not a tributary of the Peneus at all, and the position that it occupies, as well in the list of Pliny as in that of Herodotus ("Apidanus, Onochônus, Enipeus"—"Enipeus, Onochônus, Pamisus"), appear to me insurmountable objections to Colonel Leake's theory. The Onochônus must have been in close proximity to the Enipeus and Apidanus, and may, I think, most probably be identified with the *Sofádhes* stream, which is also "a torrent often dry in summer" (Leake, p. 321). A part of the army of Xerxes may have taken a course as far inland as this, since it was politic to spread the army over a large space both to obtain supplies, and to collect additional troops. The last stream, the Pamisus, may well be (as Colonel Leake supposes, iv. p. 514) the *Bliuri* or *Musáki* river.

[5] Lake Bœbêïs, so called from a small town Bœbé, at its eastern extremity (Strabo, ix. p. 632), is the modern lake of *Karla*, a piece of water which has no outlet to the sea, and which varies greatly in its dimensions at different seasons, being derived chiefly from the overflowings of the Peneus. When this river is much swollen, a channel situated at a short distance below Larissa conducts the superfluous waters into the lake now called *Karatjaír*, and anciently Nessonis. From this basin they flow on down the *Asmak* river into the lake of *Karla*, which is fed also by a number of small streams descending from the flanks of Pelium (see Leake, iv. p. 403 and p. 425).

plainly appeared to me that the hills had been torn asunder by an earthquake.[6]

130. When Xerxes therefore asked the guides if there were any other outlet by which the waters could reach the sea, they, being men well acquainted with the nature of their country, made answer—

"O king, there is no other passage by which this stream can empty itself into the sea save that which thine eye beholds. For Thessaly is girt about with a circlet of hills."

Xerxes is said to have observed upon this—

"Wise men truly are they of Thessaly, and good reason had they to change their minds in time[7] and consult for their own safety. For, to pass by other matters, they must have felt that they lived in a country which may easily be brought under and subdued. Nothing more is needed than to turn the river upon their lands by an embankment which should fill up the gorge and force the stream from its present channel, and lo! all Thessaly, except the mountains, would at once be laid under water."

The king aimed in this speech at the sons of Aleuas,[8] who were Thessalians, and had been the first of all the Greeks to make submission to him. He thought that they had made their friendly offers in the name of the whole people.[9] So Xerxes, when he had viewed the

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[6] Modern science will scarcely quarrel with this description of Thessaly, which shows Herodotus to have had the eye of a physical geographer, and the imagination of a geologist. That the vast plain of Thessaly was originally a lake, and that the gorge of Tempé was cut through by the action of water, assisted in some measure by volcanic agency, is what the modern geologist would consider indubitable. He would regard the change indeed as less sudden than Herodotus may have thought it, and would substitute for "an earthquake," "a series of volcanic movements." See Hawkins in Walpole's Turkey, p. 523.

[7] Xerxes alludes here to the attempt which the Thessalians made to induce the Greeks to defend Thessaly (infra, ch. 172), which was given up on the discovery of the inland route through Perrhæbia (ch. 173, ad fin.).

[8] Supra, ch. 6, note [3].

[9] This was not the case. It appears in the subsequent narrative, that the Thessalian *people* was very desirous of resisting the invasion of Xerxes (infra, ch. 172-4).

place, and made the above speech, went back to Therma.

131. The stay of Xerxes in Pieria lasted for several days, during which a third part of his army was employed in cutting down the woods[10] on the Macedonian mountain-range to give his forces free passage into Perrhæbia. At this time the heralds who had been sent into Greece to require earth for the king returned to the camp, some of them empty-handed, others with earth and water.

132. Among the number of those from whom earth and water were brought, were the Thessalians, Dolopians,[1] Enianians,[2] Perrhæbians, Locrians,[3] Magnetians, Malians, Achæans of Phthiôtis,[4] Thebans, and Bœotians

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[10] Mr. Grote remarks that Sitalces had to make a road for his army in like manner, "in the early part of the Peloponnesian war" (Hist. of Greece, v. p. 109, note [2]). He refers of course to Thucyd. ii. 98, where the *fact* is related, but not as belonging to the time supposed. Sitalces, in the year B.C. 429, "marched by a road which he had *formerly* made, by cutting down the wood, when he marched against the Pæonians." The date of the Pæonian expedition is not given.

[1] The Dolopes, who continued to form a distinct people till the time of the Roman conquest (Liv. xli. 22), inhabited the mountain tract at the base of Pindus, extending from the Achelous to Lake *Taukli*, the modern chain of *Agrafa* (compare Thucyd. ii. 102; v. 51; Scylax, Peripl. p. 59; Strab. ix. p. 629; Liv. xxxviii. 3-8, &c.; and see Leake, iv. pp. 274-5). Accordingly they are sometimes spoken of in connexion with the tribes east of the central ridge, the Thessalians, Ænianians, Malians, Achæans of Phthiotis, &c., sometimes with the western nations, the Athamanians, Amphilochians, and Ætolians. We may understand here the inhabitants of eastern Dolopia, which extended apparently a certain distance into the southern Thessalian plain (Liv. xxxii. 13).

[2] The Enianes (or Ænianes, Thucyd. Scylax.) occupied the upper valley of the Spercheius, between the Œtean mountains, and the ridge which runs westward from Othrys. Their country did not reach to the sea (infra, ch. 198; Scylax, Peripl. p. 58. Compare Strab. ix. pp. 619, 620).

[3] The Epicnemidian and Opuntian Locrians are probably intended, not the Ozolian Locrians upon the Corinthian gulf, to whom it is likely that ambassadors were sent.

[4] The Magnetians, Achæans, and Malians, were the inhabitants of the coast tract between Thessaly and Locris. Magnesia extended along the east of Thessaly, from the mouth of the Peneus to Pagasæ. It was the country formed of the two mountains, Ossa and Pelium, with the ridge connecting them (infra, chs. 183, 193; Scylax, Peripl. p. 60; Liv. xliv. 11; Plin. H. N. iv. 8). Achæa Phthiotis was the tract about Mount Othrys. Its sea-board reached from the middle of the Pagasæan gulf (Scylax, Peripl. p. 58) to the mouth of the Spercheius (infra, ch. 198). Inland it once extended beyond Pharsalus, called anciently Phthia (Leake, iv. pp. 484-5), but at this time its northern boundary seems to have been the line of hills stretching from Lake Xynias (*Taukli*)

generally, except those of Platæa and Thespiæ. These are the nations against whom the Greeks that had taken up arms to resist the barbarians swore the oath, which ran thus—"From all those of Greek blood who delivered themselves up to the Persians without necessity, when their affairs were in good condition, we will take a tythe of their goods, and give it to the god at Delphi." So ran the words of the Greek oath.[5]

133. King Xerxes had sent no heralds either to Athens or Sparta to ask earth and water, for a reason which I will now relate. When Darius some time before sent messengers for the same purpose,[6] they were thrown, at Athens, into the pit of punishment,[7] at Sparta into a well, and bidden to take therefrom earth and water for themselves, and carry it to their king. On this account Xerxes did not send to ask them. What calamity came upon the Athenians to punish them for their treatment of the heralds I cannot say, unless it were the laying waste of their city and territory; but that I believe was not on account of this crime.

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across to the gulf of Pagasæ, and terminating in the promontory of Pyrrha (Cape *Angkistri*). Westward it was bounded by the Dolopians and Enianians. Concerning the country of the Malians, vide infra, ch. 198.

[5] A good deal of doubt hangs about this oath. Both the time and the terms of it are differently reported. Diodorus alone agrees with Herodotus in assigning it to this period of the war (xi. 3). All other writers place it at the solemn meeting after the victory of Platæa (Lycurg. in Leocrat. xix. p. 158; Schol. ad Aristid. p. 224; Suidas ad voc. δεκατεύειν, &c.). Again Diodorus, who agrees with Herodotus as to the time, differs as to the terms. And Theopompus seems to have rejected the circumstance altogether (Fr. 167). If the punishment was afterwards inflicted by the Amphyctionic Council (infra, ch. 213), the story of the oath may easily have grown up.

[6] Supra, vi. 48.

[7] The barathrum, or "pit of punishment" at Athens, was a deep hole like a well into which criminals were precipitated. Iron hooks were inserted in the sides, which tore the body in pieces as it fell (Schol. ad Aristoph. Plut. 427). It corresponded to the Ceadas of the Lacedæmonians. According to a single obscure writer (Bibliothec. Coislinian. p. 491), it was situated within the deme of Ceraïdes.

The fate of the heralds is noticed by several writers (Polyb. ix. 39, § 5; Pausan. III. xii. § 6; Plutarch, ii. p. 235; Stobæus, vii. 70; Suidas, ad voc. Βοῦλις, &c.). Pausanias says that at Athens, Miltiades was mainly responsible for the step, and considers that the calamities which befel him and his family were a judgment on him in consequence.

134. On the Lacedæmonians, however, the wrath of Talthybius, Agamemnon's herald, fell with violence. Talthybius has a temple at Sparta, and his descendants, who are called Talthybiadæ,[8] still live there, and have the privilege of being the only persons who discharge the office of herald. When therefore the Spartans had done the deed of which we speak, the victims at their sacrifices failed to give good tokens; and this failure lasted for a very long time. Then the Spartans were troubled, and regarding what had befallen them as a grievous calamity, they held frequent assemblies of the people, and made proclamation through the town, "Was any Lacedæmonian willing to give his life for Sparta?" Upon this two Spartans, Sperthias, the son of Anêristus, and Bulis, the son of Nicolaüs, both men of noble birth, and among the wealthiest in the place, came forward and freely offered themselves as an atonement to Xerxes for the heralds of Darius slain at Sparta. So the Spartans sent them away to the Medes to undergo death.

135. Nor is the courage which these men hereby displayed alone worthy of wonder, but so likewise are the following speeches which were made by them. On their road to Susa they presented themselves before Hydarnes.[9] This Hydarnes was a Persian by birth, and had the command of all the nations that dwelt along the sea-coast of Asia. He accordingly showed them hospitality, and invited them to a banquet, where, as they feasted, he said to them:—

"Men of Lacedæmon, why will ye not consent to be

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[8] Supra, vi. 60, note [7].

[9] This Hydarnes seems to be the person alluded to in Book vi. c. 133. He had succeeded apparently to the office of Otanes (v. 25) before the close of the Ionian revolt. This office was not a satrapy, but the command of the Persian troops in the satrapy of Lydia, and perhaps also in that of Bithynia (see Appendix to Book iii. Essay iii., "On the Persian system of Administration and Government," § 2). He may possibly be the conspirator (iii. 70), but was more probably his son, the leader of the Immortals (supra, ch. 83).

friends with the king? Ye have but to look at me and my fortune to see that the king knows well how to honour merit. In like manner ye yourselves, were ye to make your submission to him, would receive at his hands, seeing that he deems you men of merit, some government in Greece."

"Hydarnes," they answered, "thou art a one-sided counsellor. Thou hast experience of half the matter, but the other half is beyond thy knowledge. A slave's life thou understandest, but never having tasted liberty, thou canst not tell whether it be sweet or no. Ah! hadst thou known what freedom is, thou wouldst have bidden us fight for it, not with the spear only, but with the battle-axe."

So they answered Hydarnes.

136. And afterwards, when they were come to Susa into the king's presence, and the guards ordered them to fall down and do obeisance, and went so far as to use force to compel them, they refused, and said they would never do any such thing, even were their heads thrust down to the ground, for it was not their custom to worship men,[10] and they had not come to Persia for that purpose. So they fought off the ceremony; and having done so, addressed the king in words much like the following:—

"Oh! king of the Medes, the Lacedæmonians have sent us hither, in the place of those heralds of thine who were slain in Sparta, to make atonement to thee on their account."

Then Xerxes answered with true greatness of soul "that he would not act like the Lacedæmonians, who, by killing the heralds, had broken the laws which all men hold in common. As he had blamed such conduct in them, he would never be guilty of it himself. And

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[10] Compare the refusal of Callisthenes to prostrate himself before Alexander (Arrian. Exp. Alex. iv. 10-12).

besides, he did not wish, by putting the two men to death, to free the Lacedæmonians from the stain of their former outrage."

137. This conduct on the part of the Spartans caused the anger of Talthybius to cease for awhile, notwithstanding that Sperthias and Bulis returned home alive. But many years afterwards it awoke once more, as the Lacedæmonians themselves declare, during the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians. In my judgment this was a case wherein the hand of heaven was most plainly manifest.[1] That the wrath of Talthybius should have fallen upon ambassadors, and not slacked till it had full vent, so much justice required; but that it should have come upon the sons of the very men who were sent up to the Persian king on its account—upon Nicolaüs, the son of Bulis, and Anêristus, the son of Sperthias (the same who carried off fishermen from Tiryns, when cruising in a well-manned merchant-ship[2]),—this does seem to me to be plainly a supernatural circumstance. Yet certain it is that these two men, having been sent to Asia as ambassadors by the Lacedæmonians, were betrayed by Sitalces, the son of Tereus, king of Thrace,[3] and Nymphodôrus, the son of

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[1] Such is beyond a doubt the meaning of this passage. Strange difficulties have been made by the commentators (Valckenaer, Pauw, Larcher) with respect both to its language and import. The phrase *ἐν τοῖσι θειότατον*, which puzzled Valckenaer, is common enough (Thucyd. i. 6; iii. 17, 81, &c.) *'Εν τοῖσι* modifies the force of the superlative, and gives the sense of "one of the most divine"—"among the most divine." It is curious that so good a critic as Matthiæ has not seen this (Greek Grammar, § 290). And persons must have formed a very mistaken notion of the mind of Herodotus to find a difficulty in his ascribing the events related to supernatural agency. They are certainly striking enough to arrest the attention of the most careless, the strangeness of the coincidence being only *slightly* diminished by the hereditary descent of the herald's office at Sparta, for there must undoubtedly have been many families of Talthybiadæ.

[2] Thucydides tells us (ii. 67, end) that the Lacedæmonians from the very beginning of the Peloponnesian war made prize of the trading-vessels, not only of their adversaries but of neutrals, if they caught them off the Peloponnesian coasts. This would seem to be an illustration of the latter practice, for Tiryns, an Argive town, took no part in the war (Thucyd. ii. 9).

[3] It is certainly remarkable that Sitalces should be described here, and

Pythes, a native of Abdêra, and being made prisoners at Bisanthê,[4] upon the Hellespont, were conveyed to Attica, and there put to death by the Athenians, at the same time as Aristeas, the son of Adeimantus,[5] the Corinthian. All this happened, however, very many years after the expedition of Xerxes.[6]

138. To return, however, to my main subject,—the expedition of the Persian king, though it was in name directed against Athens, threatened really the whole of Greece. And of this the Greeks were aware some time before, but they did not all view the matter in the same light. Some of them had given the Persian earth and water, and were bold on this account, deeming themselves thereby secured against suffering hurt from the barbarian army; while others, who had refused compliance, were thrown into extreme alarm. For whereas they considered all the ships in Greece too few to engage the enemy, it was plain that the greater number of states would take no part in the war, but warmly favoured the Medes.

139. And here I feel constrained to deliver an opinion, which most men, I know, will mislike, but which, as it seems to me to be true, I am determined not to withhold. Had the Athenians, from fear of the approaching danger, quitted their country, or had they without quitting it submitted to the power of Xerxes, there would certainly have been no attempt to

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not in Book iv. ch. 80. It tends to confirm the view that these last three books were the first written (supra, ch. 1, note[1]).

[4] Bisanthê, afterwards called Rhœdestus (Ptol. iii. 11), was situated on the Propontis rather than the Hellespont. It occupied the site of *Rodosto*. The original city is said to have been a colony of the Samians (Xen. Anab. VII. ii. ad fin.; Plin. H. N. iv. 11; Ptol. iii. 11, p. 89).

[5] Concerning Adeimantus, see below, viii. 59, 61, 94.

[6] The event took place in the year B.C. 430, nearly sixty years after the murder of the Persian envoys. It is related by Thucydides (ii. 67), whose narrative closely harmonises with that of our author. The chief difference is that what Thucydides ascribes to Sadocus, the son of Sitalces, is here referred to Nymphodorus, his brother-in-law. But Sadocus may well have acted under the influence of Nymphodorus (see Thucyd. ii. 29, and with respect to Aristeas, cf. i. 59-65, and ii. 67).

resist the Persians by sea; in which case, the course of events by land would have been the following. Though the Peloponnesians might have carried ever so many breastworks across the Isthmus, yet their allies would have fallen off from the Lacedæmonians, not by voluntary desertion, but because town after town must have been taken by the fleet of the barbarians; and so the Lacedæmonians would at last have stood alone, and, standing alone, would have displayed prodigies of valour, and died nobly. Either they would have done thus, or else, before it came to that extremity, seeing one Greek state after another embrace the cause of the Medes, they would have come to terms with King Xerxes;—and thus, either way Greece would have been brought under Persia. For I cannot understand of what possible use the walls across the Isthmus could have been, if the King had had the mastery of the sea.[7] If then a man should now say that the Athenians were the saviours of Greece, he would not exceed the truth. For they truly held the scales, and whichever side they espoused must have carried the day. They too it was who, when they had determined to maintain the freedom of Greece, roused up that portion of the Greek nation which had not gone over to the Medes, and so, next to the gods, *they* repulsed the invader. Even the terrible oracles which reached them from Delphi, and struck fear into their hearts, failed to persuade them to fly from Greece. They had the courage to remain faithful to their land, and await the coming of the foe.

140. When the Athenians, anxious to consult the oracle, sent their messengers to Delphi, hardly had

[7] These arguments are quite unanswerable, and seem to moderns almost too plain to be enunciated, but their force was not felt at the time (vide infra, ix. 8), nor was it even, as appears from this passage, admitted half a century afterwards (see Mr. Grote's remarks on this chapter, vol. v. p. 82, note [3]).

the envoys completed the customary rites about the sacred precinct, and taken their seats inside the sanctuary of the god, when the Pythoness, Aristonicé by name, thus prophesied—

"Wretches, why sit ye here? Fly, fly to the ends of creation,
Quitting your homes, and the crags which your city crowns with her circlet.
Neither the head, nor the body is firm in its place, nor at bottom
Firm the feet, nor the hands, nor resteth the middle uninjur'd.
All—all ruined and lost. Since fire, and impetuous Ares,
Speeding along in a Syrian chariot,[8] hastes to destroy her.
Not alone shalt thou suffer; full many the towers he will level,
Many the shrines of the gods he will give to a fiery destruction.
Even now they stand with dark sweat horribly dripping,[9]
Trembling and quaking for fear, and lo! from the high roofs trickleth
Black blood, sign prophetic of hard distresses impending.
Get ye away from the temple, and brood on the ills that await ye!"[10]

141. When the Athenian messengers heard this reply, they were filled with the deepest affliction: whereupon Timon, the son of Androbulus, one of the men of most mark among the Delphians, seeing how utterly cast down they were at the gloomy prophecy, advised them to take an olive-branch, and entering the sanctuary again, consult the oracle as suppliants. The Athenians followed this advice, and going in once more, said—"O King, we pray thee reverence these boughs of supplication which we bear in our hands, and deliver to us something more comforting concerning our country.

[8] That is, Assyrian (vide supra, ch. 63, note [1]). Compare Æschyl. Pers. 86, where the expression used seems taken from this oracle. Taking "Syrian" in this sense, we may say that the expression is historically correct; for the Persians, as the inhabitants of a mountain region, would not make use of war-chariots till they learnt to employ them from the Assyrians of the Mesopotamian plain. Xenophon has shown a proper appreciation of these circumstances (Cyrop. II. i. § 5-7; VI. 1, § 26-7). It is scarcely necessary to observe that the Assyrians appear by the sculptures to have employed chariots, like the Egyptians, from the earliest times. A representation of a Persian chariot has been already given (supra, page 42).

[9] Compare Diod. Sic. xvii. 10; Livy, xxii. 1, xxiii. 31, xxvii. 4, xxviii. 11; Virg. Georg. i. 480; Ov. Met. xv. 792; &c.

[10] The last expression is ambiguous, and *may* mean, "offer a bold heart to your ills" (as Schweighæuser, Larcher, and Bähr understand it); but θυμὸς has rarely this intensitive sense.

Else we will not leave thy sanctuary, but will stay here till we die." Upon this the priestess gave them a second answer, which was the following:—

"Pallas has not been able to soften the lord of Olympus,
Though she has often prayed him, and urged him with excellent counsel.
Yet once more I address thee in words than adamant firmer.
When the foe shall have taken whatever the limit of Cecrops[1]
Holds within it, and all which divine Cithæron shelters,
Then far-seeing Jove grants this to the prayers of Athené;
Safe shall the wooden wall continue for thee and thy children.
Wait not the tramp of the horse, nor the footmen mightily moving
Over the land, but turn your back to the foe, and retire ye.
Yet shall a day arrive when ye shall meet him in battle.
Holy Salamis, thou shalt destroy the offspring of women,
When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest."

142. This answer seemed, as indeed it was, gentler than the former one; so the envoys wrote it down, and went back with it to Athens. When, however, upon their arrival, they produced it before the people, and inquiry began to be made into its true meaning, many and various were the interpretations which men put on it; two, more especially, seemed to be directly opposed to one another. Certain of the old men were of opinion that the god meant to tell them the citadel would escape; for this was anciently defended by a palisade;[2] and they supposed that barrier to be the "wooden wall" of the oracle. Others maintained that the fleet was what the god pointed at; and their advice was that nothing should be thought of except the ships, which had best be at once got ready. Still such as said

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[1] By the "limit of Cecrops" the boundaries of Attica are intended. Cithæron, the boundary of Attica *towards Delphi*, occurs naturally to the prophetess.

[2] This meaning of ῥηχὸς seems to be preferable to that of a "thorn-hedge" which is adopted by some historians and lexicographers (Liddell and Scott ad voc.; Thirlwall, ii. p. 295). The latter is a most unusual defence, whereas the former was well known to the Greeks from very early times (Hom. Il. vii. 441; xii. 63). And the glosses, ῥηχὺς, φραγμὸς (Gloss. Herod.), ῥαχῷ, ξυλίνῳ περιβόλῳ ἤτοι σταυρώμασι (Schol. Aristid.) authorise this meaning, which may be best connected with the other by help of the Etymologicum Magnum, where ῥαχὸς is explained as ὁ ἀκανθὸς ὁ ἀκανθώδης.

the "wooden wall" meant the fleet, were perplexed by the last two lines of the oracle—

> "Holy Salamis, thou shalt destroy the offspring of women,
> When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest."

These words caused great disturbance among those who took the wooden wall to be the ships; since the interpreters understood them to mean, that, if they made preparations for a sea-fight, they would suffer a defeat off Salamis.

143. Now there was at Athens a man who had lately made his way into the first rank of citizens;[3] his true name was Themistocles, but he was known more generally as the son of Neocles.[4] This man came forward and said, that the interpreters had not explained the oracle altogether aright—"for if," he argued, "the clause in question had really respected the Athenians, it would not have been expressed so mildly; the phrase used would have been 'Luckless Salamis,' rather than 'Holy Salamis,' had those to whom the island belonged been about to perish in its neighbourhood. Rightly taken, the response of the god threatened the enemy, much more than the Athenians." He therefore counselled his countrymen to make ready to fight on board their ships, since *they* were the wooden wall in which the god told them to trust.[5] When Themistocles had

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[3] According to Plutarch (Vit. Them. c. 1), Themistocles, though not absolutely of low origin, owed little to birth and parentage. His father, Neocles, did not belong to the most illustrious class of citizens (*οὐ τῶν ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν Ἀθήνησι*), and his mother was a Thracian or a Halicarnassian woman. Themistocles would thus only have obtained citizenship through the enfranchisement made by Clisthenes (supra, vol. iii. pp. 405-6), and would have had many prejudices to contend against before he could become a leading statesman. The fortune left him by his father was said to have been three talents, or about 720*l.* (Crit. Fr. 8).

[4] The practice of addressing persons by their father's names was common in Greece. *Ὦ παῖ Κλεινίου, ὦ παῖ Ἱερωνύμου, ὦ παῖ Ἱππονίκου*, &c., are usual forms in Plato, especially in addresses to the *young*.

[5] It has been with reason suspected that the ingenuity of Themistocles was less shown in expounding these oracles than in contriving them. He had probably "himself prepared the crisis which he now stept forward to

thus cleared the matter, the Athenians embraced his view, preferring it to that of the interpreters. The advice of these last had been against engaging in a sea-fight; "all the Athenians could do," they said, "was, without lifting a hand in their defence, to quit Attica, and make a settlement in some other country."[6]

144. Themistocles had before this given a counsel which prevailed very seasonably. The Athenians, having a large sum of money in their treasury, the produce of the mines at Laureium,[7] were about to share it among the full-grown citizens, who would have received ten drachmas apiece,[8] when Themistocles per-

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decide" (Thirlwall, vol. ii. p. 296). The oracle would be open to influence (supra, v. 63; vi. 66), and Themistocles would not be likely to neglect such an engine. It was his object to overcome the natural clinging to home of his countrymen, and to drive them by sheer terror to their ships. Thence the threats of the oracles. His "keen eye" may also well have "caught a prophetic glimpse of the events that were to hallow the shores of Salamis;" i. e. he saw the importance of the position, and determined that there the great battle must and should take place. Does Mr. Grote intend by his silence to oppose this view, which met with acceptance even among the ancients (see Plut. Them. c. 10)?

[6] This plan appears to have been seriously entertained; and Siris in Italy was even fixed upon as the best locality (infra, viii. 62). It must be remembered that it had been adopted with success by the Phocæans and Teians (supra, i. 165-8)?

[7] Laureium or Laurion was the name of the mountainous country immediately above Cape *Colonna* (Sunium), reaching northwards to Anaphlystus and Thoricus. *Legrana*, a small place in this district, is a corruption of the ancient word (Λαύριον, pronounced *Lavrion*, Λάγριον, *Legrana*). The silver-mines, with which the whole tract abounded, had been worked from time immemorial (Xen. de Vect. iv. § 2). The wealth of Pisistratus seems to have been in great part derived from them (supra, i. 64), as was afterwards that of Nicias and Hipponicus (Xen. de Vect. iv. § 14; comp. Memorab. Socr. II. v. § 2). They were regarded as the property of the state; but private individuals, even foreigners (ib. § 12), were allowed to work them on payment to the state of one twenty-fourth of the produce (Suidas, ad voc. ἀγράφου μετάλλου δίκη. Compare Hyperid. Orat. pro Euxenipp. Col. 43). During the Peloponnesian war they continued to be of importance (Thucyd. vi. 91); but in the time of Xenophon the proceeds had fallen off (Mem. Socr. III. vi. § 12), though he is far from thinking them exhausted (Vect. iv. § 3, 26). However they seem gradually to have declined, and, after an attempt to work the old scoriæ, which did not answer long (Strab. ix. p. 580), they were finally abandoned by the time of Augustus (ib. compare Pausan. I. i. § 1). Numerous traces still remain of the old scoriæ and pits (Leake's Demi, p. 66).

[8] If the number of citizens at this time was, according to the estimate already made, 30,000 (supra, v. 97), the entire sum which they were about to have shared among them must have been 50 talents, or rather more than 12,000*l*. We cannot however conclude from this, as Boeckh does (Pub-

suaded them to forbear the distribution, and build with the money two hundred ships,[9] to help them in their war against the Eginetans. It was the breaking out of the Eginetan war which was at this time the saving of Greece, for hereby were the Athenians forced to become a maritime power. The new ships were not used for the purpose for which they had been built, but became a help to Greece in her hour of need. And the Athenians had not only these vessels ready before the war, but they likewise set to work to build more; while they determined, in a council which was held after the debate upon the oracle, that, according to the advice of the god, they would embark their whole force aboard their ships, and with such Greeks as chose to join them, give battle to the barbarian invader. Such, then, were the oracles which had been received by the Athenians.

145. The Greeks who were well affected to the Grecian cause, having assembled in one place, and there consulted together, and interchanged pledges with each other, agreed that, before any other step was taken, the feuds and enmities which existed between the different nations should first of all be appeased. Many such there were; but one was of more importance than the rest, namely, the war which was still going on be-

lic Economy of Athens, App. to vol. ii. pp. 462-3, E. T.), that the *annual* proceeds of the mines were of this amount, for the fifty talents may have been the produce of an accumulation.

[9] This is what Herodotus says, but perhaps not what he meant to say. It seems certain that the real determination was to raise their navy to the number of 200 vessels. This was the number actually employed both at Artemisium (infra, viii. 1 and 14) and at Salamis (ib. 44 and 46). Accordingly Plutarch (Them. c. 4), Polyænus (I. xxx. § 5), and Cornelius Nepos (Them. c. ii.) report, that *one* hundred ships only were voted, implying that the Athenians already possessed at the time of the vote one hundred triremes. This is possible, though a few years earlier (B.C. 491) they had but fifty (supra, vi. 89). Again, it is evident that fifty talents would have been too little for the purpose indicated, even if we limit the new ships to one hundred (Boeckh, ii. p. 464). We may therefore conclude that the vote assigned over the produce of the mines for a number of years. On the fact that Themistocles gave the advice, compare Thucyd. i. 14.

tween the Athenians and the Eginetans.[10] When this business was concluded, understanding that Xerxes had reached Sardis with his army, they resolved to despatch spies into Asia to take note of the king's affairs. At the same time they determined to send ambassadors to the Argives, and conclude a league with them against the Persians; while they likewise despatched messengers to Gelo, the son of Deinomenes, in Sicily, to the people of Corcyra, and to those of Crete, exhorting them to send help to Greece. Their wish was to unite, if possible, the entire Greek name in one, and so to bring all to join in the same plan of defence, inasmuch as the approaching dangers threatened all alike. Now the power of Gelo was said to be very great, far greater than that of any single Grecian people.

146. So when these resolutions had been agreed upon, and the quarrels between the states made up, first of all they sent into Asia three men as spies. These men reached Sardis, and took note of the king's forces, but, being discovered, were examined by order of the generals who commanded the land army, and, having been condemned to suffer death, were led out to execution. Xerxes, however, when the news reached him, disapproving the sentence of the generals, sent some of his body-guard with instructions, if they found the spies still alive, to bring them into his presence. The messengers found the spies alive, and brought them before the king, who, when he heard the purpose for which they had come, gave orders to his guards to take them round the camp, and show them all the footmen and all the horse, letting them gaze at everything to their heart's content; then, when they were satisfied, to send them away unharmed to whatever country they desired.

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[10] Supra, v. 81, 89; vi. 87-93. The council appears to have assembled at the Isthmus (infra, ch. 172).

147. For these orders Xerxes gave afterwards the following reasons. "Had the spies been put to death," he said, "the Greeks would have continued ignorant of the vastness of his army, which surpassed the common report of it; while he would have done them a very small injury by killing three of their men. On the other hand, by the return of the spies to Greece, his power would become known; and the Greeks," he expected, "would make surrender of their freedom before he began his march, by which means his troops would be saved all the trouble of an expedition." This reasoning was like to that which he used upon another occasion. While he was staying at Abydos, he saw some corn-ships, which were passing through the Hellespont from the Euxine,[1] on their way to Egina and the Peloponnese. His attendants, hearing that they were the enemy's, were ready to capture them, and looked to see when Xerxes would give the signal. He, however, merely asked, "Whither the ships were bound?" and when they answered, "For thy foes, master, with corn on board,"—"We too are bound thither," he rejoined, "laden, among other things, with corn. What harm is it, if they carry our provisions for us?"[2]

So the spies, when they had seen everything, were dismissed, and came back to Europe.

148. The Greeks who had banded themselves together against the Persian king, after despatching the spies into Asia, sent next ambassadors to Argos. The account which the Argives give of their own proceedings is the following. They say that they had information

[1] The corn-growing countries upon the Black Sea, in ancient as in modern times, supplied the commercial nations with their chief article of food. The importance of this trade to Athens has been well stated by Boeckh (Pol. Ecom. of Athens, vol. i. pp. 107-8). We see here that other Greek states were engaged in it. Connect with this subject the following passages, iv. 17 (*Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες, οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ σιτήσει σπειροῦσι τὸν σῖτον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πρήσει*), v. 5 and 26.

[2] That Xerxes was not altogether devoid of magnanimity is plain from these anecdotes as well as from his conduct towards the heralds Sperthias and Bulis (supra, ch. 136).

from the very first of the preparations which the barbarians were making against Greece. So, as they expected that the Greeks would come upon them for aid against the assailant, they sent envoys to Delphi to inquire of the god, what it would be best for them to do in the matter. They had lost, not long before, six thousand citizens, who had been slain by the Lacedæmonians under Cleomenes the son of Anaxandridas;[3] which was the reason why they now sent to Delphi. When the Pythoness heard their question, she replied—

"Hated of all thy neighbours, beloved of the blessed Immortals,
Sit thou still, with thy lance drawn inward, patiently watching;
Warily guard thine head, and the head will take care of the body."

This prophecy had been given them some time before the envoys came; but still, when they afterwards arrived, it was permitted them to enter the council-house, and there deliver their message. And this answer was returned to their demands—"Argos is ready to do as ye require, if the Lacedæmonians will first make a truce for thirty years,[4] and will further divide with Argos the leadership of the allied army. Although in strict right the whole command should be hers,[5] she will be content to have the leadership divided equally."

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[3] We have here an estimate of the Argive loss in the battle and massacre of which an account was given above (see vi. 78-80). If, as is probable, the number of citizens was not greater than at Sparta (about 10,000), the blow was certainly tremendous. We have already seen to what unusual steps it led (ibid. 83, note [1]). Perhaps the last line of the oracle refers to the expediency of preserving what remained of the Doric blood, the topmost rank in the state.

[4] In the Peloponnesian war the position of the two nations was so far changed that Sparta, pressed and Argos refused such a truce (Thucyd. v. 14, 76, 82).

[5] Argos never forgot her claim or relinquished her hopes of the hegemony. The claim rested in part on the fact that Argos was the seat of government under the Achæan kings, in part on the supposed choice of Argolis for his kingdom by Temenus, the eldest of the Heraclidæ (see Hermann's Pol. Ant. § 33; and supra, vol. iii. p. 332). The hope determined the policy of Argos at all periods of her history. It induced her to stand aloof from great struggles—from the Peloponnesian as well as from this—in order to nurse her strength. And it caused her in critical times to incline always towards alliance with the enemies of Sparta, as with the Mes-

149. Such, they say, was the reply made by the council, in spite of the oracle which forbade them to enter into a league with the Greeks. For, while not without fear of disobeying the oracle, they were greatly desirous of obtaining a thirty years' truce, to give time for their sons to grow to man's estate. They reflected, that if no such truce were concluded, and it should be their lot to suffer a second calamity at the hands of the Persians, it was likely they would fall hopelessly under the power of Sparta. But to the demands of the Argive council the Lacedæmonian envoys made answer—"They would bring before the people the question of concluding a truce.[6] With regard to the leadership, they had received orders what to say, and the reply was, that Sparta had two kings, Argos but one—it was not possible that either of the two Spartans should be stripped of his dignity—but they did not oppose the Argive king having one vote like each of them." The Argives say, that they could not brook this arrogance on the part of Sparta, and rather than yield one jot to it, they preferred to be under the rule of the barbarians. So they told the envoys to begone, before sunset, from their territory, or they should be treated as enemies.

150. Such is the account which is given of these matters by the Argives themselves. There is another story, which is told generally through Greece, of a different tenor. Xerxes, it is said, before he set forth on his expedition against Greece, sent a herald to Argos, who on his arrival spoke as follows:—

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senians in their early wars (Pausan. iv. 10-11; 15, § 1, 4); with Athens in B.C. 461 (Thucyd. i. 102), and again in B.C. 420 (ib. v. 44-7); with the Corinthians in B.C. 421 (ib. v. 27-8. Note the words 'Αργεῖοι ἐλπίσαντες τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἡγήσεσθαι), and with the Thebans in B.C. 369 (Diod. Sic. xv. 68).

[6] Müller (Dorians, ii. p. 91, note [1]) has carefully collected the passages which prove that questions of peace and war were always decided by the *ἐκκλησία* at Sparta. They are, besides the present, Thucyd. i. 67, 72; v. 77; vi. 88; Xen. Hell. III. ii. § 23; IV. vi. § 3; V. ii. § 23; VI. iv. § 2; Plut. Ages. c. 6.

"Men of Argos, King Xerxes speaks thus to you. We Persians deem that the Perses from whom we descend was the child of Perseus the son of Danaë, and of Andromeda the daughter of Cepheus.[7] Hereby it would seem that we come of your stock and lineage. So then it neither befits us to make war upon those from whom we spring; nor can it be right for you to fight, on behalf of others, against us. Your place is to keep quiet and hold yourselves aloof. Only let matters proceed as I wish, and there is no people whom I shall have in higher esteem than you."

This address, says the story, was highly valued by the Argives, who therefore at the first neither gave a promise to the Greeks nor yet put forward a demand. Afterwards, however, when the Greeks called upon them to give their aid, they made the claim which has been mentioned, because they knew well that the Lacedæmonians would never yield it, and so they would have a pretext for taking no part in the war.

151. Some of the Greeks say that this account agrees remarkably with what happened many years afterwards. Callias, the son of Hipponicus, and certain others with him, had gone up to Susa, the city of Memnon,[8] as ambassadors of the Athenians, upon a business quite distinct from this.[9] While they were there, it happened that the Argives likewise sent ambassadors to Susa,[10] to ask Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, "if the friendship which they had formed with his father still continued,

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[7] Vide supra, ch. 61. note [3], and compare vi. 54.

[8] Supra, ii. 106, and v. 53-4.

[9] Dahlmann (Life of Herod. p. 30, E. T.) is of opinion that this embassy was sent from Athens in the first year of the Peloponnesian war, or at any rate, between that date and B.C. 425, the year of the death of Artaxerxes. Bähr (ad loc.) adopts his view. But there seems to be no sufficient grounds for impugning the account given by Diodorus (xii. 3-4), that Callias was sent up to Susa after the victories at Cyprus (B.C. 449), and negotiated the so-called "peace of Cimon." (See Mr. Grote's remarks, Hist. of Greece, v. pp. 452-7.)

[10] An Argive ambassador, not however accredited by his government, was on his way to Susa in the year B.C. 430, and was involved in the fate of Nicolaus and Aneristus (Thuc. ii. 67, and compare supra, ch. 137).

or if he looked upon them as his enemies?"—to which King Artaxerxes replied, "Most certainly it continues; and there is no city which I reckon more my friend than Argos."

152. For my own part I cannot positively say whether Xerxes did send the herald to Argos or not; nor whether Argive ambassadors at Susa did really put this question to Artaxerxes about the friendship between them and him; neither do I deliver any opinion hereupon other than that of the Argives themselves. This, however, I know—that if every nation were to bring all its evil deeds to a given place, in order to make an exchange with some other nation, when they had all looked carefully at their neighbours' faults, they would be truly glad to carry their own back again. So, after all, the conduct of the Argives was not perhaps more disgraceful than that of others. For myself, my duty is to report all that is said, but I am not obliged to believe it all alike—a remark which may be understood to apply to my whole History. Some even go so far as to say, that the Argives first invited the Persians to invade Greece, because of their ill success in the war with Lacedæmon, since they preferred anything to the smart of their actual sufferings. Thus much concerning the Argives.[1]

153. Other ambassadors, among whom was Syagrus from Lacedæmon, were sent by the allies into Sicily, with instructions to confer with Gelo.

The ancestor of this Gelo, who first settled at Gela, was a native of the isle of Telos, which lies off Triopium.[2] When Gela was colonised by Antiphêmus and

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[1] The comments of the Pseudo-Plutarch on this passage (De Malign. Herod. ii. p. 863) are particularly unfair. Herodotus had evidently formed, and probably on good grounds, an opinion decidedly unfavourable to the Argives (vide infra, viii. 73). This opinion he is partly afraid, partly unwilling, to make too apparent. The only faults of which he can fairly be accused are timidity and over-tenderness towards a guilty nation.

[2] Telos, still known by its old name, but more commonly called

the Lindians of Rhodes,[3] he likewise took part in the expedition. In course of time his descendants became the high-priests of the gods who dwell below—an office which they held continually, from the time that Têlines, one of Gelo's ancestors, obtained it in the way which I will now mention. Certain citizens of Gela, worsted in a sedition, had found a refuge at Mactôrium, a town situated on the heights above Gela.[4] Têlines reinstated these men, without any human help, solely by means of the sacred rites of these deities. From whom he received them, or how he himself acquired them, I cannot say; but certain it is, that relying on their power he brought the exiles back. For this his reward was to be, the office of high-priest of those gods for himself and his seed for ever. It surprises me especially that such a feat should have been performed by Têlines; for I have always looked upon acts of this nature as beyond the abilities of common men, and only to be achieved by such as are of a bold and manly spirit; whereas Têlines is said by those who dwell about Sicily to have

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Piscopi, lies due south of the Triopian promontory (near Cape *Crio*, supra, i. 174), at the distance of about twenty miles. It is very incorrectly described by Strabo (x. p. 713), who however marks its position with sufficient accuracy by placing it between Chalcia (*Karki*) and Nisyros (*Nisyro*). It belonged to the islands called the Sporades (ibid.), not, as Stephen says (ad voc.), to the Cyclades.

[3] Gela, like most of the Sicilian towns (Steph. Byz. ad voc. Ἀκράγαντες), derived its name from the stream on whose banks it was built. That stream (the modern *Fiume di Terra Nuova*) is said to have got its name from the white frosts which it created along its banks (ibid. ad voc. Γέλα), the Sicilian and Oscan *gela* representing the Latin *gelu*. The colonisation of Gela is declared by Thucydides to have taken place forty-five years after that of Syracuse, or about B.C. 690. According to him the colony consisted of Cretans as well as Rhodians (vi. 4; compare Artemon, Fr. 5). Still the Rhodians preponderated, and the settlement was at first called *Lindii* (ib. compare Pausan. VIII. xlvi. § 2; Schol. ad Pind. Ol. ii. 16; Athenæus, vii. p. 297, f.; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Γέλα; Etym. Magn. ad voc. eand.). Some authors made Dinomenes—beyond a doubt the ancestor of Gelo who is here spoken of (cf. Schol. ad Pind.)—actual founder of the city (see Etym. Magn.).

[4] The only other notice of Mactorium is that in Stephen, where we find that it was mentioned by Philistus of Syracuse, an eye-witness of the Athenian defeat, B.C. 415. Its exact site cannot be fixed. *Terra-Nuova* seems to occupy the position of Gela, though the ancient remains found there are very trifling (Smyth's Sicily, ch. v. pp. 196-7).

been a soft-hearted and womanish person. He however obtained this office in the manner above described.

154. Afterwards, on the death of Cleander the son of Pantares,[5] who was slain by Sabyllus, a citizen of Gela, after he had held the tyranny for seven years, Hippocrates, Cleander's brother, mounted the throne. During his reign, Gelo, a descendant of the high-priest Têlines, served with many others—of whom Ænesidêmus, son of Pataïcus,[6] was one—in the king's body-guard. Within a little time his merit caused him to be raised to the command of all the horse. For when Hippocrates laid siege to Callipolis,[7] and afterwards to Naxos,[8] to Zanclé,[9] to Leontini,[1] and moreover to Syracuse, and many cities of the barbarians, Gelo in every war distinguished himself above all the combatants. Of the various cities

[5] Cleander was the first tyrant. Before his time the government, as in other Doric states, had been an oligarchy (Arist. Pol. v. 10). Cleander probably mounted the throne in B.C. 505 (Clinton's F. H. vol. ii. App. 10; Hermann's Pol. Ant. § 85, note [6].)

[6] Ænesidemus was the father of Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum not long afterwards (infra, ch. 165; comp. Pind. Ol. iii. 9, Dissen). He was descended from Telemachus, the destroyer of Phalaris, and belonged to the noble family of the Emmenidæ (Schol. ad Pind. Ol. iii. 38; comp. Schol. ad Pyth. vi. 4).

[7] Callipolis was a Naxian settlement, and lay at no great distance from Naxos (Scym. Ch. l. 285; Strab. vi. p. 394). Its exact site is not known, but cannot have been far from *Mascali*. Already in the time of Strabo it had ceased to be a city.

[8] Naxos, according to Thucydides (vi. 3), the first of the Greek settlements in Sicily, was founded about the year B.C. 735 (see Clinton). It was a colony from Chalcis in Eubœa. Dionysius the tyrant razed it to the ground, and the very name had disappeared in the time of Strabo, who seems to have quite mistaken as to its site (vi. p. 385). It lay on the east coast, a little south of Tauromenium (*Taormina*), with which it was sometimes confounded (Plin. H. N. iii. 8). Scylax (Peripl. p. 9), however, and other writers, distinguish the two. Naxos seems to have occupied the small promontory immediately north of the river *Alcantara*, which is the Acesines of Thucydides (iv. 25) and the Asines of Pliny (l. s. c.). A broad stream of lava has overspread the site since the destruction of the city (Smyth's Sicily, p. 130).

[9] Supra, vi. 23.

[1] Leontini was founded from Naxos, six years after the arrival of the Chalcideans in Sicily (Thucyd. vi. 4). It lay some distance up the Terias, which seems to be the river by which the superfluous waters of Lake *Biviere* are carried to the sea (Scyl. Peripl. p. 9; comp. Thucyd. vi. 50). The name remains in the modern *Lentini*, which however, since the earthquake of 1693, has been moved from the ancient site. Ruins still cover the "cleft hill" (compare the description of Polybius, vii. 6) on which the town originally stood. Remains of antiquity are here occasionally discovered (Smyth, p. 157).

above named, there was none but Syracuse which was not reduced to slavery. The Syracusans were saved from this fate, after they had suffered defeat on the river Elôrus,[2] by the Corinthians and Corcyræans, who made peace between them and Hippocrates, on condition of their ceding Camarina[3] to him; for that city anciently belonged to Syracuse.

155. When, however, Hippocrates, after a reign of the same length as that of Cleander his brother, perished near the city Hybla,[4] as he was warring with the native Sicilians, then Gelo, pretending to espouse the cause of the two sons of Hippocrates, Eucleides and Cleander, defeated the citizens who were seeking to recover their freedom, and having so done, set aside the children, and himself took the kingly power. After this piece of good fortune, Gelo likewise became master of Syracuse, in the following manner. The Syracusan landholders,[5] as they were called, had been driven from their city by the common people assisted by their own slaves, the Cyllyrians,[6] and had fled to

[2] The river Elôrus, or Helôrus, gave its name to the principal town of the south-eastern corner of Sicily (Apollod. Fr. 47), to which led the Via Elorina of Thucydides (vi. 70; vii. 80). It is now the *Abysso* (Smyth, p. 178). Pindar alludes to the battle here mentioned (Nem. ix. 40).

[3] Camarina was founded from Syracuse about the year B.C. 599 (Clinton). It lay on the south coast, between Gela and Cape Pachynus (*Passaro*), at the mouth of the Hipparis (comp. Scyl. Peripl. p. 9; Virg. Æn. iii. 699-701; Pind. Ol. v. 12; Plin. H. N. iii. 8). This appears to be the stream which reaches the sea between *Scoglietti* and *Santa Croce*. The marsh still exists which Pindar and Servius (ad Æn.) mention, but there are scarcely any vestiges of the ancient town (Smyth, 195), which had gone to decay as early as Strabo's time (vi. p. 392).

The event in the history of Camarina to which Herodotus here alludes is related at greater length by Thucydides (vi. 5; see also Philist. Fr. 17).

[4] There were three cities of this name in Sicily (Steph. Byz.). The most famous, called also Megara Hyblæa, seems to have been known to Herodotus as Megara (see the next chapter). The two others were native Sicel towns in the interior. The Hybla here intended is probably that which lay on the route from Agrigentum to Syracuse (Antonin. Itin. p. 6).

[5] In Syracuse as in Samos (Thucyd. viii. 21), the highest rank of citizens seems to have borne this title (Marm. Par. 36), property in land being perhaps confined to them. At Athens the Geomori were a middle class (supra, vol. iii. p. 382).

[6] Other writers call these slaves Callicyrians, or Cillicyrians (Phot. Suid. Phavor. ad voc.; Plutarch,

Casmenæ.[7] Gelo brought them back to Syracuse, and so got possession of the town; for the people surrendered themselves, and gave up their city on his approach.

156. Beng now master of Syracuse, Gelo cared less to govern Gela, which he therefore entrusted to his brother Hiero, while he strengthened the defences of his new city, which indeed was now all in all to him. And Syracuse sprang up rapidly to power and became a flourishing place. For Gelo razed Camarina to the ground,[8] and brought all the inhabitants to Syracuse, and made them citizens; he also brought thither more than half the citizens of Gela, and gave them the same rights as the Camarinæans. So likewise with the Megareans of Sicily[9]—after besieging their town and forcing them to surrender, he took the rich men, who having made the war, looked now for nothing less than death at his hands, and carrying them to Syracuse, established them there as citizens; while the common

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Prov. 10; Eustath. ad Hom. Il. p. 295, &c.). They were undoubtedly native Sicels, and their name must have belonged to the Sicel language. It is customary to compare them to the Penestæ in Thessaly, and the Helots in Lacedæmon (Phot. ad voc. Κιλλικύριοι; Suidas, &c.). On the constitution of Syracuse at this time, see Müller's Dorians (ii. p. 61, E. T.).

[7] Casmenæ was a colony of Syracuse. It was founded about the year B.C. 644 (Thucyd. vi. 5; see Clinton, F. H. vol. i. p. 200). There are no means of fixing its site, since it is omitted by all the geographers.

[8] The first destruction of Camarina took place within 46 years of its foundation, B.C. 553 (Scym. Ch. 294-6; Schol. ad Pind. Ol. v. 8). It had revolted from Syracuse, and on being reduced was razed to the ground (Thucyd. vi. 5). On the cession of the site to the Geloans (supra, ch. 154), Hippocrates rebuilt the town (Thucyd. l. s. c. Philist. Fr. 17), which was a second time destroyed by Gelo, about B.C. 484. The date and circumstances of its later re-establishment are uncertain (compare Thucyd. vi. 5, with Diod. Sic. xi. 76; and see the Scholiast on Pind. Ol. v. 16, Dissen.). They fall, however, into the time of Pindar, who speaks of Camarina as newly founded (νέοικον ἕδραν).

[9] Megara Hyblæa was founded by Megarians from Thapsus, 245 years before the event here commemorated, probably about B.C. 728 (Thucyd. vi. 4; see Clinton, vol. i. p. 166; vol. ii. p. 264). It lay on the east coast, a little to the north of Syracuse (Scyl. Peripl. p. 9; Thucyd. vi. 94; Strab. vi. p. 385). The exact site seems to be the plain west of *Agosta*, which is covered with ruins (Smyth, p. 161; comp. Kiepert, Blatt xxiv. where the mistake of Cramer and others is remedied). Megara partially recovered from the loss of its inhabitants at this period, but it had entirely disappeared in Strabo's time (l. s. c.).

people, who, as they had not taken any share in the struggle, felt secure that no harm would be done to them, he carried likewise to Syracuse, where he sold them all as slaves to be conveyed abroad. He did the like also by the Eubœans of Sicily,[10] making the same difference. His conduct towards both nations arose from his belief, that a "people" was a most unpleasant companion.[1] In this way Gelo became a great king.[2]

157. When the Greek envoys reached Syracuse, and were admitted to an audience, they spoke as follows—

"We have been sent hither by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, with their respective allies, to ask thee to join us against the barbarian. Doubtless thou hast heard of his invasion, and art aware that a Persian is about to throw a bridge over the Hellespont, and bringing with him out of Asia all the forces of the East, to carry war into Greece,—professing indeed that he only seeks to attack Athens, but really bent on bringing all the Greeks into subjection. Do thou therefore, we beseech thee, aid those who would maintain the freedom of Greece, and thyself assist to free

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10 Eubœa seems never to have recovered this blow. It was a colony from Leontini (Strab. vi. p. 394), and probably situated at no great distance from that city. Strabo, the only writer who mentions it after Herodotus, speaks of it as completely destroyed.

1 Mr. Blakesley supposes (note 432, ad loc.) that the object of Gelo was "to get rid as much as possible of the Chalcidean (or Ionic) element in the population, and to foster the Peloponnesian, derived from Corinth and Megara." But this object does not appear. Eubœa, which was Chalcidean, appears to have been treated exactly as Megara, which was Peloponnesian. The object seems to have been simply the increasing the size and prosperity of the city by a συνοίκισις of well-to-do persons.

2 Aristotle relates (Polit. v. 2) that the democracy in Syracuse had prepared the way for Gelo's tyranny by its own misconduct, having plunged into anarchy and disorder. Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, v. p. 286, note [1]) vainly endeavours to discredit this statement. He says there had not been time for the democracy to constitute itself, since the restoration, "*according to the narrative of Herodotus*," took place almost immediately after the expulsion. But the time between the two events cannot possibly be estimated from Herodotus. He says also that the superior force which Gelo brought with him sufficiently explains the submission of the Syracusans. But the *ready* submission of the *greatest* city in Sicily (Hecatæus, Fr. 45) may well be taken to indicate dissatisfaction with their government (see Müller's Dorians, vol. ii. p. 164, E. T.).

her; since the power which thou wieldest is great, and thy portion in Greece, as lord of Sicily, is no small one. For if all Greece join together in one, there will be a mighty host collected, and we shall be a match for our assailants; but if some turn traitors, and others refuse their aid, and only a small part of the whole body remains sound, then there is reason to fear that all Greece may perish. For do not thou cherish a hope that the Persian, when he has conquered our country, will be content and not advance against thee. Rather take thy measures beforehand; and consider that thou defendest thyself when thou givest aid to us. Wise counsels, be sure, for the most part have prosperous issues."

158. Thus spake the envoys; and Gelo replied with vehemence—

"Greeks, ye have had the face to come here with selfish words, and exhort me to join in league with you against the barbarian. Yet when I erewhile asked you to join with me in fighting barbarians, what time the quarrel broke out between me and Carthage;[3] and when I earnestly besought you to revenge on the men of Egesta their murder of Dorieus, the son of Anaxandridas, promising to assist you in setting free the trading-places from which you receive great profits and advantages, you neither came hither to give me succour, nor yet to revenge Dorieus; but, for any efforts on your part to hinder it, these countries might at this time have been entirely under the barbarians. Now, however, that matters have prospered and gone well

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[3] No particulars are known of this war. It may be conjectured that Gelo had sought a quarrel with the Carthaginians, wishing to expel them from Sicily, and had made the death of Dorieus in battle with the Egestaeans, *assisted by Carthage* (supra, v. 46), his pretext. The trading places mentioned below may be the points upon the Sicilian coast, and the islets off it, which the Carthaginians had occupied from very early times for commercial purposes (ἐμπορίας ἕνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Σικελούς. Thucyd. vi. 2). Gelo appears to have been successful, and to have driven the Carthaginians from the island. His statement of the great benefits therefrom accruing to the Peloponnesians is a natural exaggeration.

with me, while the danger has shifted its ground and at present threatens yourselves, lo! you call Gelo to mind. But though ye slighted me then, I will not imitate you now: I am ready to give you aid, and to furnish as my contribution two hundred triremes, twenty thousand men-at-arms, two thousand cavalry, and an equal number of archers, slingers, and light horsemen,[4] together with corn for the whole Grecian army so long as the war shall last. These services, however, I promise on one condition—that ye appoint me chief captain and commander of the Grecian forces during the war with the barbarian. Unless ye agree to this, I will neither send succours, nor come myself."

159. Syagrus, when he heard these words, was unable to contain himself, and exclaimed—

"Surely a groan would burst from Pelops' son, Agamemnon,[5] did he hear that her leadership was snatched from Sparta by Gelo and the men of Syracuse. Speak then no more of any such condition, as that we should yield thee the chief command; but if thou art minded to come to the aid of Greece, prepare to serve under Lacedæmonian generals. Wilt thou not serve under a leader?—then, prithee, withhold thy succours."

160. Hereupon Gelo, seeing the indignation which showed itself in the words of Syagrus, delivered to the envoys his final offer:—"Spartan stranger," he said, "reproaches cast forth against a man are wont to provoke him to anger: but the insults which thou hast uttered in thy speech shall not persuade me to outstep good breeding in my answer. Surely if you maintain so

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[4] I do not know why these numbers should be considered incredible, as they are by Mr. Grote (vol. v. p. 290). Herodotus at Thurii had good means of accurately estimating the power of the Sicilian Greeks; and they were the numbers given by the native historian, Timæus (Fr. 87). Diodorus too, it is to be observed, assigns Gelo a far larger army (50,000 foot and 5000 horse), when he marched from Syracuse to fight the battle of Himera (xi. 21).

[5] These words in the original are nearly a hexameter line. They are an adaptation of the exclamation of Nestor (Il. vii. 125):—

ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεύς.

stoutly your right to the command, it is reasonable that I should be still more stiff in maintaining mine, forasmuch as I am at the head of a far larger fleet and army. Since, however, the claim which I have put forward is so displeasing to you, I will yield, and be content with less. Take, if it please you, the command of the land-force, and I will be admiral of the fleet; or assume, if you prefer it, the command by sea, and I will be leader upon the land. Unless you are satisfied with these terms, you must return home by yourselves, and lose this great alliance." Such was the offer which Gelo made.

161. Hereat broke in the Athenian envoy, before the Spartan could answer, and thus addressed Gelo—

"King of the Syracusans, Greece sent us here to thee to ask for an army, and not to ask for a general. Thou, however, dost not promise to send us any army at all, if thou art not made leader of the Greeks; and this command is what alone thou sticklest for. Now when thy request was to have the whole command, we were content to keep silence, for well we knew that we might trust the Spartan envoy to make answer for us both. But since, after failing in thy claim to lead the whole armament, thou hast now put forward a request to have the command of the fleet, know that, even should the Spartan envoy consent to this, we will not consent. The command by sea, if the Lacedæmonians do not wish for it, belongs to us. While they like to keep this command, we shall raise no dispute; but we will not yield our right to it in favour of any one else. Where would be the advantage of our having raised up a naval force greater than that of any other Greek people, if nevertheless we should suffer Syracusans to take the command away from us?—from us, I say, who are Athenians, the most ancient nation in Greece,[6] the only

[6] The Athenians claimed to be αὐτόχθονες and γηγενεῖς (Plat. Menex. p. 237, C.; Isocrat. Pan. iv. p. 166; Dem. de F. L. p. 424). The claim, however, did not exclusively belong to them, but extended at least to the

Greeks who have never changed their abode—the people who are said by the poet Homer to have sent to Troy the man best able of all the Greeks to array and marshal an army[7]—so that we may be allowed to boast somewhat."

162. Gelo replied—"Athenian stranger, ye have, it seems, no lack of commanders; but ye are likely to lack men to receive their orders. As ye are resolved to yield nothing and claim everything, ye had best make haste back to Greece, and say, that the spring of her year is lost to her."[8] The meaning of this expression was the following: as the spring is manifestly the finest season of the year, so (he meant to say) were his troops the finest of the Greek army—Greece, therefore, deprived of his alliance, would be like a year with the spring taken from it.

163. Then the Greek envoys, without having any further dealings with Gelo, sailed away home. And Gelo, who feared that the Greeks would be too weak to withstand the barbarians, and yet could not any how bring himself to go to the Peloponnese, and there, though king of Sicily,[9] serve under the Lacedæmonians, left off altogether to contemplate that course of action, and betook himself to quite a different plan. As soon as ever tidings reached him of the passage of the Hellespont by the Persians, he sent off three penteconters, under the command of Cadmus, the son of Scythas, a native of Cos; who was to go to Delphi, taking with him

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Arcadians and Cynurians (infra, viii. 73). Its real basis was simply that alluded to in the next clause; they had never left Attica. (See on this point, Thucyd. i. 2; ii. 36; Plat. Menex. l. s. c.; Eurip. ap. Plut. de Exil. p. 604, E.; and supra, i. 56.)

[7] See Il. ii. 552:—

——— Μενεσθεύς·
τῷ δ' οὔπω τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ' ἀνὴρ
κοσμῆσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας.

[8] A similar expression is said by Aristotle (Rhet. i. 7; iii. 10) to have been introduced into the funeral oration of Pericles; but it does not occur in the report left by Thucydides of that speech. Did any other version exist of the λόγος ἐπιτάφιος?

[9] This title is remarkable, but scarcely seems too strong when we consider the extent of Gelo's power.

a large sum of money and a stock of friendly words: there he was to watch the war, and see what turn it would take: if the barbarians prevailed, he was to give Xerxes the treasure, and with it earth and water for the lands which Gelo ruled—if the Greeks won the day, he was to convey the treasure back.

164. This Cadmus had at an earlier time received from his father the kingly power at Cos[10] in a right good condition, and had of his own free will and without the approach of any danger, from pure love of justice, given up his power into the hands of the people at large, and departed to Sicily; where he assisted in the Samian seizure and settlement of Zanclé,[1] or Messana, as it was afterwards called. Upon this occasion Gelo chose him to send into Greece, because he was acquainted with the proofs of honesty which he had given. And now he added to his former honourable deeds an action which is not the least of his merits. With a vast sum entrusted to him and completely in his power, so that he might have kept it for his own use if he had liked, he did not touch it; but when the Greeks gained the sea-fight and Xerxes fled away with his army, he brought the whole treasure back with him to Sicily.

165. They, however, who dwell in Sicily say, that Gelo, though he knew that he must serve under the Lacedæmonians, would nevertheless have come to the aid of the Greeks,[2] had not it been for Têrillus, the

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[10] It has been suspected (Perizonius, Valckenaer, Larcher) that Cadmus was the son or nephew of that Scythas, king of Zanclé, whom the Samians ousted, and who fled to the court of Darius (supra, vi. 24). Scythas might, it is thought, have been presented by Darius with the sovereignty of Cos, as Coes was with that of Mitylênê; but had this been so, Herodotus would scarcely have failed to notice it; nor would Scythas then have died at an advanced age *in Persia* (ἐν Πέρσῃσι). Besides, Cadmus was clearly among the original settlers who dispossessed Scythas. The identity of name is therefore a mere coincidence.

[1] See above, vi. 23; and for the change of name, cf. Thucyd. vi. 5, where we find that Anaxilaus made the alteration. Anaxilaus is said to have belonged to the Messenian element in the population of Rhegium (Strab. vi. p. 370).

[2] Ephorus said that Gelo was on the point of despatching 200 ships,

son of Crinippus, king of Himera;[3] who, driven from his city by Thero, the son of Ænesidêmus,[4] king of Agrigentum,[5] brought into Sicily at this very time[6] an army of three hundred thousand men, Phœnicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligurians, Helisycians, Sardinians, and Corsicans,[7] under the command of Hamilcar the son of

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10,000 foot, and 2000 horse, to the assistance of the Greeks, when he heard of the approach of the Carthaginians (Frag. 111).

[3] For particulars of this place, see above, vi. 24, note [8].

[4] The descent of Thero from Telemachus, the deposer of Phalaris, has been already mentioned (supra, ch. 154, note [6]). Pindar traces him to Thersander, the son of Polynices (Ol. ii. 43; cf. Herod. iv. 147), and Diodorus calls him the noblest of the Sicilian Greeks (x. p. 66, ed. Bipont). Theron is said to have married a niece of Gelo's, while Gelo married his daughter Damareta (Schol. ad Pind. Ol. ii. p. 18); the two were undoubtedly close allies, and had most likely executed their schemes in concert.

[5] Agrigentum was founded from Gela, about B.C. 582 (Thucyd. vi. 4; see Clinton, vol. ii. p. 322). It lay on the south coast, at some little distance from the shore, midway between Gela and Selinus (Scylax, Peripl. p. 9; Plin. H. N. iii. 8; Strab. vi. p. 392). The description in Polybius (ix. 27), the modern name (*Girghenti*), and the magnificent remains of temples and other buildings (Smyth, pp. 206-213), sufficiently indicate the position of the ancient town, which is said to have contained at one time nearly a million inhabitants (Diog. Laert. Vit. Empedocl. viii. 63; compare Diod. Sic. xiii. 84).

[6] According to Ephorus (l. s. c.) and Diodorus (xi. 1), this attack was concerted between the Carthaginians and the Persians, who purposely fell upon the opposite ends of Greece at the same moment. I cannot see that there is any improbability in such a combination, as Dahlman argues (Life of Herod. p. 137, E. T.); but the fact that Herodotus was ignorant of the pretended alliance is certainly a grave argument against its reality. To account for the coincidence in point of time of the two attacks, no alliance is needed, since the Carthaginians would gladly take advantage of a season when the states of Greece Proper were too much engaged with their own affairs to send succours to their Sicilian brethren.

[7] This is the first instance of the mixed mercenary armies of Carthage, by which her conquests were ordinarily effected (Polyb. i. 17, 67, &c.). As her own Phœnician population was small, it was her policy to spare it, and to hire soldiers from the countries to which she had the readiest access. The native African races always furnished her with the greatest number of troops (τὸ μέγιστον μέρος ἦν Λίβυες.—Polyb. i. 67); after them she drew her supplies from the various maritime nations bordering upon the western Mediterranean. It is instructive to find no mention of Celts in this place. If we cannot say with Niebuhr (Rom. Hist. ii. p. 509, E. T.) that the Celts had not yet reached the sea, and the mention of Narbonne by Hecatæus (Fr. 19) as "a Celtic harbour and trading-place," disproves this assertion, yet still we may be quite sure that hitherto they occupied no considerable extent of coast—a view which Hecatæus, who assigns Marseilles to Liguria (Fr. 22), decidedly confirms. The south of France, excepting a small corner near the Pyrenees, was now Liguria—a country which extended to the Arno (Scylax, Peripl. p. 4). Spain was of course, as always to the Greeks (Polyb. passim), Iberia. The only people here named, who cause a difficulty, are the Heli-

Hanno, king[8] of the Carthaginians. Têrillus prevailed upon Hamilcar, partly as his sworn friend, but more through the zealous aid of Anaxilaüs the son of Cretines, king of Rhegium;[9] who, by giving his own sons to Hamilcar as hostages, induced him to make the expedition. Anaxilaüs herein served his father-in-law, for he was married to a daughter of Têrillus, by name Cydippé. So as Gelo could not give the Greeks any aid, he sent (they say) the sum of money to Delphi.

166. They say too, that the victory of Gelo and Thero in Sicily over Hamilcar the Carthaginian, fell out upon the very day that the Greeks defeated the Persians at Salamis.[1] Hamilcar, who was a Carthaginian on his father's side only, but on his mother's a Syracusan, and who had been raised by his merit to the throne of Carthage, after the battle and the defeat, as I am informed, disappeared from sight: Gelo made the strictest search for him, but he could not be found anywhere, either dead or alive.

167. The Carthaginians, who take probability for their guide, give the following account of this matter:—

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syci. Niebuhr conjectures them to be the Volscians, which is possible etymologically, and agreeable to their position in the list of Herodotus; but it must not be forgotten that Hecatæus spoke of the Helisyci as a *Ligurian* tribe (Fr. 20).

The Carthaginians formed their armies of *mixed* mercenaries to prevent mutinies (Polyb. i. 67). The number on this occasion is probably exaggerated, but it is given by Diodorus (xi. 20) as well as by Herodotus.

[8] That is, Suffes (שֹׁפֵט). The Greek writers always speak of the Suffetes as "kings" (βασιλεῖς). (See Arist. Pol. ii. 8; Diod. Sic. xiv. 53; Polyb. vi. 51.) Heeren (Afr. Nat. i. p. 192, E. T.) has shown satisfactorily that the Carthaginian Suffes was elected for life.

[9] Supra, vi. 23.

[1] Diodorus says the battle was fought on the same day with the final struggle at Thermopylæ (xi. 24). His description of the fight (xi. 21-2) is probably taken from Timæus, the native historian. According to this account the victory was gained chiefly through a stratagem of Gelo's, who hearing that succours were expected by Hamilcar from Selinus, sent a body of his own troops to personate them. These troops raised a tumult in the Carthaginian camp, slew Hamilcar as he was sacrificing, and set fire to the fleet; while Gelo with all his forces sallied from Himera, and fell upon the army in front. The only important discrepancy between this account and that heard by our author, is that the death of Hamilcar is placed by Diodorus early in the day.

Hamilcar, they say, during all the time that the battle raged between the Greeks and the barbarians, which was from early dawn till evening, remained in the camp, sacrificing[2] and seeking favourable omens, while he burned on a huge pyre the entire bodies of the victims which he offered. Here, as he poured libations upon the sacrifices, he saw the rout of his army; whereupon he cast himself headlong into the flames, and so was consumed and disappeared. But whether Hamilcar's disappearance was, as the Phœnicians tell us, in this way, or, as the Syracusans maintain, in some other, certain it is that the Carthaginians offer him sacrifice, and in all their colonies have monuments erected in his honour, as well as one, which is the grandest of all, at Carthage. Thus much concerning the affairs of Sicily.

168. As for the Corcyræans, whom the envoys that visited Sicily took in their way, and to whom they delivered the same message as to Gelo,—their answers and actions were the following. With great readiness they promised to come and give their help to the Greeks; declaring that "the ruin of Greece was a thing which they could not tamely stand by and see; for should she fall, they must the very next day submit to slavery; so that they were bound to assist her to the very uttermost of their power." But notwithstanding that they answered so smoothly, yet when the time came for the succours to be sent, they were of quite a different mind; and though they manned sixty ships, it was long ere they put to sea with them; and when they had so done, they went no further than the Peloponnese, where they lay to with their fleet, off the

[2] To Neptune, according to Diodorus (l. s. c.). The practice of burning the entire body of the victim, instead of certain sacrificial parts, was originally common to the Phœnicians with the Jews (Porphyr. de Abstinent. iv. 15; Lev. vi. 23). In later times it was reserved for great occasions (Movers, Das Opferwesen der Karthager, p. 71, &c.).

Lacedæmonian coast, about Pylos,[3] and Tænarum,[4]—like Gelo, watching to see what turn the war would take. For they despaired altogether of the Greeks gaining the day, and expected that the Persians would win a great battle, and then be masters of the whole of Greece. They therefore acted as I have said, in order that they might be able to address Xerxes in words like these: "O King, though the Greeks sought to obtain our aid in their war with thee, and though we had a force of no small size, and could have furnished a greater number of ships than any Greek state except Athens,[5] yet we refused, since we would not fight against thee, or do aught to cause thee annoyance." The Corcyræans hoped that a speech like this would gain them better treatment from the Persians than the rest of the Greeks; and it would have done so, in my judgment. At the same time, they had an excuse ready to give their countrymen, which they used when the time came. Reproached by them for sending no succours, they replied, "that they had fitted out a fleet of sixty triremes, but that the Etesian winds did not allow them to double Cape Malea, and this hindered them from reaching Salamis—it was not from any bad motive that

[3] Pylos, celebrated in poetry as the abode of Nestor (Il. ii. 591-602), and in history as the scene of the first important defeat suffered by the Spartans (Thucyd. iv. 32-40), was situated on the west coast of the Peloponnese, near the site of the modern *Navarino*. The only remains at present existing of the ancient town are the caves of which there is mention in Pausanias (IV. xxxvi. § 3). See Leake's Morea, vol. i. pp. 416-425.

[4] Tænarum was the ancient name of the promontory now called Cape *Matapan*. It was a peninsula, joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus, and had on each side a good harbour (Scylax, Peripl. p. 37; Pausan. III. xxv. § 4). Of the famous temple of Neptune, which stood on its summit (supra, i. 24), the foundation is thought still to remain in the modern Greek church of *Asomato* (Leake's Morea, vol. i. pp. 297-8).

[5] Thucydides confirms the flourishing condition of the Corcyrean navy at this date (i. 14). Corcyra continued to be the second naval power in Greece down to B.C. 435 (see Thucyd. i. 33: *ναυτικόν τε κεκτήμεθα πλὴν τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν πλεῖστον.*) At that time they were able to man a fleet of 110 triremes (ib. 47).

they had missed the sea-fight." In this way the Corcyræans eluded the reproaches of the Greeks.[6]

169. The Cretans, when the envoys sent to ask aid from them, came and made their request, acted as follows. They despatched messengers in the name of their state to Delphi, and asked the god, whether it would make for their welfare if they should lend succour to Greece. "Fools!" replied the Pythoness, "do ye not still complain of the woes which the assisting of Menelaüs cost you at the hands of angry Minos? How wroth was he, when, in spite of their having lent you no aid towards avenging his death at Camicus, you helped them to avenge the carrying off by a barbarian of a woman from Sparta!" When this answer was brought from Delphi to the Cretans, they thought no more of assisting the Greeks.

170. Minos, according to tradition, went to Sicania, or Sicily,[7] as it is now called, in search of Dædalus, and there perished by a violent death.[8] After a while the

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[6] The Scholiast on Thucydides (i. 136) asserts that it was at one time the intention of the confederated Greeks to punish the Corcyreans for their neutrality, but that Themistocles interposed in their favour, and succeeded in preventing the expedition.

[7] Thucydides tells us how the Siceli from Italy attacked the Sicani, who were the first inhabitants of Sicily, and forcing them to the western parts of the island, changed its name from Sicania into Sicily (vi. 2). He adds that the Sicani were Iberians driven from Spain (where they had dwelt upon the river Sicanus) by the attacks of the Ligurians. In these statements he was followed by Philistus (ap. Diod. v. 6), and apparently by Ephorus (Fr. 51). Niebuhr remarks (Hist. of Rome, i. p. 166, note 508, E. T.), that were it not for this weight of authority, "it would be difficult for the most cautious not to count it clear that the name of the Sicanians is one and the same with that of the Siculians, just as the same people were called both *Æquani* and *Æquuli*." Is it not possible that the Sicani of Spain, whose city Sicané was mentioned by Hecatæus (Fr. 15), may have been only locally, not ethnically, Iberians? It is worthy of notice that Hecatæus calls the city *πόλις Ἰβηρίας*, not *πόλις Ἰβήρων*.

[8] This part of the mythic history of Minos is given most fully by Diodorus (iv. 79). It was the subject of a tragedy of Sophocles, called Minos, or the Camicii, of which a few fragments remain. Pausanias (VII. iv. § 5) and the Scholiast on Pindar (Nem. iv. 95) give the same general outline of events with Diodorus, but differ from him in some of the details. All agree that Cocalus, with whom Dædalus had taken refuge, caused Minos to be put to death while at the bath.

[The baths of the modern *Sciacca*,

Cretans, warned by some god or other, made a great expedition into Sicania, all except the Polichnites[9] and the Præsians,[1] and besieged Camicus[2] (which in my time belonged to Agrigentum) by the space of five years. At last, however, failing in their efforts to take the place, and unable to carry on the siege any longer from the pressure of hunger, they departed and went their way. Voyaging homewards they had reached Iapygia,[3] when a furious storm arose and threw them upon the coast. All their vessels were broken in pieces; and so, as they saw no means of returning to Crete, they founded the town of Hyria,[4] where they

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the Thermæ Selinuntinæ, are shown as those in which Minos was suffocated. But it appears, from what Diodorus says (iv. 79), that those baths were not at the Thermæ Selinuntinæ, but at Agrigentum.—G. W.]

[9] The town Polichna is mentioned, I believe, only by Stephen. It seems to have been in the near neighbourhood of Cydonia, to which its territory was certainly contiguous (Thucyd. ii. 85).

[1] Præsus or Prasus (Strab.), which is still called *Præsús* (Pashley's Crete, vol. i. p. 290), is a place of more note than Polichna. It was situated towards the eastern extremity of Crete, at the distance of seven miles from the shore (Strab. x. p. 698), and in the time of Scylax possessed a territory extending from sea to sea (Peripl. p. 42). It seems to have been the chief city of the Eteocretes (true Cretans), who were not of Grecian blood, but a remnant of the pre-Hellenic population (see Hom. Od. xix. 176; Strab. x. p. 693; Diod. Sic. v. 64). Perhaps the Polichnites were of the same race, as they adjoined on Cydonia, which also belonged to the old inhabitants (Strab. l. c.; compare Hom. Od. l. c.). These cities of the primitive population, which had successfully defended themselves against the Dorian immigrants, would of course not own the sway of Minos (see Müller's Dorians, vol. i. p. 38-9, E. T.).

[2] Diodorus says in one place (iv. 70) that Camicus occupied the rock on which the citadel of Agrigentum was afterwards built, but in another he shows that Camicus existed together with Agrigentum, and was distinct from it (xxiii. p. 321). This is confirmed by the Scholiast on Pindar (Pyth. vi. 4), and to some extent by Strabo (vi. p. 394) and Stephen (ad voc. Ἀκράγαντες). It is probable that the city lay on the modern *Fiume delle Canne* (the ancient *river* Camicus), not far from *Siculiana* (see Mr. Bunbury's remarks in Smith's Geograph. Dict. ad voc. CAMICUS).

[3] Iapygia coincides generally with the *Terra di Otranto* of our maps, extending, however, somewhat further round the Gulf of *Taranto* (Scylax. Peripl. p. 10). Storms were common upon this coast (supra, iii. 138, and note [8] ad loc.).

[4] Hyria is probably the town known as Uria to the Romans (Plin. H. N. iii. 11; Liv. xlii. 48), which lay on the road between Tarentum and Brundusium (Strab. vi. p. 405-6). It is now *Oria*, which is described as "a city romantically situated on three hills in the centre of the plains" (Swinburne's Travels, vol. i. p. 218). Some coins of a Hyria remain, which have on one side the Minotaur; but it is doubted whether they belong to this city.

took up their abode, changing their name from Cretans to Messapian Iapygians,[5] and at the same time becoming inhabitants of the mainland instead of islanders. From Hyria they afterwards founded those other towns which the Tarentines at a much later period endeavoured to take, but could not, being defeated signally.[6] Indeed so dreadful a slaughter of Greeks never happened at any other time, so far as my knowledge extends: nor was it only the Tarentines who suffered; but the men of Rhegium too, who had been forced to go to the aid of the Tarentines by Micythus the son of Chœrus, lost here three thousand of their citizens; while the number of the Tarentines who fell was beyond all count. This Micythus had been a household slave of Anaxilaüs, and was by him left in charge of Rhegium:[7] he is the same man who was afterwards forced to leave Rhegium, when he settled at Tegea in Arcadia, from which place he made his many offerings of statues to the shrine at Olympia.[8]

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[5] Under the general name of Iapygians were commonly included three distinct tribes, the Messapians, the Peucetians, and the Daunians. The first-named are spoken of as the inhabitants of the Iapygian *peninsula*, eastward of Tarentum and Brundusium (Strab. vi. p. 401). They were generally derived from Crete, strange as it may appear (Strab. vi. p. 405; Athen. xii. p. 522, F.; Plut. Thes. c. 16; Festus ad voc. Salentini, &c.). Probably they came in reality, like the other inhabitants of southern Italy, from the Peloponnese, where there was a place called Messapeæ (Theopomp. Fr. 274).

[6] Diodorus places this war in the year B.C. 473 (xi. 52). The Messapians appear to have been at that time very powerful, and to have aroused the jealousy of all their neighbours against them. They were attacked not only by the Tarentines and Rhegines, but by the Daunians and Peucetians (Strab. vi. p. 405). Their sway must have extended westward as far as the neighbourhood of Siris, where they disputed with Tarentum the possession of her colony Heraclea (ib.). After the victory here recorded, one would have expected them to make further progress. The reverse, however, is the case. They decrease in strength as Tarentum increases; and during the Peloponnesian war they seem to have been glad to avail themselves of the protection of Athens against that state (Thucyd. vii. 33).

[7] Anaxilaus had probably transferred his abode to Zanclé (see Thucyd. vi. 4).

[8] These details are remarkably confirmed by Pausanias (v. xxvi. § 3-4). He found at Olympia no fewer than seventeen statues inscribed with the name of Micythus (or, as he writes it, Smicythus), the son of Chœrus. The inscriptions of some gave Rhegium as the country of Micythus, while those of others gave Messene, or Zanclé.

171. This account of the Rhegians and the Tarentines is a digression from the story which I was relating. To return—the Præsians say that men of various nations now flocked to Crete,[9] which was stript of its inhabitants; but none came in such numbers as the Grecians. Three generations after the death of Minos the Trojan war took place;[1] and the Cretans were not the least distinguished among the helpers of Menelaus. But on this account, when they came back from Troy, famine and pestilence fell upon them, and destroyed both the men and the cattle. Crete was a second time stript of its inhabitants, a remnant only being left; who form, together with fresh settlers, the third "Cretan" people by whom the island has been inhabited. These were the events of which the Pythoness now reminded the men of Crete, and thereby she prevented them from giving the Greeks aid, though they wished to have gone to their assistance.

172. The Thessalians did not embrace the cause of the Medes until they were forced to do so; for they gave plain proof that the intrigues of the Aleuadæ[2] were not at all to their liking. No sooner did they hear that the Persian was about to cross over into Europe than they despatched envoys to the Greeks who were met to consult together at the Isthmus, whither all the states which were well inclined to the Grecian cause

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Occasionally he was mentioned as living at Tegea. Besides the statues which Pausanias saw, there were others which had been carried off by Nero.

The story in Diodorus (xi. 66) is incompatible with the expression of Herodotus, that Micythus "was forced to leave (ἐκπεσὼν) Rhegium."

[9] Homer thus describes the inhabitants shortly after the Trojan war:—

> Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἔστι, μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ,
> καλὴ καὶ πίειρα, περίρρυτος· ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι
> πολλοὶ, ἀπειρέσιοι, καὶ ἐννήκοντα πόληες·
> ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,
> ἐν δ' Ἐτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,
> Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες, δῖοί τε Πελασγοί.
>
> Od. xix. 172-7.

[1] So Homer (Od. xix. 178-181; Il. xiii. 451-2) and Apollodorus (III. i. § 2, and iii. § 1). The words which follow have special reference to the exploits of Idomeneus and Meriones (Hom. Il. xiii. 329-539).

[2] Supra, ch. 6. Compare ch. 140, ad fin.

had sent their delegates. These envoys on their arrival thus addressed their countrymen:—

"Men of Greece, it behoves you to guard the pass of Olympus; for thus will Thessaly be placed in safety, as well as the rest of Greece. We for our parts are quite ready to take our share in this work, but you must likewise send us a strong force; otherwise we give you fair warning that we shall make terms with the Persians. For we ought not to be left, exposed as we are in front of all the rest of Greece, to die in your defence alone and unassisted. If however you do not choose to send us aid, you cannot force us to resist the enemy; for there is no force so strong as inability. We shall therefore do our best to secure our own safety."

Such was the declaration of the Thessalians.

173. Hereupon the Greeks determined to send a body of foot to Thessaly by sea, which should defend the pass of Olympus. Accordingly a force was collected, which passed up the Euripus, and disembarking at Alus,[3] on the coast of Achæa, left the ships there, and marched by land into Thessaly. Here they occupied the defile of Tempé; which leads from Lower Macedonia into Thessaly along the course of the Peneus, having the range of Olympus on the one hand and Ossa upon the other. In this place the Greek force that had been collected, amounting to about 10,000 heavy-armed men, pitched their camp; and here they were joined by the Thessalian cavalry. The

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[3] I see no grounds for supposing, with Bähr (ad loc.) and others, that there were really two places of this name. The notion arose from the grammarians, who finding the word made sometimes masculine, sometimes feminine, imagined two different cities (see Eustath. ad Hom. Il. ii. 682). Strabo clearly identifies the Alus of Homer with that of Herodotus (ix. p. 627; vide infra, ch. 197) by the mention of Athamas; and the situation which he assigns to it suits both the passages of Herodotus in which it is mentioned. It lay on the skirts of Othrys, not far from the shore, 18 miles from Pteleum, and seven from Itonus. Colonel Leake found in this situation the remains of a Hellenic town (Northern Greece, vol. iv. p. 336). The spot is now called *Kefálosi.*

commanders were, on the part of the Lacedæmonians, Evænetus, the son of Carênus, who had been chosen out of the Polemarchs,[4] but did not belong to the blood royal; and on the part of the Athenians, Themistocles, the son of Neocles. They did not however maintain their station for more than a few days; since envoys came from Alexander, the son of Amyntas, the Macedonian, and counselled them to decamp from Tempê, telling them that if they remained in the pass they would be trodden under foot by the invading army, whose numbers they recounted, and likewise the multitude of their ships. So when the envoys thus counselled them, and the counsel seemed to be good, and the Macedonian who sent it friendly, they did even as he advised. In my opinion what chiefly wrought on them was the fear that the Persians might enter by another pass,[5] whereof they now heard, which led from Upper Macedonia[6] into Thessaly through the territory of the Perrhæbi, and by the town of Gonnus,—the pass by

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[4] The Spartan Polemarchs are mentioned both by Thucydides and Xenophon. They were the highest officers in the army next to the king (Thucyd. iv. 66; Xen. Hell. VI. iv. § 15). Each commanded a division (μόρα = μοῖρα), of which in the time of Xenophon there were six (Rep. Lac. xi. § 4). They had also magisterial powers in the syssitia and elsewhere (Plut. Lyc. c. 12; Apophth. Lac. vol. ii. p. 221). It seems, by this passage of Herodotus, that they were usually of the royal house.

[5] Vide supra, ch. 128. The pass intended is probably that which crossed the Olympic range by the town of Petra, whence it descended to Pythium at the western base of the mountain. This pass was known to the Romans as "Perrhæbiæ saltus" (Liv. xliv. 27), and was the only route which led from Pieria, where the army of Xerxes now was (supra, ch. 131), into Perrhæbia. It runs from *Katerina* by *Petra* (which retains its ancient name) and *Aio Dhimítri* to *Dúklista* (Doliche), whence the passage is easy by *Elasóna* (Oloösson) to *Lykostomo* (Gonnus) (see Leake's Northern Greece, vol. iii. pp. 327-343; and compare Liv. xliv. 32, 35, xlv. 41; Diod. Sic. xiv. 83). Mr. Grote suggests that the Greeks should have defended both passes (Hist. of Greece, v. p. 91). But the heights about Petra, where alone a stand could have been made with a fair prospect of success, were in the hands of the Macedonians, Persian tributaries; and, the low ground on the west once gained, Thessaly may be entered by a number of routes.

[6] By "Upper Macedonia" Herodotus appears to mean the upper portion of Pieria, where it approaches the Perrhæbian frontier. This follows from ch. 131. Otherwise we might have been led to imagine that Xerxes ascended the valley of the Haliacmon, and entered Perrhæbia by the pass of *Volustana*, or *Servia*.

which soon after the army of Xerxes actually made its entrance. The Greeks therefore went back to their ships and sailed away to the Isthmus.

174. Such were the circumstances of the expedition into Thessaly; which took place when the king was at Abydos, preparing to pass from Asia into Europe. The Thessalians, when their allies forsook them, no longer wavered, but warmly espoused the side of the Medes; and afterwards, in the course of the war, they were of the very greatest service to Xerxes.

175. The Greeks, on their return to the Isthmus, took counsel together concerning the words of Alexander, and considered where they should fix the war, and what places they should occupy. The opinion which prevailed was, that they should guard the pass of Thermopylæ; since it was narrower than the Thessalian defile, and at the same time nearer to them. Of the pathway, by which the Greeks who fell at Thermopylæ were intercepted, they had no knowledge, until, on their arrival at Thermopylæ, it was discovered to them by the Trachinians. This pass then it was determined that they should guard, in order to prevent the Barbarians from penetrating into Greece through it; and at the same time it was resolved that the fleet should proceed to Artemisium, in the region of Histiæôtis;[7] for as those places are near to one another, it would be easy for the fleet and army to hold communication. The two places may be thus described.

176. Artemisium is where the sea of Thrace[8] contracts into a narrow channel, running between the isle of Sciathus[9] and the mainland of Magnesia. When

[7] The northern tract of Eubœa was called Histiæotis, from the town Histiæa, which afterwards became Oreus (vide infra, viii. 23).

[8] The northern portion of the Egean, extending from Magnesia to the Thracian Chersonese, and bounded on the south by the islands of Sciathus, Halonnesus, Peparethus, Lemnos, and Imbrus, is here called "the Thracian Sea." Strabo uses the expression nearly in the same sense (i. p. 41). But the Θρήκιος κλύδων of Sophocles (Œd. T. 197) is the Euxine.

[9] Sciathus retains its name wholly unaltered (Leake, vol. iii. p. 111). It

this narrow strait is passed you come to the line of coast called Artemisium;[1] which is a portion of Eubœa, and contains a temple of Artemis (Diana). As for the entrance into Greece by Trachis,[2] it is, at its narrowest point, about fifty feet wide. This however is not the place where the passage is most contracted; for it is still narrower a little above and a little below Thermopylæ. At Alpêni,[3] which is lower down than that place, it is only wide enough for a single carriage; and up above, at the river Phœnix, near the town called Anthêla, it is the same. West of Thermopylæ[4] rises a lofty and precipitous hill, impossible to climb, which runs up into the chain of Œta; while to the east the road is shut in

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is the island immediately off Cape *St. George* (Cape Sepias).

[1] The temple of Artemis, from which the piece of coast received its name, appears to have been situated, as temples so often were, at the extreme point of the island, the promontory now called Cape *Amoni.* The celebrity of this temple caused the poets to represent all the seas and shores of these parts as under the protection of the goddess (Soph. Trach. 638; Apoll. Rhod. i. 571, &c.). Was there really any city Artemisium? (Plin. H. N. iv. 12; Steph. Byz. ad voc.).

[2] Trachis was one of the chief cities of the Malians (infra, chs. 198-9; Scylax, Peripl. p. 54). It afterwards became Heraclea, on being colonised by the Lacedæmonians (Thucyd. iii. 92; compare Strab. ix. p. 621), and under this name was known as a place of great strength and importance (Thucyd. l. s. c., and v. 51; Polyb. x. xlii. § 4; Liv. xxxvi. 22-24). There is some doubt whether the two towns occupied *exactly* the same site. Col. Leake's theory seems probable, that the original city of Heraclea was identical with Trachis (see Thucyd. *ἐτείχισαν τὴν πόλιν ἐκ καινῆς*), and was situated *at the foot* of the rocks between the Asopus (or *Karvunariá*) and the Melas (*Mavra Neria*), but that the citadel, which was *on the heights* above, was a distinct place. This came afterwards to be the only part of the town inhabited, and so Heraclea was said to be six stades from the ancient Trachis (Strab. l. s. c.). The only fact which at all militates against this view is the mention by Scylax (l. s. c.) of both cities.

The pass by Trachis, which was "not more than fifty feet wide," must have lain between the walls of the city and the marshes of this part of the plain (see Livy, l. s. c.; "Ager Heraclæensis paluster omnis." "A sinu Maliaco aditum haud facilem [Heraclea] habebat"). Some catacombs are all that remain of the ancient settlement on the plain. Ruins of a Hellenic fortress still occupy the height above (Leake, vol. iii. pp. 26-30).

[3] Infra, ch. 216.

[4] Herodotus supposes the general bearing of the coast at this point to have been north and south, as it is generally on this side of Greece, whereas in reality the coast runs from west to east. This is a strange mistake for one who had visited the spot. The mountain-range is in fact *south*, and the sea *north* of the pass (see the plan, infra, p. 171).

by the sea and by marshes.[5] In this place are the warm springs, which the natives call "The Cauldrons;"[6] and above them stands an altar sacred to Hercules.[7] A wall had once been carried across the opening;[8] and in this there had of old times been a gateway. These works were made by the Phocians, through fear of the Thessalians, at the time when the latter came from Thesprôtia to establish themselves in the land of Æolis, which they still occupy.[9] As the Thessalians strove to reduce Phocis, the Phocians raised the wall to protect themselves, and likewise turned the hot springs upon the pass, that so the ground might be broken up by watercourses, using thus all possible means to hinder the Thessalians from invading their country. The old wall had been built in very remote times; and the greater part of it had gone to decay through age. Now however the Greeks resolved to repair its breaches, and here make their stand against the Barbarian. At this point there is a village very nigh the road, Alpeni by name, from which the Greeks reckoned on getting corn for their troops.

177. These places, therefore, seemed to the Greeks fit for their purpose. Weighing well all that was likely

[5] This is the only mention which Herodotus makes of the marshes, which must at all times have formed so important a feature of the pass (vide infra, ch. 201, note [8]).

[6] So Pausanias (IV. xxxv. § 6). The springs at Thermopylæ are hot (about 100° Fahrenheit) and salt. There are two of them, which seem anciently to have been devoted respectively to male and female bathers (Pausan.). They are enclosed within receptacles of masonry, about two feet in depth, from which in cool weather a strong vapour rises. The name "Cauldron" is thus very expressive (see Leake, vol. iii. pp. 34-38).

[7] The whole district was regarded as ennobled by the sufferings of Hercules, and as sacred to him (see ch. 198, and cf. Sophocl. Trachin. passim). Hence the name of Heracleia, which the Spartans gave to Trachis.

[8] Vide infra, chs. 208, 223, 225. For a full consideration of the various localities see the notes on chs. 198-200.

[9] The reference is to the original immigration of the Thessalians (Illyrians?) into the country afterwards called by their name, when they drove out the Bœotians, and other Æolic tribes (compare Thucyd. i. 12; Vell. Pat. i. 3; Diod. Sic. iv. 67, &c.). This was supposed to have taken place sixty years after the Trojan war.

to happen, and considering that in this region the barbarians could make no use of their vast numbers, nor of their cavalry, they resolved to await here the invader of Greece. And when news reached them of the Persians being in Pieria, straightway they broke up from the Isthmus, and proceeded, some on foot to Thermopylæ, others by sea to Artemisium.

178. The Greeks now made all speed to reach the two stations;[10] and about the same time the Delphians, alarmed both for themselves and for their country, consulted the god, and received for answer a command to "pray to the winds; for the winds would do Greece good service."[1] So when this answer was given them, forthwith the Delphians sent word of the prophecy to the Greeks who were zealous for freedom, and cheering them thereby amid the fears which they entertained with respect to the Barbarian, earned their everlasting gratitude. This done, they raised an altar to the winds at Thyia[2] (where Thyia, the daughter of Cephissus, from whom the region takes its name, has a precinct), and worshipped them with sacrifices. And even to the present day the Delphians sacrifice to the winds, because of this oracle.

179. The fleet of Xerxes now departed from Therma; and ten of the swiftest sailing ships ventured to stretch across direct for Sciathus, at which place there were upon the look-out three vessels belonging to the Greeks, one a ship of Trœzen,[3] another of Ægina, and the third from Athens. These vessels no sooner saw from a dis-

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[10] Thermopylæ and Artemisium.

[1] Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. vi. p. 753) professes to report the exact words of the oracle, but they do not seem to be those which Herodotus had heard. According to him the words were—

Ὦ Δελφοί, λίσσεσθ' ἀνέμους, καὶ λῷον ἔσται.

Similar advice was given to the Athenians (infra, ch. 189). The misfortune of Mardonius (supra, vi. 44) had shown what good service the winds might do.

[2] The site of Thyia, which no other author mentions, is unknown. Thyia herself was, according to others, a daughter of Castalius. She was the eponymus of the Thyiades (Pausan. x. vi. § 2).

[3] Supra, ch. 99.

tance the barbarians approaching than they all hurriedly took to flight.

180. The barbarians at once pursued, and the Trœzenian ship, which was commanded by Prexinus, fell into their hands. Hereupon the Persians took the handsomest of the men-at-arms, and drew him to the prow of the vessel, where they sacrificed him;[4] for they thought the man a good omen to their cause, seeing that he was at once so beautiful, and likewise the first captive they had made. The man who was slain in this way was called Leo; and it may be that the name he bore helped him to his fate in some measure.[5]

181. The Eginetan trireme, under its captain, Asônides, gave the Persians no little trouble, one of the men-at-arms, Pythes, the son of Ischenoüs, distinguishing himself beyond all the others who fought on that day. After the ship was taken this man continued to resist, and did not cease fighting till he fell quite covered with wounds. The Persians who served as men-at-arms in the squadron, finding that he was not dead, but still breathed, and being very anxious to save his life, since he had behaved so valiantly, dressed his wounds with myrrh, and bound them up with bandages of cotton. Then, when they were returned to their own station, they displayed their prisoner admiringly to the whole host, and behaved towards him with much kindness; but all the rest of the ship's crew were treated merely as slaves.

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[4] The custom of sacrificing their first prisoner is ascribed by Procopius to the Thulitæ or Scandinavians (Bell. Goth. ii. 15). The Germans made their first captive contend with a champion of their own race, and took the result as an omen of success or failure (Tacit. Germ. 10).

[5] Instances of attention to the meaning of names are found, supra, vi. 50, and infra, ix. 91. The Romans were systematically superstitious upon the point (see Cic. de Div. i. 45: "In lustrandâ coloniâ ab eo qui eam deduceret, et cum imperator exercitum, censor populum lustraret, bonis nōminibus qui hostias ducerent eligebantur; quod idem in delectu consules observant, ut primus miles fiat bono nomine:" and compare Plin. H. N. xxviii. 2; Tacit. Hist. iv. 53).

182. Thus did the Persians succeed in taking two of the vessels. The third, a trireme commanded by Phormus of Athens, took to flight and ran aground at the mouth of the river Peneus. The barbarians got possession of the bark, but not of the men. For the Athenians had no sooner run their vessel aground than they leapt out, and made their way through Thessaly back to Athens.

When the Greeks stationed at Artemisium learnt what had happened by fire-signals[6] from Sciathus, so terrified were they, that, quitting their anchorage-ground at Artemisium, and leaving scouts to watch the foe on the high lands of Eubœa, they removed to Chalcis, intending to guard the Euripus.

183. Meantime three of the ten vessels sent forward by the barbarians, advanced as far as the sunken rock between Sciathus and Magnesia, which is called "The Ant,"[7] and there set up a stone pillar which they had brought with them for that purpose. After this, their course being now clear, the barbarians set sail with all their ships from Therma, eleven days from the time that the king quitted the town. The rock, which lay directly in their course, had been made known to them by Pammon of Scyros.[8] A day's voyage without a stop brought

[6] The employment of fire-signals among the Greeks was very common. Æschylus represents it as known to them at the time of the Trojan war (Agam. 29-32, 272-307). Sophocles did the same in his Nauplius (Fr. V. ed. Valpy), ascribing the invention to Palamedes at that period. The practice was certainly very usual in historical times (Thucyd. ii. 94; iii. 22, 80; Polyb. VIII. XXX. § 1; X. xlii. § 7, &c.). Details of the science may be found in Æneas Tacticus and Polybius.

[7] This seems to be the rock known to the Greek sailors as *Leftari*, which lies exactly midway between the coast of Magnesia and the south-western promontory of the island. The precaution taken exhibits the skill and forethought of the Phœnician navigators, who had the chief direction of the fleet, in a favourable light.

[8] Scyros, still called *Skyro*, lay off the east coast of Eubœa, at the distance of about 23 miles (lat. 38° 55′, long. 24° 30′). It had, like most of the Egean islands, a capital city of the same name (Hom. Il. v. 664), which was strongly situated on a rocky height, and of which considerable traces are still to be found in the neighbourhood of St. George (see Leake, iii. p. 108-9).

them to Sepias in Magnesia,[9] and to the strip of coast which lies between the town of Casthanæa and the promontory of Sepias.[10]

184. As far as this point then, and on land, as far as Thermopylæ, the armament of Xerxes had been free from mischance; and the numbers were still, according to my reckoning, of the following amount. First there was the ancient complement of the twelve hundred and seven vessels which came with the king from Asia—the contingents of the nations severally—amounting, if we allow to each ship a crew of two hundred men,[1] to 241,400. Each of these vessels had on board, besides native soldiers, thirty fighting men, who were either Persians, Medes, or Sacans;[2] which gives an addition of 36,210. To these two numbers I shall further add the crews of the penteconters; which may be reckoned, one with another, at fourscore men each. Of such vessels there were (as I said before[3]) three

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[9] The distance is calculated to be about 900 stades or 103 miles. This would considerably exceed the average day's voyage of a merchant vessel in Herodotus's time (supra, iv. 85, note [3]), but it was quite within the powers of a trireme. (See Smith's Dict. of Antiq. p. 785, B, where the rate of a trireme is compared to that of "an ordinary steamboat.")

[10] Cape Sepias (for ἄκτη in Herodotus is not "shore," but "promontory"—"a land," in Niebuhr's words, "which juts out to a considerable distance into the sea, and has only one side adjoining the mainland") is undoubtedly the modern promontory of *St. George*. Strabo described it as terminating the Thermæan gulf, and as looking towards the north (vii. p. 480). There was a town of the same name, according to this author (ix. p. 632), which was afterwards swallowed up in Demetrias. It probably lay west of the cape, where it would have been somewhat sheltered.

Castanea, from which the chestnut-tree (still abundant in these parts) derived its Latin name (Etym. Mag. ad voc.), lay on the eastern coast (Pomp. Mel. ii. 3) of Magnesia, almost at the foot of Pelion (Strab. ix. p. 641, *κώμη ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλίῳ κειμένη*). Col. Leake identifies it with some ruins near *Tamúkhari* (vol. iv. p. 383).

[1] The crew of a *Greek* trireme seems always to have been 200 (vide infra, viii. 17); and we have here an evidence that Herodotus knew of no difference in this respect between the Greek vessels and the Persian. The proportion between the sailors and *Epibatæ*, or men-at-arms, is not unlike that which obtains in our own navy.

[2] Vide supra, ch. 96. These troops were regarded as the best (see viii. 113).

[3] Supra, ch. 97. It appears from that passage that in these 3000 vessels are included, besides penteconters, various other craft of a much smaller size.

thousand; and the men on board them accordingly would be 240,000. This was the sea force brought by the king from Asia; and it amounted in all to 517,610 men. The number of the foot soldiers was 1,700,000;[4] that of the horsemen 80,000;[5] to which must be added the Arabs who rode on camels, and the Libyans who fought in chariots, whom I reckon at 20,000. The whole number, therefore, of the land and sea forces added together amounts to 2,317,610 men. Such was the force brought from Asia, without including the camp followers, or taking any account of the provision-ships and the men whom they had on board.

185. To the amount thus reached we have still to add the forces gathered in Europe, concerning which I can only speak from conjecture. The Greeks dwelling in Thrace, and in the islands off the coast of Thrace,[6] furnished to the fleet one hundred and twenty ships; the crews of which would amount to 24,000 men. Besides these, footmen were furnished by the Thracians, the Pæonians, the Eordians,[7] the Bottiæans, by the Chalcidean tribes, by the Brygians, the Pierians, the Macedonians, the Perrhæbians, the Enianians, the Dolopians, the Magnesians, the Achæans, and by all the dwellers upon the Thracian sea-board; and the

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[4] Supra, ch. 60.

[5] See ch. 87.

[6] Thasos is the only one of these which has a name; but there are many small islands, just off the coast.

[7] The Eordians, who are the only people here named that have not been mentioned before, are the ancient inhabitants of the district known afterwards as Eordæa, which was celebrated in Roman times (see Liv. xxxi. 39, 40, xlii. 53; Polyb. XVIII. vi. § 3). This tract, which lay between Pella and Lyncestis (Strab. vii. p. 468), and also between Pella and Elimæa (Liv. l. s. c.), must have corresponded with the upper valley of the Lydias, the country now known as *Sarighiol* (Leake, iii. p. 316). The Macedonians, however, had expelled the Eordians (who were a Pæonian tribe, Plin. iv. 10) from their ancient abodes (Thucyd. ii. 99), and they had sought a refuge elsewhere, but in what exact locality is uncertain. Thucydides says "near Physca;" but of Physca nothing is known except that it was in Mygdonia (Ptol. iii. 13; compare Steph. Byz. ad voc. Ἐορδαῖαι), probably upon the borders of Chalcidicé. When we hear of the Amyrians having been anciently Eordi (Suid. Fr. 7), we learn that the primitive settlements of this race, as of so many others, were scattered and separate. Amyrus was near Lake Bœbeïs in Thessaly.

forces of these nations amounted, I believe, to three hundred thousand men. These numbers, added to those of the force which came out of Asia, make the sum of the fighting men 2,641,610.

186. Such then being the number of the fighting men, it is my belief that the attendants who followed the camp, together with the crews of the corn-barks, and of the other craft accompanying the army, made up an amount rather above than below that of the fighting men. However I will not reckon them as either fewer or more, but take them at an equal number. We have therefore to add to the sum already reached an exactly equal amount. This will give 5,283,220 as the whole number of men brought by Xerxes, the son of Darius, as far as Sepias and Thermopylæ.[8]

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[8] It can scarcely be doubted that this amount is considerably beyond the truth. It would have been the object of the several officers of Xerxes to exaggerate the numbers under their command, for their own credit in having brought so many men into the field; and Xerxes himself might have been content to have such exaggerations made, both as adding to his glory and as tending to alarm the Greeks. After the failure of the expedition it was equally an object with the Greeks to magnify its greatness, since they thus increased the merit of their own success. Still portions of the details of the estimate seem to be altogether trustworthy; and it is possible to point out the chief places where exaggeration has crept in.

The estimate of Herodotus will be best exhibited in a tabular form:—

	Quality of troops.	Number.	Ground of the Estimate.
Forces from Asia.	Infantry	1,700,000	The measurement at Doriscus.
	Cavalry	80,000	Common report—number probably counted at Doriscus.
	Arabs and Libyans .	20,000	Rough guess.
	Crews of the triremes	241,400	Calculated from the known number of the triremes (1207).
	Armed force on board them.	36,210	Ditto.
	Crews of the smaller vessels.	240,000	Rough guess from the supposed number of such vessels (3000), and the presumed average crew (80).
Forces from Europe	Land army . . .	300,000	Rough guess, based on the number of troops they might be supposed capable of furnishing.
	Crews of triremes .	24,000	Calculated from the number of triremes, which was likely to be known.

Total of the military force . .	2,641,610	
Attendants	2,641,610	estimated at an equal number.
Grand Total . . .	5,283,220	

Of

187. Such then was the amount of the entire host of Xerxes. As for the number of the women who ground

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Of these numbers the following appear beyond suspicion. The crews of the triremes, Asiatic and European, 241,400 and 24,000—the armed force on board the former, 36,210—and the Asiatic cavalry (a low estimate), 80,000. The following are open to question from the evident want of sufficient data, and from other causes. 1. The crews of the penteconters and smaller vessels, which are *guessed* at 3000 in number, with a supposed average crew of 80, giving a total of 240,000 men. The average of 80 seems very unduly large; since it is difficult to suppose that even the crew of a penteconter much exceeded that number, and the smaller vessels must have carried very many less. Perhaps 40 or 50 would be a fairer average. And the number of *three* thousand might safely be reduced to *one*, for the trireme had now become the ordinary ship of war. These reductions would strike off 200,000 men. 2. The Arabs and Libyans seem overrated at 20,000. If the entire cavalry, to which so many of the chief nations contributed (chs. 84-86), was no more than 80,000, the camels and chariots are not likely to have reached 10,000. It must be doubted too whether the Arabian camel-riders, who were stationed *in the rear* (ch. 87), did not really belong to the baggage-train, in which case Herodotus would have counted them twice. 3. The land force which joined the expedition on its march through Europe fell probably far short of 300,000. That number would seem to be a high estimate for the greatest military force which the countries named could anyhow furnish. The levies hastily raised on the line of march of the Persian army are not likely to have reached one-third of the amount. Further, it is worth notice what a great disproportion there is between the triremes furnished (120), which could have been easily counted, and the land force, which could only be guessed. 4. The Asiatic infantry was no doubt purposely exaggerated by its commanders, who would order their men, when they entered the enclosure (supra, ch. 60), not to stand close together. The amount of this exaggeration it is almost impossible to estimate, but it can scarcely have amounted to so much as one-half.

If the naval and military force be reduced in accordance with the above suggestions, it will still consist of about a million and a half of combatants: viz.—

Asiatic infantry, ab. . .	1,000,000	= 1,190,000 land force.
Asiatic cavalry, ab. . .	80,000	
Libyans in chariots, &c. .	10,000	
European land force, ab.	100,000	
Crews of Asiatic triremes	241,400	= 341,610 sea force.
Armed force on ditto . .	36,210	
Crews of smaller vessels, ab.	40,000	
Crews of European triremes	24,000	
	1,531,610	

With respect to the non-combatants, Mr. Grote's remark (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 48) is most sound, that Herodotus has applied a Greek standard to a case where such application is wholly unwarranted. The crews of the vessels would decidedly have had no attendants—and the "great mass of the army" would likewise have been without them. "A few grandees might be richly provided," yet even their attendants would mostly have carried arms, and been counted among the infantry. It was therefore scarcely necessary for Herodotus to have made any addition at all to his estimate, on the score of attendants; and if he made any, it should have been very trifling.

The estimates furnished by other writers have little importance, the only original statements being those of Æschylus and Ctesias. The former, as we have seen (supra, ch. 100, note [6]),

the corn, of the concubines, and the eunuchs, no one can give any sure account of it; nor can the baggage-horses and other sumpter-beasts, nor the Indian hounds which followed the army, be calculated, by reason of their multitude. Hence I am not at all surprised that the water of the rivers was found too scant for the army in some instances; rather it is a marvel to me how the provisions did not fail, when the numbers were so great. For I find on calculation that if each man consumed no more than a chœnix of corn a-day, there must have been used daily by the army 110,340 medimni,[9] and this without counting what was eaten by the women, the eunuchs, the sumpter-beasts, and the hounds. Among all this multitude of men there was not one who, for beauty and stature, deserved more than Xerxes himself to wield so vast a power.

188. The fleet then, as I said, on leaving Therma, sailed to the Magnesian territory, and there occupied the strip of coast between the city of Casthanæa and Cape Sepias. The ships of the first row were moored

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corroborates Herodotus as to the exact number of Persian triremes, with the exception that he applies the number to the fleet at *Salamis*. Reasons have already been given (supra, loc. cit.) for preferring, on this head, the statement of Herodotus. The latter gives the number of the fleet at 1000, that of the land force at 800,000, exclusive of chariots (Persic. Exc. § 23). But Ctesias is an utterly worthless authority, as this part of his history (§ 25-6) most plainly shows. Diodorus (xi. 3) has however followed him, as has Ælian, except that he has made a further deduction of 100,000 for the sake of greater probability (V. H. xiii. 3). Æschylus does not give the amount of the land force; but his expressions agree rather with the vast numbers of Herodotus, than with the more moderate total of Ctesias (Pers. 56-64, 122-144, 724, 735-8). The popular belief of the time was that Xerxes brought a land-force of 3,000,000 to Thermopylæ (see the inscription, infra, ch. 228).

[9] This is a miscalculation. The actual amount, according to the number at which Herodotus reckons the host, would be 110,067$\frac{1}{11}$ medimni. The medimnus contained about 12 gallons English.

With respect to the mode in which the immense host was actually supplied, we must bear in mind, 1. that Asiatics are accustomed to live upon a very scanty diet. 2. that commissariat preparations on the largest scale had been made for several years (vii. 20). Magazines of stores had been laid up on the line of march (ch. 25), and the natives had been stimulated to prepare supplies of food of all kinds (ch. 119). 3. that a vast number of transports laden with corn (σιταγωγὰ πλοῖα) accompanied the host along shore (ch. 186, 191). And 4. that notwithstanding all these precautions, the expedition did suffer from want (Æschyl. Pers. 797-9).

to the land, while the remainder swung at anchor further off. The beach extended but a very little way, so that they had to anchor off the shore, row upon row, eight deep. In this manner they passed the night. But at dawn of day calm and stillness gave place to a raging sea, and a violent storm, which fell upon them with a strong gale from the east—a wind which the people in those parts call Hellespontias. Such of them as perceived the wind rising, and were so moored as to allow of it, forestalled the tempest by dragging their ships up on the beach, and in this way saved both themselves and their vessels. But the ships which the storm caught out at sea were driven ashore, some of them near the place called Ipni, or "the Ovens,"[10] at the foot of Pelion; others on the strand itself; others again about Cape Sepias; while a portion were dashed to pieces near the cities of Melibœa[1] and Casthanæa. There was no resisting the tempest.

189. It is said that the Athenians had called upon Boreas[2] to aid the Greeks, on account of a fresh oracle which had reached them, commanding them to "seek help from their son-in-law." For Boreas, according to the tradition of the Greeks, took to wife a woman of Attica, viz., Orithyia, the daughter of Erechtheus.[3] So the Athenians, as the tale goes, considering that

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[10] Colonel Leake (ii. p. 383) places Ipni at *Zagorá*, directly under Pelium, which agrees well enough with this passage, and with the notice in Strabo (ix. p. 641, Ὑπνοῦντα τόπον τραχὺν τὸν περὶ Πήλιον). The name, which means "the Ovens," was not very uncommon (see Steph. Byz. ad voc. Ἰπνοι et Ἰπνοῦς).

[1] Melibœa was one of the chief cities of these parts (Hom. Il. ii. 717; Scyl. Peripl. p. 60; Liv. xliv. 13; Plin. H. N. iv. 9; Apoll. Rhod. i. 592). It was situated at the foot of Ossa (Liv. l. s. c.), in a shallow bay to which it gave name (Strabo, ix. p. 642). Colonel Leake places it, on good grounds, at a place called *Kastri* near *Dhematá* (N. G. vol. iv. p. 414); Kiepert, wrongly, puts it on the flanks of Pelion (Blatt. xvi.).

[2] The name Bora is still retained in the Adriatic for the N. E. wind.—[G. W.]

[3] This fable is found with few variations in Plato (Phædr. p. 229 B.), in the fragments of Acusilaus (Fr. 23), in Apollodorus (III. xv. § 1-2), and in Pausanias (I. xix. § 6). Plato laughingly suggests a rational explanation.

this marriage made Boreas their son-in-law, and perceiving, while they lay with their ships at Chalcis of Euboea,[4] that the wind was rising, or, it may be, even before it freshened, offered sacrifice both to Boreas and likewise to Orithyia, entreating them to come to their aid and to destroy the ships of the barbarians, as they did once before off Mount Athos. Whether it was owing to this that Boreas[5] fell with violence on the barbarians at their anchorage I cannot say; but the Athenians declare that they had received aid from Boreas before, and that it was he who now caused all these disasters. They therefore, on their return home, built a temple to this god on the banks of the Ilissus.[6]

190. Such as put the loss of the Persian fleet in this storm at the lowest say, that four hundred of their ships were destroyed, that a countless multitude of men were slain, and a vast treasure engulfed. Ameinocles, the son of Crêtines, a Magnesian, who farmed land near Cape Sepias, found the wreck of these vessels a source of great gain to him; many were the gold and silver drinking-cups, cast up long afterwards by the surf, which he gathered; while treasure-boxes too which had belonged to the Persians, and golden articles of all kinds and beyond count, came into his possession. Ameinocles grew to be a man of great wealth in this

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[4] Supra, ch. 182.

[5] It is evident that the points of the compass were not fixed in the time of Herodotus with the precision which had been attained when Pliny wrote (H. N. xviii. 34). Herodotus calls the same wind indifferently Boreas and Apeliotes (north-east and east, according to Pliny's explanation). If the wind really blew from the Hellespont, its direction would have been north-east by east.

[6] The myth said that Orithyia had been carried off from the banks of the Ilissus. The temple appears to have been built on the supposed site of the ravishment, where in Plato's time an altar only existed (Phaedr. ut supra), the temple having probably gone to decay. When Pausanias wrote, there seems to have been neither temple nor altar. The exact site of the building can almost be fixed from Plato and Strabo (ix. p. 575, 581). It was on the right bank of the Ilissus, probably about opposite the modern church of St. Peter the Martyr (*Petros Stavromenos*; see Leake's Athens, pp. 279-280).

way, but in other respects things did not go over well with him; he too, like other men, had his own grief—the calamity of losing his offspring.

191. As for the number of the provision craft and other merchant ships which perished, it was beyond count. Indeed, such was the loss, that the commanders of the sea force, fearing lest in their shattered condition the Thessalians should venture on an attack, raised a lofty barricade around their station out of the wreck of the vessels cast ashore. The storm lasted three days. At length the Magians, by offering victims to the Winds, and charming them with the help of conjurers, while at the same time they sacrificed to Thetis and the Nereids, succeeded in laying the storm four days after it first began; or perhaps it ceased of itself. The reason of their offering sacrifice to Thetis was this: they were told by the Ionians that here was the place whence Peleus carried her off, and that the whole promontory was sacred to her and to her sister Nereids.[7] So the storm lulled upon the fourth day.

192. The scouts left by the Greeks about the highlands of Eubœa hastened down from their stations on the day following that whereon the storm began, and acquainted their countrymen with all that had befallen the Persian fleet. These no sooner heard what had happened than straightway they returned thanks to Neptune the Saviour, and poured libations in his honour; after which they hastened back with all speed to Artemisium, expecting to find a very few ships left to oppose them, and arriving there for the second time, took up their station on that strip of coast: nor from that day to the present have they ceased to address Neptune by the name then given him, of "Saviour."

[7] It is unnecessary to repeat the well-known tale of the seizure of Thetis by Peleus. The tale is given briefly by Apollodorus (iii. xiii. § 4), more at length by Ovid (Metamorph. xi.). According to the Scholiast upon Apollonius Rhodius (i. 582), Thetis, among her other transformations, became a cuttle-fish (σηπία), and thence the promontory derived its name.

193. The barbarians, when the wind lulled and the sea grew smooth, drew their ships down to the water, and proceeded to coast along the mainland. Having then rounded the extreme point of Magnesia,[8] they sailed straight into the bay that runs up to Pagasæ.[9] There is a place in this bay, belonging to Magnesia, where Hercules is said to have been put ashore to fetch water by Jason[1] and his companions; who then deserted him and went on their way to Æa in Colchis, on board the ship Argo, in quest of the golden fleece. From the circumstance that they intended, after watering their vessel at this place, to quit the shore and launch forth into the deep, it received the name of Aphetæ.[2] Here then it was that the fleet of Xerxes came to an anchor.

194. Fifteen ships, which had lagged greatly behind the rest, happening to catch sight of the Greek fleet at Artemisium, mistook it for their own, and sailing down

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[8] Mr. Grote supposes this to be "the south-eastern corner of Magnesia" (Hist of Greece, vol. v. p. 112 note). I think it was the south-*western*. The fleet proceeded from Sepias along shore to this "point of Magnesia," and doubling it, sailed straight into the Pagasean Gulf, within which (ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ) was Aphetæ. Ptolemy distinguishes Cape Magnesia from Cape Sepias, exactly in the same way as Herodotus (Geogr. iii. 13, p. 92). Pliny calls the Magnesian promontory, Cape Æanteum (H. N. iv. 9).

[9] This is undoubtedly the modern Gulf of *Volo*. It is well described by Scylax (Peripl. p. 60). Pagasæ itself lay in the innermost recess of the bay, about two miles from Iolcus, and ten from Pheræ (Strab. ix. p. 632). It belonged to Thessaly, which had only two small strips of sea-board, one here, and one at the mouth of the Peneus (Scylax, ut supra; compare Strab. l. c. and Plin. H. N. iv. 8-9). Colonel Leake found considerable remains of the town a little to the west of *Volo* (iv. p. 368-370).

[1] The many forms which the myth took may be seen in Apollodorus (I. ix. § 10). According to that which predominated, Hercules was left in Mysia (Apoll. Rhod. i. 1276-1283). Pherecydes however maintained the version of Herodotus (Fr. 67), adding that Hercules was left behind, because the Argo declared she could not bear his weight.

[2] The same derivation of the name Aphetæ from ἀφιέναι, "to loose ship," is given by Apollonius Rhodius (i. 591), and by Stephen (ad voc.). The place appears to have been rather a harbour than a town, though Stephen calls it πόλις τῆς Μαγνησίας. Its exact site is uncertain, but it seems from Herodotus to have been "either the harbour of *Trikeri*, or that between the island of *Palæá Trikeri* and the main" (see Leake, iv. p. 397). Strabo's assertion, that it was *near* Pagasæ, must be taken in a wide sense (ix. p. 632).

into the midst of it, fell into the hands of the enemy. The commander of this squadron was Sandôces, the son of Thamasius, governor of Cymé,[3] in Æolis. He was of the number of the royal judges,[4] and had been crucified by Darius some time before, on the charge of taking a bribe to determine a cause wrongly; but while he yet hung on the cross, Darius bethought him that the good deeds of Sandôces towards the king's house were more numerous than his evil deeds;[5] and so confessing that he had acted with more haste than wisdom, he ordered him to be taken down and set at large. Thus Sandôces escaped destruction at the hands of Darius, and was alive at this time; but he was not fated to come off so cheaply from his second peril; for as soon as the Greeks saw the ships making towards them, they guessed their mistake, and putting to sea, took them without difficulty.

195. Aridôlis, tyrant of Alabanda in Caria,[6] was on board one of the ships, and was made prisoner; as also was the Paphian general, Penthylus, the son of Demonoüs, who was on board another. This person had brought with him twelve ships from Paphos,[7] and after losing eleven in the storm off Sepias, was taken in the remaining one as he sailed towards Artemisium. The Greeks, after questioning their prisoners as much as they wished concerning the forces of Xerxes, sent them away in chains to the Isthmus of Corinth.

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[3] Supra, i. 149.

[4] Supra, iii. 31; and see Appendix to Book iii. Essay iii. p. 560.

[5] The Persian law, according to Herodotus, required such a review (i. 137).

[6] Alabanda is assigned to Phrygia in the next book (ch. 136), but it was usually regarded as a Carian town (Strab. xiv. p. 944; Plin. H. N. v. xxix; Steph. Byz. ad voc.). The description of Strabo, and the coins found on the spot, suffice to identify the extensive ruins at *Arab Hissar* with the ancient Alabanda (Fellows's Lycia, pp. 54-8).

[7] Paphos seems to have been one of the earliest Phœnician settlements in Cyprus. It was said by some to have been founded by an ancient king Aërias; others ascribed it to Cinyras (Tacit. An. iii. 62; Hist. ii. 3; Apollod. III. xiv. § 3). Paphos lay upon the west coast. The ancient city was at the distance of about a mile from the sea (Strab. xiv. p. 972-3), but a more modern town ascribed to Agapenor (Strab. l. s. c.; Pausan. VIII. v. § 2), grew up at some little distance upon the shore. This latter, which is still known as *Bafa*, seems to be the Paphos of Herodotus.

196. The sea force of the barbarians, with the exception of the fifteen ships commanded (as I said) by Sandôces, came safe to Aphetæ. Xerxes meanwhile, with the land army, had proceeded through Thessaly and Achæa, and three days earlier, had entered the territory of the Malians. In Thessaly he matched his own horses against the Thessalian, which he heard were the best in Greece;[8] but the Greek coursers were left far behind in the race. All the rivers in this region had water enough to supply his army, except only the Onochônus;[9] but in Achæa, the largest of the streams, the Apidanus, barely held out.

197. On his arrival at Alus[1] in Achæa, his guides, wishing to inform him of everything, told him the tale known to the dwellers in those parts concerning the temple of the Laphystian Jupiter[2]—how that Athamas the son of Æolus took counsel with Ino and plotted the death of Phrixus;[3] and how that afterwards the

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[8] The excellency of the Thessalian horses was proverbial. Hence Theocritus speaking of Helen says,—

> Πιείρᾳ μεγάλᾳ ἅτ' ἀνέδραμε κόσμος ἀρούρᾳ,
> Ἠ κάπῳ κυπάρισσος, ἢ ἅρματι Θεσσαλὸς ἵππος.—(Idyll. xviii. 29-30.)

Hence too, in the oracle which was given to the Megarians, we hear—

> Γαίης μὲν πάσης τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἄμεινον,
> Ἵπποι Θρηΐκιαι, Λακεδαιμόνιαι δὲ γυναῖκες.—
> (Schol. Theocrit. xiv. 48.)

Compare Sophocl. Electr. 703; Plat. Hipp. Maj. 284 A.; and vide supra, v. 63, note [9].

[9] Supra, ch. 129.

[1] Supra, ch. 173.

[2] The most famous temple of Jupiter Laphystius was in Bœotia, between Coronæa and Orchomenus (Pausan. IX. xxxiv. § 4). There is said to have been another in Bithynia (Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod. ii. 652), and it has been imagined that Herodotus here speaks of a third at Alus (Larcher ad voc. "Laphystius." Table Géograph.). But this last supposition is unnecessary. Herodotus intends to say that the tale which Xerxes heard at Alus caused him afterwards, *on his passage through Bœotia*, to spare the shrine and grove of Laphystian Jupiter there. As Alus was, according to tradition, founded by Athamas (Strab. ix. p. 627), we may understand how the inhabitants came to tell Xerxes the story.

A good deal of obscurity attaches to the word "Laphystian." Properly it signifies "gluttonous," a meaning which is compatible with the myth (see the next note). Some, however, have regarded it in this connexion as a mere local appellative (Larcher, ad loc.), since the mountain whereon the temple stood (the modern mountain of *Granitza*, Leake, ii. p. 140) was called Laphystium. But the mountain probably took its name from the temple.

[3] The tale went, that Ino, wishing to destroy the children of Athamas by his first wife Nephelé, produced a dearth by having the seed-corn secretly parched before it was sown, and when

Achæans, warned by an oracle, laid a forfeit upon his posterity, forbidding the eldest of the race ever to enter into the court-house (which they call the people's house), and keeping watch themselves to see the law obeyed. If one comes within the doors, he can never go out again except to be sacrificed. Further, they told him, how that many persons, when on the point of being slain, are seized with such fear that they flee away and take refuge in some other country; and that these, if they come back long afterwards, and are found to be the persons who entered the court-house, are led forth covered with chaplets, and in a grand procession, and are sacrificed. This forfeit is paid by the descendants of Cytissorus the son of Phrixus,[4] because, when the Achæans, in obedience to an oracle, made Athamas the son of Æolus their sin-offering and were about to slay him, Cytissorus came from Æa in Colchis and rescued Athamas; by which deed he brought the anger of the god upon his own posterity. Xerxes, therefore, having heard this story, when he reached the grove of the god, avoided it, and commanded his army to do the like. He also paid the same respect to the house and precinct of the descendants of Athamas.

198. Such were the doings of Xerxes in Thessaly

Athamas consulted the oracle on the subject, persuaded the messengers to bring back word, that Phrixus must be sacrificed to Jupiter. Athamas was imposed upon, and prepared to offer his son; but Nephelé snatched Phrixus from the altar, and placed him upon a ram with a golden fleece which she had obtained from Mercury, and the ram carried him through the air to Colchis, where it was offered by Phrixus to Jupiter. The fleece he gave to Æetes the Colchian king (cf. Apollod. I. ix. § 1; Pausan. I. xxiv. § 2, IX. xxxiv. § 4; Plat. Min. 315, C.; Apoll. Rhod. ii. 653).

If this tale is indicative of the fact that in early times the Orchomenian Minyæ offered human sacrifices to Jove we may understand why their Jove was called "Laphystian" (see Müller's Eumen. § 55).

[4] Phrixus, in the common tradition, was said to have had four sons, Argus, Melas, Phrontis, and Cytissorus (Apollod. l. s. c.; Apollon. Rhod. ii. 1156). Pausanias, who gives him a son, Presbon (IX. xxxiv. § 5), must have followed a different story. On the offering of human sacrifices by the Greeks, see Wachsmuth's Hellenisch. Alterthums. vol. ii. p. 549, et seqq. Compare the article Sacrificium in Smith's Dict. of Antiq. p. 999, A.

and in Achæa. From hence he passed on into Malis, along the shores of a bay, in which there is an ebb and flow of the tide daily.[5] By the side of this bay lies a piece of flat land, in one part broad, but in another very narrow indeed, around which runs a range of lofty hills, impossible to climb, enclosing all Malis within them, and called the Trachinian Cliffs.[6] The first city upon the bay, as you come from Achæa, is Anticyra,[7] near which the river Spercheius, flowing down from the country of the Enianians,[8] empties itself into the sea. About twenty furlongs from this stream there is a second river, called the Dyras,[9] which is said to have appeared first to help Hercules when he was burning. Again, at the distance of twenty furlongs, there is a stream called the Melas, near which, within about five furlongs, stands the city of Trachis.[1]

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[5] The tides in the Mediterranean seldom rise more than a few feet, in some places not above 12 or 13 inches. The flatness of the coast round the Maliac Gulf would render the rise and fall more perceptible there than elsewhere.

[6] Compare with this the description in Leake (N. G. vol. ii. ch. 10), by which it appears that however great the changes which time has made, the *general* character of the scene remains unaltered. The plain at the head of the bay, varying greatly in its breadth, the range of hills surrounding it on all sides, the cliffs and precipices which in many places abut upon the flat country, are now, as formerly, the most conspicuous features of the locality (compare Clarke's Travels in Greece, vol. i. ch. viii. p. 250-2).

[7] Anticyra must have lain towards the north of the Malian plains, near the modern town of *Zitúni* (Lamia). No ruins have as yet been discovered to fix the exact site, which the great alterations that have taken place in the course of the Spercheius (*Helládha*) render very difficult of determination. The Malian must be distinguished from the Phocian Anticyra, which latter lay on the Gulf of Corinth, and was a much more important place. Curiously enough, both cities were famous for their hellebore (see Strab. ix. p. 606; Steph. Byz. ad voc., and compare Theophrast. Hist. Plant. ix. 11).

[8] Vide supra, ch. 132, note [2].

[9] Colonel Leake has satisfactorily identified this stream as well as the Melas (N. G. vol. ii. p. 25-6). The latter, which was little more than half a mile from Trachis (cf. Liv. xxxvi. 22), can only be the streamlet (amniculus) now called the *Mávra Néria* or Black River, which is a translation of the ancient name. The Dyras must therefore be the *Gurgo*, which alone intervenes between the *Mávra Néria* and the Spercheius. At present, these two streams join in the middle of the plain, and together fall into the Spercheius.

[1] Supra, ch. 175, note [2]. Strabo (ix. p. 621) throws no light on the geography of this region. It is clear that he had no personal knowledge of it, and simply followed Herodotus.

199. At the point where this city is built, the plain between the hills and the sea is broader than at any other, for it there measures 22,000 plethra.[2] South of Trachis there is a cleft in the mountain-range which shuts in the territory of Trachinia; and the river Asôpus[3] issuing from this cleft flows for a while along the foot of the hills.

200. Further to the south, another river, called the Phœnix,[4] which has no great body of water, flows from the same hills, and falls into the Asôpus. Here is the narrowest place of all, for in this part there is only a causeway wide enough for a single carriage. From the river Phœnix to Thermopylæ is a distance of fifteen furlongs; and in this space is situate the village called Anthêla,[5] which the river Asôpus passes ere it reaches the sea. The space about Anthêla is of some width, and contains a temple of Amphictyonian Ceres, as well

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[2] This is certainly an incorrect reading. Twenty-two thousand plethra are above 420 miles, whereas the plain is even now, at the utmost, seven miles across! It is impossible, I think, to understand the passage as Colonel Leake explains it—that "the *whole surface* of the plain contained 22,000 plethra" (Northern Greece, ii. p. 11). Herodotus never gives areas, and such a rendering drops altogether the important particle *γάρ*. We must suppose an alteration of the numbers—possibly κ, β, (22,000) for κβ (22).

[3] The Asopus is clearly the *Karvunaria*. It is recognised by its position south of the ruins of Heracleia (Trachis), and by the "magnificent chasm" through which it issues upon the Trachinian plain from the mountains of Œta (Gell, p. 239; Leake, ii. p. 11). It likewise still flows through the plain, nearly at the foot of the hills which bound the plain to the south. At present it falls into the Sperchius instead of reaching the sea; but this fact does not throw any doubt upon the identification, since it is the necessary consequence of the gradual growth of the alluvium, by which the mouth of the Sperchius has been carried to some distance beyond the straits.

[4] Colonel Leake identifies the Phœnix (Red River) with a small stream of hot mineral water, having a deposit of a *red* colour, which flows from two sources near the base of the mountain range, and empties itself into the Sperchius, rather more than half a mile below the point where that stream receives the Asopus. Here is still one of the narrowest portions of the pass; and the distance to the principal hot springs is almost exactly 15 stades (Leake, ii. p. 32).

[5] Anthela was mentioned above (ch. 176). It is also noticed by Stephen. Probably it was situated on the slightly elevated tract which lies at the foot of the great precipices, between the red springs or Phœnix, and the main sources (Leake, pp. 35-6). No remains are to be found either of Anthela itself or of the other buildings mentioned by Herodotus.

as the seats of the Amphictyonic deputies,[6] and a temple of Amphictyon himself.[7]

201. King Xerxes pitched his camp in the region of Malis called Trachinia, while on their side the Greeks occupied the straits.[8] These straits the Greeks in general call Thermopylæ (the Hot Gates); but the natives and those who dwell in the neighbourhood, call them Pylæ (the Gates). Here then the two

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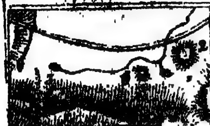
[6] Amphictyonies were religious leagues of states possessing a common sanctuary (ἀμφικτύονες, originally ἀμφικτίονες). There were several both in Asia and Europe (Hermann. Pol. Ant. § 11; Smith's Dict. Ant. p. 79). The Amphictyony which met at Thermopylæ was the most celebrated of all. It consisted of the following nations, viz., the Thessalians, Bœotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhæbians, Magnesians, Locrians, Ænianians, Achæans of Phthiotis, Malians, Phocians, and (probably) the Dolopians (cf. Æschin. de F. Leg. p. 285, and Pausan. x. viii. § 2). It held its regular meetings twice a year, in the spring and in the autumn. The spring meeting was at Delphi, the autumn one at Thermopylæ. Each state sent two deputies, a *pylagoras* and a *hieromnemon*. The Pylagoræ formed the regular assembly—the Hieromnemones were a sort of standing committee specially charged with the execution of decrees, and the care of the temples. Müller sees in the two meeting-places of this league, an endeavour to unite the Hellenic with the Pelasgic worship (Dorians, vol. i. p. 289, E. T.).

[7] Amphictyon would seem to be most clearly an invented name, formed, according to the Greek custom of referring all appellatives to a *heros eponymus*, from the word Amphictyony. Yet the adventures of Amphictyon are gravely narrated as though they were historical truths! (See Apollod. I. vii. § 2; III. xiv. § 1. Marm. Par. l. 8, ep. 5.)

[8] The accompanying plan, which is taken (with few alterations) from the admirable work of Colonel Leake (Northern Greece, vol. ii.), will (it is hoped) render elaborate explanations of the localities unnecessary. It exhibits very clearly the great alterations which have taken place through the accumulation of deposits from the Spercheius and the other streams. The head of the gulf has receded about four miles, the Maliac plain having advanced that distance. The mouth of the Spercheius has been thrown from the north-eastern to the southern shore of the gulf, and advanced seven or eight miles from its old position. The pass is now separated from the sea throughout its entire extent, by a tract of marshy ground, a mile or two in width, through which the Spercheius flows, and across which a road, only practicable in summer, leads from Southern to Northern Greece, avoiding the pass altogether. The minor streams mentioned by Herodotus have all become tributaries of the Spercheius, and have changed their courses in some degree. The wood upon Mount Anopæa has been to a great extent cut down, and the slopes are now cultivated. Several roads too of a rough kind have been made, where in the time of Herodotus there was but a single footpath. Still, many features of the scene remain unaltered—the broad plain, the high Trachinian precipices, the gorge through which the river Asopus emerges from the mountains, the hot springs or "cauldrons," blue as in the days of Pausanias (IV. xxxv. § 5), the marshes, more extensive now than formerly, even the oak woods upon Callidromus—all these are witnessed to by modern travellers, and attest the accuracy of the historian.

armies took their stand; the one master of all the region lying north of Trachis, the other of the country extending southward of that place to the verge of the continent.

PART OF MOUNT OTHRYS.
ANTICYRA
OLD MOUTH OF SPERCHIUS
RICE GROUNDS
MALIAC GULF
MALIAN PLAIN
TRACHINIA
PASS OF THERMOPYLÆ
ANTHELA
PART OF MT ŒTA
HERACLEA
TRACK OF HYDARNES
ANOPÆA or CALLIDROMUS
TO SALONA
STATUTE MILES



PLAN OF THERMOPYLÆ

AND THE

ADJACENT COUNTRY.

ENLARGED VIEW OF THE PASS.

1. Monument to Leonidas.
2. Turkish Custom-house.
3. Hot Spring.

1. Position of the Greek army.
2. Position of the Phocians.
3. Summit of Callidromus.
4. Site of the Monument to Leonidas.

202. The Greeks who at this spot awaited the coming of Xerxes were the following:—From Sparta, three hundred men-at-arms: from Arcadia, a thousand Tegeans and Mantineans, five hundred of each people; a hundred and twenty Orchomenians, from the Arcadian Orchomenus;[9] and a thousand from other cities: from Corinth, four hundred men: from Phlius,[1] two hundred: and from Mycenæ eighty. Such was the number from the Peloponnese. There were also present, from Bœotia, seven hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans.

203. Besides these troops, the Locrians of Opus and the Phocians had obeyed the call of their countrymen, and sent, the former all the force they had, the latter a thousand men. For envoys had gone from the Greeks at Thermopylæ among the Locrians and Phocians, to call on them for assistance, and to say—"They were themselves but the vanguard of the host, sent to precede the main body, which might every day be expected to follow them. The sea was in good keeping, watched by the Athenians, the Eginetans, and the rest of the fleet. There was no cause why they should fear; for after all the invader was not a god but a man; and there never had been, and never would be, a man who

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[9] The Arcadian is here distinguished from the Bœotian city of the same name (infra, viii. 34). The former was situated a little to the north of Mantinea, between that place and Pheneus (Pausan. VIII. xiii.). It is now *Kalpaki*, where considerable ruins of the ancient town may be traced (Gell's Morea, pp. 144-5; Leake, iii. pp. 99-102).

[1] There are said to have been three places of this name. One, the most famous, was situated in the north-eastern portion of the Peloponnese, about half-way between Argos and Sicyon (Pausan. II. xiii. § 1). Another, mentioned only by Ptolemy (Geogr. iii. 16, p. 100), was on the coast, between Nauplia and Hermione. The third was near Cyllene, in Elis (Plin. H. N. iv. 5). There cannot be any doubt that the first of these is the town which is here spoken of, and which subsequently furnished troops at Platæa (infra, ix. 28).

For a description of this Phlius, see Pausanias (II. xiii.). It was situated on the Asôpus, which ran into the sea near Sicyon. Originally an Achæan city, it was conquered by the Dorians of Argos, but seems to have retained always a degree of independence. Extensive ruins still mark the site, which is at *Polyfengo*, not far from *Ai Ghiorgi* (Gell's Morea, p. 169, Leake, vol. iii. p. 339).

was not liable to misfortunes from the very day of his birth, and those greater in proportion to his own greatness. The assailant therefore, being only a mortal, must needs fall from his glory." Thus urged, the Locrians and the Phocians had come with their troops to Trachis.

204. The various nations had each captains of their own under whom they served; but the one to whom all especially looked up, and who had the command of the entire force, was the Lacedæmonian, Leonidas. Now Leonidas was the son of Anaxandridas, who was the son of Leo, who was the son of Eurycratidas, who was the son of Anaxander, who was the son of Eurycrates, who was the son of Polydôrus, who was the son of Alcamenes, who was the son of Têlecles, who was the son of Archelaüs, who was the son of Agesilaüs, who was the son of Doryssus, who was the son of Labôtas, who was the son of Echestratus, who was the son of Agis, who was the son of Eurysthenes, who was the son of Aristodêmus, who was the son of Aristomachus, who was the son of Cleodæus, who was the son of Hyllus, who was the son of Hercules.[2]

Leonidas had come to be king of Sparta quite unexpectedly.

205. Having two elder brothers, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he had no thought of ever mounting the throne. However when Cleomenes died without male offspring, as Dorieus was likewise deceased, having perished in Sicily,[3] the crown fell to Leonidas, who was

[2] This was the accepted genealogy and succession of the Spartan kings of the elder house, and may be confirmed from many sources. The line from Eurysthenes to Alcamenes is found in Diodorus (ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. pars i. c. 36, p. 166), who professes to give from Apollodorus the exact number of years that each king reigned. Pausanias (III. i.-iii.) has the entire list from Aristodemus to Anaxandridas, but without any chronology. It is plain, however, that he would not have agreed with the numbers of Diodorus (see III. ii. § 3, end). Müller thinks (Dorians, i. p. 149, E. T.) that the names of the kings and the years of their reigns were preserved at Sparta in public registers (ἀναγραφαί) from very early times.

[3] Supra, v. 46.

older than Cleombrotus, the youngest of the sons of Anaxandridas, and, moreover, was married to the daughter of Cleomenes.[4] He had now come to Thermopylæ, accompanied by the three hundred[5] men which the law assigned him, whom he had himself chosen from among the citizens, and who were all of them fathers with sons living. On his way he had taken the troops from Thebes, whose number I have already mentioned, and who were under the command of Leontiades[6] the son of Eurymachus. The reason why he made a point of taking troops from Thebes and Thebes only was, that the Thebans were strongly suspected of being well inclined to the Medes. Leonidas therefore called on them to come with him to the war, wishing to see whether they would comply with his demand, or openly refuse, and disclaim the Greek alliance. They, however, though their wishes leant the other way, nevertheless sent the men.[7]

206. The force with Leonidas was sent forward by the Spartans in advance of their main body, that the sight of them might encourage the allies to fight, and hinder them from going over to the Medes, as it was likely they might have done had they seen Sparta backward. They intended presently, when they had celebrated the Carneian festival,[8] which was what now kept them at

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[4] Gorgo, who was mentioned above (v. 48, 51), and occurs again, infra, ch. 239.

[5] Leonidas seems to have been fully aware of the desperate nature of the service which he now undertook (see the narrative in Diodorus, xi. 4). He therefore, instead of taking with him his ordinary bodyguard of *youths* (see note [8] on i. 67), selected a bodyguard from among the men of advanced age, taking none but such as had male offspring living, in order that no family might altogether perish (see Müller's Dorians, vol. ii. p. 257, E. T.).

[6] Aristophanes the Bœotian said that the commander of the Theban contingent at Platæa was, not Leontiades, but a certain Anaxander (Fr. 5). It is, of course, possible enough that in such a matter Herodotus may have been mistaken.

[7] According to Diodorus (l. s. c.) there were two parties in Thebes, one for and the other against the Persians. The latter he represents as sending voluntarily the contingent of 400 (see also Plut. de Malign. Herod. ii. p. 867, A.).

[8] The Carneian festival fell in the Spartan month Carneius, the Athenian Metageitnion, corresponding nearly to our August. It was held in honour of Apollo Carneius, a deity

home,[9] to leave a garrison in Sparta, and hasten in full force to join the army. The rest of the allies also intended to act similarly; for it happened that the Olympic festival fell exactly at this same period.[10] None of them looked to see the contest at Thermopylæ decided so speedily; wherefore they were content to send forward a mere advanced guard. Such accordingly were the intentions of the allies.

207. The Greek forces at Thermopylæ, when the Persian army drew near to the entrance of the pass, were seized with fear, and a council was held to consider about a retreat. It was the wish of the Peloponnesians generally that the army should fall back upon the Peloponnese, and there guard the Isthmus. But Leonidas, who saw with what indignation the Phocians and Locrians heard of this plan, gave his voice for remaining where they were, while they sent envoys to the several cities to ask for help, since they were too few to make a stand against an army like that of the Medes.

208. While this debate was going on, Xerxes sent a mounted spy to observe the Greeks, and note how many they were, and what they were doing. He had heard, before he came out of Thessaly, that a few men were

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worshipped from very ancient times in the Peloponnese, especially at Amyclæ. Müller (Orchom. p. 327) supposes this worship to have been brought to Amyclæ from Thebes by the Ægidæ. It appears certainly to have been anterior to the Dorian conquest (Dorians, vol. i. pp. 373-5, E. T.). The Spartan festival is said to have been instituted B.C. 676 (Athen. xiv. p. 635, E.; Euseb. Chron. Can. pars i. c. 33). It was of a warlike character, like the Athenian Boëdromia. For further particulars, see Smith's Dict. of Antiq. sub voc. Κάρνεια.

That the origin and meaning of the word Carneius was unknown to the Greeks, appears from the various explanations of Pausanias (III. xiii. § 3) and others (Schol. Theocrit. v. 83; Phavorin. ad voc., &c.).

[9] Vide supra, vi. 106, note [9], and compare infra, ix. 7; Thucyd. iv. 5; v. 54, &c.

[10] Vide infra, viii. 26. The Olympic festival was celebrated at the time of the first full moon after the summer solstice (Boeckh. ad Pind. Ol. iii. 35). It therefore ordinarily preceded the Spartan Carneia, falling in the latter end of June or in July. The Greeks would be very unwilling to give up, without absolute necessity, their attendance upon the great games "connected with so many purposes of pleasure, business, and religion" (Cf. Thirlwall, vol. i. ch. x. pp. 390-3).

assembled at this place, and that at their head were certain Lacedæmonians, under Leonidas, a descendant of Hercules. The horseman rode up to the camp, and looked about him, but did not see the whole army; for such as were on the further side of the wall[1] (which had been rebuilt and was now carefully guarded) it was not possible for him to behold; but he observed those on the outside, who were encamped in front of the rampart. It chanced that at this time the Lacedæmonians held the outer guard, and were seen by the spy, some of them engaged in gymnastic exercises, others combing their long hair. At this the spy greatly marvelled, but he counted their number, and when he had taken accurate note of everything, he rode back quietly; for no one pursued after him, or paid any heed to his visit. So he returned, and told Xerxes all that he had seen.

209. Upon this, Xerxes, who had no means of surmising the truth—namely, that the Spartans were preparing to do or die manfully—but thought it laughable that they should be engaged in such employments, sent and called to his presence Demaratus the son of Ariston, who still remained with the army. When he appeared, Xerxes told him all that he had heard, and questioned him concerning the news, since he was anxious to understand the meaning of such behaviour on the part of the Spartans. Then Demaratus said—

"I spake to thee, O king, concerning these men long since,[2] when we had but just begun our march upon Greece; thou, however, didst only laugh at my words, when I told thee of all this, which I saw would come to pass. Earnestly do I struggle at all times to speak truth to thee, sire; and now listen to it once more. These men have come to dispute the pass with

[1] The wall built by the Phocians (supra, ch. 176), which Colonel Leake places "a little eastward of the western salt-spring" (Northern Greece, ii. p. 52). See the Plan, supra, p. 171.

[2] Supra, chs. 101-4.

us, and it is for this that they are now making ready. 'Tis their custom, when they are about to hazard their lives, to adorn their heads with care.[3] Be assured, however, that if thou canst subdue the men who are here and the Lacedæmonians who remain in Sparta, there is no other nation in all the world which will venture to lift a hand in their defence. Thou hast now to deal with the first kingdom and town in Greece, and with the bravest men."

Then Xerxes, to whom what Demaratus said seemed altogether to surpass belief, asked further, "how it was possible for so small an army to contend with his?"

"O king," Demaratus answered, "let me be treated as a liar, if matters fall not out as I say."

210. But Xerxes was not persuaded any the more. Four whole days he suffered to go by,[4] expecting that the Greeks would run away. When, however, he found on the fifth that they were not gone, thinking that their firm stand was mere impudence and recklessness, he grew wroth, and sent against them the Medes and Cissians, with orders to take them alive and bring them into his presence. Then the Medes rushed forward and charged the Greeks, but fell in vast numbers: others however took the places of the slain, and would not be beaten off, though they suffered terrible losses. In this way it became clear to all, and especially to the king, that though he had plenty of combatants, he had but

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[3] The Spartan custom of wearing the hair long has been already noticed (supra, i. 82). The particular attention bestowed on its adornment in times of imminent danger is witnessed to by Plutarch (Lycurg. c. 22), and by Xenophon (Rep. Lac. xiii. § 8), if we adopt in that place the reading κεκτενισμένῳ. The same military coxcombry was shown in the bright polish of their armour at such seasons, in the garlands wherewith on entering battle they adorned their brows, and in the scarlet dresses which they wore (Xen. ut supra; Ælian. V. H. vi. 6; Etym. Magn. ad voc. ἐς φοινικίδας καταξάναι.)

[4] Diodorus relates (xi. 5.) that Xerxes made peaceful overtures to Leonidas during this interval. There is however no probability in his story, and it is difficult to account for the long delay which occurred, unless we may suppose that the Persian king looked at first to obtaining the co-operation of his fleet, and only began the attack when that hope failed him.

very few warriors. The struggle, however, continued during the whole day.

211. Then the Medes, having met so rough a reception, withdrew from the fight; and their place was taken by the band of Persians under Hydarnes, whom the king called his "Immortals:"[5] they, it was thought, would soon finish the business. But when they joined battle with the Greeks, 'twas with no better success than the Median detachment—things went much as before—the two armies fighting in a narrow space, and the barbarians using shorter spears than the Greeks,[6] and having no advantage from their numbers. The Lacedæmonians fought in a way worthy of note, and showed themselves far more skilful in fight than their adversaries, often turning their backs, and making as though they were all flying away, on which the barbarians would rush after them with much noise and shouting, when the Spartans at their approach would wheel round and face their pursuers, in this way destroying vast numbers of the enemy. Some Spartans likewise fell in these encounters, but only a very few.[7] At last the Persians, finding that all their efforts to gain the pass availed nothing, and that whether they attacked by divisions or in any other way, it was to no purpose, withdrew to their own quarters.

212. During these assaults, it is said that Xerxes, who was watching the battle, thrice leaped from the throne on which he sate,[8] in terror for his army.

Next day the combat was renewed, but with no better success on the part of the barbarians. The Greeks were so few that the barbarians hoped to find them disabled, by reason of their wounds, from offering any further re-

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[5] Supra, ch. 83.

[6] See note [7] on ch. 61 of this book, and compare v. 49. Diodorus ascribes the success of the Greeks to the greater size of their *shields* (xi. 7.)

[7] Diodorus (l. c.) uses the same expression, ὀλίγων πεπτωκότων. Ctesias, with his usual disregard of truth, says "two or three" (Exc. Pers. § 23).

[8] Compare iii. 155, where the same sign of excited feeling is mentioned.

sistance; and so they once more attacked them. But the Greeks were drawn up in detachments according to their cities, and bore the brunt of the battle in turns,—all except the Phocians, who had been stationed on the mountain to guard the pathway. So when the Persians found no difference between that day and the preceding, they again retired to their quarters.

213. Now, as the king was in a great strait, and knew not how he should deal with the emergency, Ephialtes, the son of Eurydêmus, a man of Malis, came to him and was admitted to a conference. Stirred by the hope of receiving a rich reward at the king's hands, he had come to tell him of the pathway which led across the mountain to Thermopylæ; by which disclosure he brought destruction on the band of Greeks who had there withstood the barbarians. This Ephialtes afterwards, from fear of the Lacedæmonians, fled into Thessaly; and during his exile, in an assembly of the Amphictyons held at Pylæ, a price was set upon his head by the Pylagoræ.[9] When some time had gone by, he returned from exile, and went to Anticyra, where he was slain by Athênades, a native of Trachis. Athênades did not slay him for his treachery, but for another reason, which I shall mention in a later part of my history:[10] yet still the Lacedæmonians honoured him none the less. Thus then did Ephialtes perish a long time afterwards.

214. Besides this there is another story told,[1] which I do not at all believe—to wit, that Onêtas the son of

[9] Concerning the Pylagoræ, see note [6] to ch. 200 of this book.

[10] It is curious that Herodotus has omitted to redeem this pledge. Dahlmann sees in the circumstance a proof that "the work was broken off in the midst of its compilation by the pressure of external circumstances" (Life of Herod. p. 34, E. T.). See Introduct. Essay, vol. i. ch. i. p. 35.

[1] Thirlwall remarks that "many tongues" would have been likely to reveal the secret (Hist. of Greece, ii. p. 286). Certainly the discredit of the betrayal was shared by a considerable number of persons. Besides the three here mentioned, Ctesias tells us of Calliades and Timaphernes, two Trachinians apparently of high rank, who had joined Xerxes with a body of troops from Trachis, and whom he makes the actual conductors of the Persian army across the mountain (Exc. Pers. § 24).

Phanagoras, a native of Carystus, and Corydallus, a man of Anticyra, were the persons who spoke on this matter to the king, and took the Persians across the mountain. One may guess which story is true, from the fact that the deputies of the Greeks, the Pylagoræ, who must have had the best means of ascertaining the truth, did not offer the reward for the heads of Onêtas and Corydallus, but for that of Ephialtes of Trachis; and again from the flight of Ephialtes, which we know to have been on this account. Onêtas, I allow, although he was not a Malian,[2] might have been acquainted with the path, if he had lived much in that part of the country; but as Ephialtes was the person who actually led the Persians round the mountain by the pathway, I leave his name on record as that of the man who did the deed.[3]

215. Great was the joy of Xerxes on this occasion; and as he approved highly of the enterprise which Ephialtes undertook to accomplish, he forthwith sent upon the errand Hydarnes, and the Persians under him.[4] The troops left the camp about the time of the lighting of the lamps.[5] The pathway along which they went was first discovered by the Malians of these parts, who soon afterwards led the Thessalians by it to attack the Phocians, at the time when the Phocians fortified the pass with a wall,[6] and so put themselves

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[2] Carystus was in Eubœa, on the south coast (supra, vi. 99, note [3]). Anticyra, the city of Corydallus, was a Malian town (supra, ch. 198).

[3] The Greeks generally seem to have acquiesced in this judgment (cf. Strab. i. p. 15; Pausan. i. iv. § 2; Polyæn. vii. 15; and the *Τραχίνιός τις* of Diodorus, xi. 8).

[4] The 10,000 Immortals, a better number for a night march than the 20,000 soldiers of Diodorus (l. s. c.), or the 40,000 of Ctesias (Exc. Pers. § 24).

[5] This mode of marking the early portion of the night, is not uncommon in Greek authors. Traces of it will be found in Philostratus (Vit. Apollon. Tyan. vii. 15), Diodorus Siculus (xix. 31), Athenæus (xv. p. 702 B.), and others. The practice of distinguishing different periods of the day and night by the human occupations of the hour, appears likewise in the expressions *περὶ πλήθουσαν ἀγοράν* (supra, iv. 181), *βουλυτόνδε* (Hom. Il. xvi. 779), and the like.

[6] Supra, ch. 176.

under covert from danger. And ever since, the path has always been put to an ill use by the Malians.

216. The course which it takes is the following:—Beginning at the Asôpus, where that stream flows through the cleft in the hills,[7] it runs along the ridge of the mountain (which is called, like the pathway over it, Anopæa),[8] and ends at the city of Alpênus—the first Locrian town as you come from Malis—by the stone called Melampygus and the seats of the Cercopians.[9] Here it is as narrow as at any other point.

217. The Persians took this path, and crossing the Asôpus,[10] continued their march through the whole of the night, having the mountains of Œta on their right hand, and on their left those of Trachis.[1] At dawn of

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[7] Supra, ch. 199.

[8] Strabo (ix. p. 621), Livy (xxxvi. 15), and Pliny (H. N. iv. 7 end), call the mountain Callidromus, which seems to have been properly the name of one of its heights (Liv. xxxvi. 16, ad fin.). Appian makes 'Atrapus'—the word commonly used in Greek for pathway—the proper name of this particular path (De Bell. Syr. p. 158). No writer but Herodotus has preserved the term 'Anopæa.' The mountain is now called *Sarómata* (Leake's Northern Greece, vol. ii. p. 8).

[9] The Cercopians in the legend of Hercules are humorous thieves, who alternately amuse and annoy him. They are sometimes introduced into his Asiatic adventures (Diod. Sic. iv. 31; Apollod. II. vi. § 3, &c.), but belong more properly to this locality, with which the name of Hercules is so peculiarly associated (supra, ch. 176, note [7], and compare Müller's Dorians, vol. i. p. 437, E. T.). The tale, whereto allusion is here made, and from which Hercules derived the epithet of Melampygus, is thus told by C. O. Müller.

"Hercules, annoyed at the insults offered to him by the Cercopians, binds two of them to a pole in the manner represented on the bas-relief of Selinus, and marches off with his prize. Happily for the offenders, the hinder parts of Hercules had become tanned by continued labours and exposure to the atmosphere, which reminded them of an old prophecy, warning them to beware of a person of this complexion, and the coincidence caused them to burst out into an immoderate fit of laughter. This surprised Hercules, who inquired the reason, and was himself so diverted by it, that he set both his prisoners at liberty" (Dorians, vol. i. p. 464).

[10] It is to be supposed, that at the close of each day the Persian troops engaged fell back upon the great camp at Trachis. Hydarnes would thus have to cross the Asopus, on beginning his march over the mountain.

[1] These words furnish a difficulty, which Colonel Leake has done a good deal to remove, by observing that the heights above the Trachinian precipices on the left bank of the Asopus may at this time have been in the possession of the Œtæans, while Mount Callidromus (Anopæa) may have belonged to Trachis (Northern Greece, vol. ii. p. 55). Thus the range between the gorge of the Asopus and Thermopylæ will be the "Trachinian mountains" of this passage.

day they found themselves close to the summit. Now the hill was guarded, as I have already said,[2] by a thousand Phocian men-at-arms, who were placed there to defend the pathway, and at the same time to secure their own country. They had been given the guard of the mountain path, while the other Greeks defended the pass below, because they had volunteered for the service, and had pledged themselves to Leonidas to maintain the post.

218. The ascent of the Persians became known to the Phocians in the following manner:—During all the time that they were making their way up, the Greeks remained unconscious of it, inasmuch as the whole mountain was covered with groves of oak; but it happened that the air was very still, and the leaves which the Persians stirred with their feet made,[3] as it was likely they would, a loud rustling, whereupon the Phocians jumped up and flew to seize their arms. In a moment the barbarians came in sight, and perceiving men arming themselves, were greatly amazed; for they had fallen in with an enemy when they expected no opposition. Hydarnes, alarmed at the sight, and fearing lest the Phocians might be Lacedæmonians, inquired of Ephialtes to what nation these troops belonged. Ephialtes told him the exact truth, whereupon he arrayed his Persians for battle. The Phocians, galled by the showers of arrows to which they were exposed, and imagining themselves the special object of the Persian attack, fled hastily to the crest of the mountain,[4]

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[2] Supra, ch. 212.

[3] Colonel Leake remarks, that "the stillness of the dawn, which saved the Phocians from being surprised, is very characteristic of the climate of Greece in the season when the occurrence took place, and like many other trifling circumstances occurring in the history of the Persian invasion, is an interesting proof of the accuracy and veracity of the historian" (Northern Greece, vol. ii. p. 55).

[4] The same post was again entrusted to the Phocians, at the time of the great Gallic invasion, and with nearly the same result. The Gallic general took advantage of a thick fog to conceal his approach, and surprised the Phocians, who however made a brave resistance, and when forced to

and there made ready to meet death; but while their mistake continued, the Persians, with Ephialtes and Hydarnes, not thinking it worth their while to delay on account of Phocians, passed on and descended the mountain with all possible speed.

219. The Greeks at Thermopylæ received the first warning of the destruction which the dawn would bring on them from the seer Megistias,[5] who read their fate in the victims as he was sacrificing. After this deserters came in,[6] and brought the news that the Persians were marching round by the hills: it was still night[7] when these men arrived. Last of all, the scouts came running down from the heights, and brought in the same accounts, when the day was just beginning to break. Then the Greeks held a council to consider what they should do, and here opinions were divided: some were strong against quitting their post, while others contended to the contrary. So when the council had broken up, part of the troops departed and went their ways homeward to their several states; part however resolved to remain, and to stand by Leonidas to the last.

220. It is said that Leonidas himself sent away the troops who departed,[8] because he tendered their safety, but thought it unseemly that either he or his Spartans should quit the post which they had been especially sent to guard. For my own part, I incline to think that Leonidas gave the order, because he perceived the allies to be out of heart and unwilling to encounter the danger to which his own mind was made up. He therefore commanded them to retreat, but said that he himself could not draw back with honour; knowing

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yield, fell back upon the Greeks in the pass, who were enabled to save themselves by a hasty embarkation. (See the narrative in Pausanias, x. 22.)

[5] Infra, chs. 221 and 228.

[6] Tyrastiadas, an Æolian Greek from Cymé, is mentioned by Diodorus as the person who brought the news (xi. 8, ad fin.).

[7] About midnight (περὶ μέσας νύκτας), according to Diodorus (xi. 9).

[8] So Diodorus (l. c.) and Justin (ii. 11).

that, if he stayed, glory awaited him, and that Sparta in that case would not lose her prosperity. For when the Spartans, at the very beginning of the war, sent to consult the oracle concerning it, the answer which they received from the Pythoness was, "that either Sparta must be overthrown by the barbarians, or one of her kings must perish."[9] The prophecy was delivered in hexameter verse, and ran thus:—

"Oh! ye men who dwell in the streets of broad Lacedæmon,
Either your glorious town shall be sacked by the children of Perseus,
Or, in exchange, must all through the whole Laconian country
Mourn for the loss of a king, descendant of great Hêracles.
He cannot be withstood by the courage of bulls or of lions,
Strive as they may; he is mighty as Jove; there is nought that shall stay him,
Till he have got for his prey your king, or your glorious city."

The remembrance of this answer, I think, and the wish to secure the whole glory for the Spartans, caused Leonidas to send the allies away. This is more likely than that they quarrelled with him, and took their departure in such unruly fashion.

221. To me it seems no small argument in favour of this view, that the seer also who accompanied the army, Megistias, the Acarnanian,[1]—said to have been of the blood of Melampus,[2] and the same who was led by the appearance of the victims to warn the Greeks of the danger which threatened them,—received orders to retire (as it is certain he did) from Leonidas, that he might escape the coming destruction. Megistias, how-

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[9] A similar declaration is said to have been made by the oracle in respect of Codrus (supra, v. 76, note [7]). The idea, which was akin to that of the special efficacy of human sacrifices, is found also among the Italic nations, as in the well-known *devotio* of the Romans.

[1] The celebrity of the Acarnanian seers has been already mentioned (supra, i. 62, note [5]). To the historical characters there enumerated we may add the mythic Carnus, from whom some supposed the Carnean festival to have derived its name (Pausan. III. xiii. § 3; cf. Schol. Theocrit. v. 83, and see Lobeck, Aglaoph. p. 310, note [m]).

[2] Melampus was placed in the generation before the Trojan war. He married Pero, the sister of Nestor and daughter of Neleus. His mythic history will be found in Hom. Od. xi. 287-297; xv. 226-242; Apollod. I. ix. § 12; II. ii. § 2; Pausan. II. xviii. § 4; Pherecyd. Fr. 24 and 75. Vide supra, ii. 49.

ever, though bidden to depart, refused, and stayed with the army; but he had an only son present with the expedition, whom he now sent away.

222. So the allies, when Leonidas ordered them to retire, obeyed him and forthwith departed. Only the Thespians and the Thebans[3] remained with the Spartans; and of these the Thebans were kept back by Leonidas as hostages, very much against their will. The Thespians, on the contrary, stayed entirely of their own accord,[4] refusing to retreat, and declaring that they would not forsake Leonidas and his followers. So they abode with the Spartans, and died with them. Their leader was Demophilus, the son of Diadromes.

223. At sunrise Xerxes made libations, after which he waited until the time when the forum is wont to fill, and then began his advance. Ephialtes had instructed him thus, as the descent of the mountain is much quicker, and the distance much shorter, than the way round the hills, and the ascent.[5] So the barbarians under Xerxes began to draw nigh; and the Greeks

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[3] Pausanias relates a tradition that the 80 Mycenæans (supra, ch. 202) chose to remain, and thus incurred the bitter hostility of Argos (II. xvi. § 4; X. xx. § 2, end). Neither he nor Diodorus mentions the presence of the Thebans, which however cannot be doubted. It has been strongly argued that these last must have remained of their own accord (Plutarch, ii. p. 865; Thirlwall, ii. p. 287), since Leonidas would have had neither motive nor means to detain them. Thirlwall thinks "their first choice was on the side of honour, their last on that of prudence." Perhaps their first choice was intended to lull suspicion, and at the same time to give them that special claim to a recompense which deserters in the hour of battle are considered to possess (vide supra, vi. 25).

[4] This conduct of the Thespians is very remarkable. They were perhaps excited to it in some degree by the hope of becoming, if the Greek cause prospered, the head of the Bœotian confederacy. There was always a jealousy between Thebes and Thespiæ, which broke out strongly upon occasions (see Thucyd. iv. 133; vi. 95; Xen. Hell. VI. iii. § 1, &c.).

[5] Colonel Leake says (N. G. ii. p. 54) that "the descent was not much less than the ascent in actual distance;" only as the ground was better, and the march performed by daylight, the time spent was shorter. But Herodotus asserts that "*the distance was much shorter.*" This it becomes if the route by *Ai Tanni* be taken as the track of Hydarnes, instead of the more circuitous one which Colonel Leake prefers (p. 39). He remarks that the circuitous route is in fact the quickest. No doubt it is to *ascend*; but to *descend* is a different matter, as all travellers know.

under Leonidas, as they now went forth determined to die, advanced much further than on previous days, until they reached the more open portion of the pass. Hitherto they had held their station within the wall,[6] and from this had gone forth to fight at the point where the pass was the narrowest. Now they joined battle beyond the defile, and carried slaughter among the barbarians, who fell in heaps. Behind them the captains of the squadrons, armed with whips, urged their men forward with continual blows.[7] Many were thrust into the sea, and there perished; a still greater number were trampled to death by their own soldiers; no one heeded the dying. For the Greeks, reckless of their own safety and desperate, since they knew that, as the mountain had been crossed, their destruction was nigh at hand, exerted themselves with the most furious valour against the barbarians.

224. By this time the spears of the greater number were all shivered, and with their swords they hewed down the ranks of the Persians; and here, as they strove, Leonidas fell fighting bravely, together with many other famous Spartans, whose names I have taken care to learn on account of their great worthiness, as indeed I have those of all the three hundred.[8] There fell too at the same time very many famous Persians: among them, two sons of Darius, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes,[9] his children by Phratagunè, the

[6] The exact position of this wall is difficult to fix. No traces of it are to be found. Colonel Leake suggests that it "was built a little eastward of the western salt-spring, so that the current from this spring may have flowed along the exterior side of the wall" (ii. p. 52). But in that case the narrow part of the pass would have been entirely *within* the wall.

[7] Ctesias relates the same of one of the earlier combats (Exc. Pers. § 23). Concerning the practice itself, vide supra, ch. 22, note [8]. Aristotle perhaps refers to it (Eth. III. viii. § 5).

[8] These names were all inscribed on a pillar at Sparta, which remained standing in the time of Pausanias (III. xiv. § 1).

[9] It cannot be supposed that the sons of Darius really bore names so thoroughly *Greek* as these. We must either suppose them to be the Greek equivalents of the Persian names, or Persian names distorted into a Greek form. Compare *Zopyrus* (supra, vol. iii. p. 563).

daughter of Artanes. Artanes was brother of King Darius, being a son of Hystaspes, the son of Arsames; and when he gave his daughter to the king, he made him heir likewise of all his substance; for she was his only child.

225. Thus two brothers of Xerxes here fought and fell. And now there arose a fierce struggle between the Persians and the Lacedæmonians over the body of Leonidas, in which the Greeks four times drove back the enemy, and at last by their great bravery succeeded in bearing off the body. This combat was scarcely ended when the Persians with Ephialtes approached; and the Greeks, informed that they drew nigh, made a change in the manner of their fighting. Drawing back into the narrowest part of the pass, and retreating even behind the cross wall, they posted themselves upon a hillock, where they stood all drawn up together in one close body, except only the Thebans. The hillock whereof I speak is at the entrance of the straits,[10] where the stone lion stands which was set up in honour of Leonidas.[1] Here they defended themselves to the last, such as still had swords using them, and the others resisting with their hands and teeth; till the barbarians, who in part had pulled down the wall and attacked them in front, in part had gone round and now encircled them upon every side, overwhelmed and buried the remnant left beneath showers of missile weapons.[2]

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[10] There are two hillocks in the narrow portion of the pass, both natural. On one, the eastern, stands the modern Turkish *Derveni*, or custom-house. Colonel Leake regards the other, which is nearer the Phocian wall, and in the very narrowest neck of the pass, as more probably the scene of the last struggle, and therefore the site of the monument (N. G. vol. ii. p. 52).

[1] The well-known lines ascribed to Simonides are undoubtedly an inscription intended for this monument, but it is not certain that they were ever inscribed upon it. They show the lion to have been an allusion to the hero's name.

Θηρῶν μὲν κάρτιστος ἐγὼ, θνατῶν δ' ὃν ἐγὼ νῦν
Φρουρῶ, τῷδε τάφῳ λαΐνῳ ἐμβεβαώς.
'Αλλ' εἰ μὴ θυμόν γε Λέων ἐμὸν, ὡς ὄνομ' εἶχεν,
Οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ τύμβῳ τῷδ' ἐπέθηκα πόδας.
(Fr. xxxii. Gaisf.)

The monument seems to have been standing at least as late as the time of Tiberius (see the epigram of Bassus to which Larcher refers, note ad loc.).

[2] The exaggerated accounts of the

226. Thus nobly did the whole body of Lacedæmonians and Thespians behave, but nevertheless one man is said to have distinguished himself above all the rest, to wit, Diêneces the Spartan. A speech which he made before the Greeks engaged the Medes, remains on record. One of the Trachinians[3] told him, "such was the number of the barbarians, that when they shot forth their arrows the sun would be darkened by their multitude." Diêneces, not at all frightened at these words, but making light of the Median numbers, answered, "Our Trachinian friend brings us excellent tidings. If the Medes darken the sun, we shall have our fight in the shade." Other sayings too of a like nature are said to have been left on record by this same person.

227. Next to him two brothers, Lacedæmonians, are reputed to have made themselves conspicuous: they were named Alpheus and Maro, and were the sons of Orsiphantus. There was also a Thespian who gained greater glory than any of his countrymen: he was a man called Dithyrambus, the son of Harmatidas.

228. The slain were buried where they fell; and in their honour, nor less in honour of those who died before Leonidas sent the allies away, an inscription was set up, which said,—

"Here did four thousand men from Pelops' land[4]
Against three hundred myriads bravely stand."

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last struggle afterwards current give additional value to the moderate description of Herodotus. See Diodorus (iv. 10), where the Greeks attack the Persian camp, penetrate to the royal tent, and are within a little of killing the king. Compare Justin (ii. 11), and Aristides of Miletus (Fr. 21), who said that Leonidas snatched the diadem from Xerxes' head.

[3] Compare Cicero (Tusc. Disp. i. 42), who, however, ascribes the words to a *Persian*.

[4] Herodotus seems to have misconceived this inscription. He regarded it as an epitaph upon the Greeks slain at Thermopylæ. Hence he sets the number of the slain at 4000 (infra, viii. 25). But it plainly appears from the wording to have been an inscription set up in honour of the *Peloponnesians* only, and to have referred to *all who fought*, not merely to those who fell. We may derive from it a confirmation of the statement made both by Diodorus (xi. 4) and Isocrates (in two places, Paneg. p. 223, and Archid. p. 78, ed. Anger.), that a body of Lacedæmonians accompanied the 300 Spartans.

This was in honour of all. Another was for the Spartans alone:—

> "Go, stranger, and to Lacedæmon tell
> That here, obeying her behests, we fell."[5]

This was for the Lacedæmonians. The seer had the following:—

> "The great Megistias' tomb you here may view,
> Whom slew the Medes, fresh from Spercheius' fords.
> Well the wise seer the coming death foreknew,
> Yet scorned he to forsake his Spartan lords."

These inscriptions, and the pillars likewise, were all set up by the Amphictyons, except that in honour of Megistias, which was inscribed to him (on account of their sworn friendship) by Simônides, the son of Leôprepes.[6]

229. Two of the three hundred, it is said, Aristodêmus and Eurytus, having been attacked by a disease of the eyes, had received orders from Leonidas to quit the camp, and both lay at Alpêni in the worst stage of the malady. These two men might, had they been so minded, have agreed together to return alive to Sparta; or if they did not like to return, they might have gone both to the field and fallen with their countrymen. But at this time, when either way was open to them, unhappily they could not agree, but took contrary courses. Eurytus no sooner heard that the Persians had come

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The Peloponnesians in Herodotus's list amount only to 3100. Add to these the Lacedæmonians—700 according to Isocrates, 1000 according to Diodorus—and we have a total in either case entitled to be spoken of as 4000. The Helots would of course be omitted.

[5] This famous inscription is given with some little difference by Lycurgus (in Leocr. § 28, p. 393), Diodorus (xi. 33), and Strabo (ix. p. 622). The second line, according to these authors, ran thus—

> κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις.

It is this version which Cicero has translated in the Tusculans (i. 42):—

> "Dic, hospes, Spartæ nos te hic vidisse jacentes,
> Dum sanctis patriæ *legibus* obsequimur."

[6] All three inscriptions are ascribed to Simonides by other writers (see Schol. ad Aristid. ii. p. 380, and compare Cic. Tusc. l. s. c.). This poet appears also to have written one of his lyric pieces on the same subject (see Diod. xi. 11). "Simonides, the son of Leoprepes," is identical with the "Simonides the Cean" of Book v. ch. 102 (see Schol. ad Arist. Vesp. 1402). On his inscriptions at Platæa, see below, ix. 85, note [6].

round the mountain than straightway he called for his armour, and having buckled it on, bade his Helot[7] lead him to the place where his friends were fighting. The Helot did so, and then turned and fled; but Eurytus plunged into the thick of the battle, and so perished. Aristodêmus, on the other hand, was faint of heart, and remained at Alpêni. It is my belief that if Aristodêmus only had been sick and returned, or if both had come back together, the Spartans would have been content and felt no anger; but when there were two men with the very same excuse, and one of them was chary of his life, while the other freely gave it, they could not but be very wroth with the former.

230. This is the account which some give of the escape of Aristodêmus. Others say, that he, with another, had been sent on a message from the army, and, having it in his power to return in time for the battle, purposely loitered on the road, and so survived his comrades; while his fellow-messenger came back in time, and fell in the battle.

231. When Aristodêmus returned to Lacedæmon, reproach and disgrace awaited him; disgrace, inasmuch as no Spartan would give him a light to kindle his fire, or so much as address a word to him;[8] and reproach, since all spoke of him as "the craven." However he wiped away all his shame afterwards at the battle of Platæa.[9]

232. Another of the three hundred is likewise said to have survived the battle, a man named Pantites,

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[7] By the expression "*his* Helot," we are to understand the special servant (*θεράπων*), whose business it was to attend constantly upon the Spartan warrior (Müller's Dorians, vol. ii. p. 36). Besides the *θεράπων*, each Spartan seems to have been followed to the field by six other Helots (infra, viii. 25, note [8], and compare ix. 10, and 28).

[8] Compare the form of outlawry in Sophocles:—

μήτ' εἰσδέχεσθαι, μήτε προσφωνεῖν τινά,
μήτ' ἐν θεῶν εὐχαῖσι μήτε θύμασι
κοινὸν ποιεῖσθαι, μήτε χέρνιβας νέμειν—

Œd. Tyr. 238-40.

'Ατιμία at Sparta had not the definite character which it bore at Athens, but depended for its degree upon the vote of the people on the occasion. The Spartans who surrendered in Sphacteria were punished far more lightly than Aristodemus (Thucyd. v. 34).

[9] Vide infra, ix. 71.

whom Leonidas had sent on an embassy into Thessaly. He, they say, on his return to Sparta, found himself in such disesteem that he hanged himself.

233. The Thebans under the command of Leontiades remained with the Greeks, and fought against the barbarians, only so long as necessity compelled them. No sooner did they see victory inclining to the Persians, and the Greeks under Leonidas hurrying with all speed towards the hillock, than they moved away from their companions, and with hands upraised[10] advanced towards the barbarians, exclaiming, as was indeed most true,—"that they for their part wished well to the Medes, and had been among the first to give earth and water to the king; force alone had brought them to Thermopylæ, and so they must not be blamed for the slaughter which had befallen the king's army." These words, the truth of which was attested by the Thessalians, sufficed to obtain the Thebans the grant of their lives. However, their good fortune was not without some drawback; for several of them were slain by the barbarians on their first approach; and the rest, who were the greater number, had the royal mark branded[1] upon their bodies by the command of Xerxes,—Leontiades, their captain, being the first to suffer. (This man's son, Eurymachus, was afterwards slain by the Platæans, when he came with a band of 400 Thebans, and seized their city.)[2]

234. Thus fought the Greeks at Thermopylæ. And Xerxes, after the fight was over, called for Demaratus to question him; and began as follows:—

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[10] This token of submission is frequently represented on the Egyptian monuments. (See fig. 7, in woodcut of n. on ch. 61, No. IV. figs. 6, 11.) —[G. W.]

[1] On the custom of branding persons who were regarded as the property of a deity, see note [3] on Book ii. ch. 113. It is a reasonable conjecture that the slaves of the Persian king were branded, because he had a *quasi*-divine character. (See Blakesley, ad loc.)

[2] The details of this attack, which was the signal for the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, are given by Thucydides (ii. 2-5), who only differs from Herodotus by making the number of the assailants "very little exceed 300."

"Demaratus, thou art a worthy man; thy true-speaking proves it. All has happened as thou didst forewarn. Now then, tell me, how many Lacedæmonians are there left, and of those left how many are such brave warriors as these? Or are they all alike?"

"O king," replied the other, "the whole number of the Lacedæmonians is very great, and many are the cities which they inhabit.[3] But I will tell thee what thou really wishest to learn. There is a town of Lacedæmon called Sparta, which contains within it about eight thousand full-grown men.[4] *They* are, one and all, equal to those who have fought here. The other Lacedæmonians are brave men, but not such warriors as these."

"Tell me now, Demaratus," rejoined Xerxes, "how we may with least trouble subdue these men. Thou must know all the paths of their counsels, as thou wert once their king."

235. Then Demaratus answered—"O king, since thou askest my advice so earnestly, it is fitting that I

[3] Philochorus appears to have enumerated 100 Laconian cities in his Atthis (Steph. Byz. ad voc. Αἴθεια. Is not Müller mistaken in referring this statement to Androtion? See Dorians, vol. ii. p. 20, E. T.) The Laconian population has been estimated at 66,000 (Clinton, F. H. vol. ii. App. 22; p. 497), and again (Müller, Dor. vol. ii. p. 45) at 120,000.

[4] At one time the number of the Spartans seems to have amounted to 9000 (Müller's Dorians, vol. ii. p. 45), whence the reported creation of the 9000 lots (κλῆροι), which were intended to support as many families (Plut. Ag. c. 5; Lycurg. c. 8, &c.). At the period of this war they may be guessed at 7500, since the 5000 at Platæa were probably two-thirds of the whole (τὰ δύο μέρη), the ordinary proportion of military contingents at critical seasons (Thucyd. ii. 10). Demaratus, naturally enough, a little exaggerates this number. By the time of the Peloponnesian war the number had fallen to less than 6000 (Thucyd. v. 68; with Müller's calculations, Dorians, vol. ii. p. 248, E. T.). It afterwards sank still lower (see Arist. Pol. ii. 6; Plut. Ag. c. 5, &c.). Müller (Dorians, ii. p. 45) gives the following estimate of the population of Laconia at the date of the invasion of Xerxes:—

Spartans	32,000	. . the full grown males being .	8,000
Lacedæmonians .	120,000	" "	30,000
Helots	224,000	" "	56,000
	376,000		94,000

This would give an average of about 100 to the square mile, which is more than we find in Scotland, less than in Switzerland, and almost exactly that which exists in Portugal.

should inform thee what I consider to be the best course. Detach three hundred vessels from the body of thy fleet, and send them to attack the shores of Laconia. There is an island called Cythera in those parts, not far from the coast, concerning which Chilon, one of our wisest men,[5] made the remark, that Sparta would gain if it were sunk to the bottom of the sea—so constantly did he expect that it would give occasion to some project like that which I now recommend to thee. I mean not to say that he had a foreknowledge of thy attack upon Greece; but in truth he feared all armaments. Send thy ships then to this island, and thence affright the Spartans. If once they have a war of their own close to their doors, fear not their giving any help to the rest of the Greeks while thy land-force is engaged in conquering them. In this way may all Greece be subdued; and then Sparta, left to herself, will be powerless. But if thou wilt not take this advice, I will tell thee what thou mayest look to see. When thou comest to the Peloponnese, thou wilt find a narrow neck of land, where all the Peloponnesians who are leagued against thee will be gathered together; and there thou wilt have to fight bloodier battles than any which thou hast yet witnessed. If, however, thou wilt follow my plan, the isthmus and the cities of Peloponnese will yield to thee without a battle."

236. Achæmenes, who was present, now took the word, and spoke—he was brother to Xerxes, and having the command of the fleet, feared lest Xerxes might be prevailed upon to do as Demaratus advised—

[5] Chilon was included among the seven wise men (Plat. Protag. p. 343 A). The maxims "*γνῶθι σεαυτόν*," and "*μηδὲν ἄγαν*," were ascribed to him. He is said to have died of joy when his son gained the prize at Olympia (Plin. vii. 32). He was contemporary with Pisistratus (supra, i. 59). The fear of Chilon was realised in the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenians under Nicias took possession of the island in question (Thucyd. iv. 53-4). This seems to have been one of the causes which most impelled them to make peace (ib. v. 14).

"I perceive, O king" (he said), "that thou art listening to the words of a man who is envious of thy good-fortune, and seeks to betray thy cause. This is indeed the common temper of the Grecian people—they envy good-fortune, and hate power greater than their own. If in this posture of our affairs, after we have lost four hundred vessels by shipwreck,[a] three hundred more be sent away to make a voyage round the Peloponnese, our enemies will become a match for us. But let us keep our whole fleet in one body, and it will be dangerous for them to venture on an attack, as they will certainly be no match for us then. Besides, while our sea and land forces advance together, the fleet and army can each help the other; but if they be parted, no aid will come either from thee to the fleet, or from the fleet to thee. Only order thy own matters well, and trouble not thyself to inquire concerning the enemy,—where they will fight, or what they will do, or how many they are. Surely they can manage their own concerns without us, as we can ours without them. If the Lacedæmonians come out against the Persians to battle, they will scarce repair the disaster which has befallen them now."

237. Xerxes replied—"Achæmenes, thy counsel pleases me well, and I will do as thou sayest. But Demaratus advised what he thought best—only his judgment was not so good as thine. Never will I believe that he does not wish well to my cause; for that is disproved both by his former counsels, and also by the circumstances of the case. A citizen does indeed envy any fellow-citizen who is more lucky than himself, and often hates him secretly; if such a man be called on for counsel, he will not give his best thoughts, unless indeed he be a man of very exalted virtue; and such are but rarely found. But a friend of another

[a] Supra, ch. 190.

country delights in the good fortune of his foreign bond-friend, and will give him, when asked, the best advice in his power. Therefore I warn all men to abstain henceforth from speaking ill of Demaratus, who is my bond-friend."

238. When Xerxes had thus spoken, he proceeded to pass through the slain; and finding the body of Leonidas, whom he knew to have been the Lacedæmonian king and captain, he ordered that the head should be struck off, and the trunk fastened to a cross.[7] This proves to me most clearly, what is plain also in many other ways,—namely, that King Xerxes was more angry with Leonidas, while he was still in life, than with any other mortal. Certes, he would not else have used his body so shamefully. For the Persians are wont to honour those who show themselves valiant in fight more highly than any nation that I know. They, however, to whom the orders were given, did according to the commands of the king.

239. I return now to a point in my history, which at the time I left incomplete. The Lacedæmonians were the first of the Greeks to hear of the king's design against their country; and it was at this time that they sent to consult the Delphic oracle, and received the answer of which I spoke a while ago.[8] The discovery was made to them in a very strange way. Demaratus, the son of Ariston, after he took refuge with the Medes, was not, in my judgment, which is supported by probability, a well-wisher to the Lacedæmonians.

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[7] The body of the younger Cyrus was similarly treated by Artaxerxes (Xen. An. III. i. 17), as was that of Crassus by the general of Hyrodes, the Parthian king (Plutarch, Vit. Cras. c. 32). Cambyses had set the example of ill-treating the body of a dead enemy (supra, iii. 16). According to Aristides of Miletus (Fr. 21), Xerxes had Leonidas's heart cut out, and found it covered with hair!

Bones considered to be those of Leonidas, were afterwards brought to Sparta by Pausanias, the son of Plistoanax (ab. B.C. 440), and were deposited in a tomb opposite the theatre. Games and funeral orations, held annually at the sepulchre, preserved the memory of the hero (Pausan. III. xiv. § 1).

[8] Supra, ch. 220.

It may be questioned, therefore, whether he did what I am about to mention from good-will or from insolent triumph. It happened that he was at Susa at the time when Xerxes determined to lead his army into Greece; and in this way becoming acquainted with his design, he resolved to send tidings of it to Sparta. So as there was no other way of effecting his purpose, since the danger of being discovered was great, Demaratus framed the following contrivance. He took a pair of tablets, and clearing the wax away from them, wrote what the king was purposing to do upon the wood whereof the tablets were made; having done this, he spread the wax once more over the writing, and so sent it. By these means, the guards placed to watch the roads, observing nothing but a blank tablet, were sure to give no trouble to the bearer. When the tablet reached Lacedæmon, there was no one, I understand, who could find out the secret, till Gorgo, the daughter of Cleomenes and wife of Leonidas,[9] discovered it, and told the others. "If they would scrape the wax off the tablet," she said, "they would be sure to find the writing upon the wood." The Lacedæmonians took her advice, found the writing, and read it;[10] after which they sent it round to the other Greeks. Such then is the account which is given of this matter.

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[9] Supra, v. 48, ad fin. and 51. The marriages of uncles with their nieces and nephews with their aunts were not uncommon at Sparta. (See above, vi. 71, note [4].)

[10] Here we have one out of many instances of the common practice of writing among the Spartans, so strangely called in question by Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 526, and note [2]). The constant use of the *scytale* in all transmission of messages is the most palpable of the facts which disprove his theory (see the 'Remarks' of Colonel Mure; and compare Schol. ad Thucyd. i. 131; Plut. Lysand. c. 19; Aul. Gell. xvii. 9; Corn. Nep. iv. 3, 4; Suidas, ad voc.; Etym. Magn. ad voc.). Of course it must be allowed that literary pursuits occupied a very different position at Sparta and at Athens; but, despite of the rhetoric of Isocrates (Panath. § 83, p. 253), it is probable that every Spartan could both read and write (Plut. Lycurg. c. 16; Inst. Lac. p. 237, A).

APPENDIX TO BOOK VII.

ESSAY I.

ON THE OBSCURER TRIBES CONTAINED WITHIN THE EMPIRE OF XERXES.

1. General division of the provinces—Eastern, Western, Central. 2. Tribes that require further consideration, chiefly those of the East and North. 3. Account of the Eastern Tribes—viz. (i.) The Hyrcanians—(ii.) The Parthians—(iii.) The Chorasmians—(iv.) The Sogdians—(v.) The Arians—(vi.) The Bactrians—(vii.) The Ægli—(viii.) The Sacæ—(ix.) The Caspians—(x.) The Sagartians—(xi.) The Sarangians—(xii.) The Thamanæans—(xiii.) The Pactyans—(xiv.) The Sattagydians—(xv.) The Gandarians—(xvi.) The Dadicæ—(xvii.) The Aparytæ—(xviii.) The Caspeiri—(xix.) The Indians—(xx.) The Paricanians—(xxi.) The Ethiopians of Asia. 4. Account of the Northern Tribes—viz. (i.) The Moschi—(ii.) The Tibareni—(iii.) The Macrônes—(iv.) The Mosynœci—(v.) The Mares—(vi.) The Colchians—(vii.) The Sapeires—(viii.) The Alarodians—(ix.) The Matieni—(x.) The Caspians—(xi.) The Pausicæ—(xii.) The Pantimathi—(xiii.) The Daritæ. 5. Very obscure tribes of the Western and Central districts—(i.) The Lasonians—(ii.) The Cabalians—(iii.) The Hygennes or Hytennes—(iv.) The Ligyes—(v.) The Orthocorybantes—(vi.) The Paricanians of the tenth satrapy.

1. THE provinces of the Persian Empire may be divided most conveniently into the Eastern, the Western, and the Central. Accepting the account of the extent and divisions of the empire given by Herodotus in his third Book, we may say that the Western Provinces contained the six satrapies with which the historian commences his list;—that the Eastern were composed of seven satrapies, which were the seventh, the twelfth, the fourteenth, the fifteenth, the sixteenth, the seventeenth, and the twentieth;—and that the Central consisted of the remainder.[1] The lines of demarcation upon which such a division is based are not artificial or arbitrary, but strongly marked in nature, being no other than those two great barriers whereby the Persians and their immediate neighbours were shut in on the right

[1] The eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, thirteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth (see Herod. iii. 90–94).

hand and on the left — the low sandy desert of Arabia and Syria towards the west, and towards the east the elevated salt desert which occupies the whole centre of the modern Iran. By these natural barriers the Persian empire was physically divided for two-thirds of its width, and we have only artificially to prolong the lines thus gained a short distance towards the north, in order to complete the separation here indicated.

2. The geographical position of the principal races inhabiting what are here called the Western Provinces has been approximately determined in the earlier portions of this work, more especially in the Essay 'On the Physical and Political Geography of Asia Minor.'[2] The tribes and nations of the Central Provinces, from Armenia southwards, have also received their full share of attention.[3] But the nations of the east, and the numerous races occupying the more northern portion of the central tract, lying as they did at the verge of the empire, remote alike from the Greeks and from the chief Asiatic powers, and thus playing a very subordinate part in Persian history, have been but seldom mentioned hitherto, and have never been made the subject of sustained consideration. It is proposed now, in order to complete the review of the tribes inhabiting the Persian Empire, which has been commenced and carried on in the two Essays whereto allusion has just been made, to give some account of the northern and eastern races, of their position and limits, and—so far as can be done without unduly extending this Essay—of their history. At the same time the reader's attention will be directed to certain obscure tribes belonging to the central and western provinces, which were omitted from the former review on account of their comparative insignificance.

3. The number of tribes mentioned by Herodotus as inhabiting the seven eastern satrapies is twenty; or, if we include tribes not expressly mentioned in the list of the satrapies, but known otherwise to belong to this region, twenty-three. Of these however there are two—the Utii and the Myci—whose proper position is in the central district,[4] and who have thus already been noticed.

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[2] Vol. i. Essay ii. pp. 388–400.

[3] Especially in the Essay on the Geography of Mesopotamia and the adjacent countries, vol. i. Essay ix. pp. 531–583.

[4] See the map of the satrapies. The position there given to the Utii depends on their identification with the Uxians of Strabo and Arrian (supra, vol. ii. p. 485, note [4]). The *Yutiya* of the Behistun Inscription (Col. iii. Par. 5), though regarded as a district of Persia Proper, seems, from its connexion with Arachosia (Par. 9), to have lain considerably more to the east. The Myci too, if regarded as the *Maka* of the Inscriptions, who are united with the Sacans and Arachosians,

The eastern tribes are therefore twenty-one in number, viz., the Hyrcanians, the Parthians, the Chorasmians, the Sogdians, the Arians, the Bactrians, the Ægli, the Sacæ, the Caspians, the Sagartii, the Sarangians, the Thamanæans, the Pactyans, the Sattagydians, the Gandarians, the Dadicæ, the Aparytæ, the Caspeiri, the Indians, the Paricanians, and the Ethiopians of Asia. These tribes will be considered *seriatim*.

(i.) The Hyrcanians.—This people is mentioned by Herodotus only twice,[5] and each time in a connexion which does but little towards fixing their exact locality. In Book iii. they occur among the five nations to whom the water of the river Aces is dispensed by the Great King, and are thus associated with the Chorasmians, the Parthians, the Sarangians, and the Thamanæans. The exact position which they occupy in this list is between the Chorasmians and the Parthians, and their territory might therefore be expected to lie adjacent to Parthia and Chorasmia. Subsequent writers fix it to the south-eastern corner of the Caspian—the modern province of *Asterabad*—from which point they extend it somewhat variously. Strabo assigns to Hyrcania a large portion of the low plain east of the Caspian, even carrying it beyond the Oxus (*Jyhún*) river.[6] Mela brings it round to the west of the same sea, and makes the Hyrcanians border on the Iberians and the Albanians.[7] There can however be little doubt that the true heart of the country was always the region about Asterabad,[8] where the district and river of *Gurgán* still retain the appellation of the old inhabitants.[9] It was from the passage of Alexander through this country, where for the first time he came in sight of the Caspian, that that sea acquired in the pages of his historians the title which is preferred by Strabo, Polybius, Agathemer, and

would appear to have had a more eastern emplacement than that assigned them in the map. They may have occupied not only the part of the coast opposite Cape Maceta (*Musseldom*), but a considerable portion of the modern *Mekran*, which seems still to retain a trace of their name.

[5] Herod. iii. 117, and vii. 62, ad fin.

[6] Strab. xi. p. 742. Polybius makes the Oxus the boundary (x. 48).

[7] De Sit. Orb. iii. 5.

[8] See especially Strab. xi. pp. 742–4; Arrian. Exp. Alex. iii. 23; Isidor. Char. p. 7; Agathem. ii. 6; Plin. H. N. vi. 16; Ptolem. vi. 19; Q. Curt. vi. 4, &c.

[9] This district has been well described by Mr. Fraser (Narrative of a Journey into Khorassan, ch. xxiii. pp. 599–602). It consists of a single richly-wooded and most lovely valley (into which only small glens open from the sides), gradually widening as it descends towards the verdant plain of Asterabad, and finally entering the plain in about long. 54° 40′. The *Gurgán* river flows into the Caspian, a little to the north of its south-east angle, falling into the Bay of Asterabad. Compare the descriptions of Strabo (ἡ δ' Ὑρκανία σφόδρα εὐδαίμων καὶ πολλὴ καὶ τὸ πλέον πεδιάς, xi. p. 741), and Arrian (κεῖται ἡ Ὑρκανία χώρα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ Βάκτρα φερούσης· καὶ τῇ μὲν ὄρεσιν ἀπείργεται δασέσι καὶ ὑψηλοῖς, τῇ δὲ πεδίον αὐτῆς καθήκει ἔς τε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην τὴν ταύτῃ θάλασσαν (Exp. Alex. iii. 23).

most of the later geographers, of "the Hyrcanian Sea."[10] The limits of Hyrcania are not very easy to determine. Its natural boundary on the north seems to have been the rocky range which shuts in on that side the valley of the *Attruk*; on the east it may have reached as far as the 60th or 61st degree of longitude; while on the south it was probably confined within the outermost of those parallel ranges of hills[11] which stretch from the south-east angle of the Caspian to the Hindoo Koosh near Cabul. The Chorasmians probably bordered the Hyrcanians on the north, the Parthians on the south, while on the east they may have come in contact with the Arians of Herat, and with the Sattagydians, or possibly with the Bactrians. They were clearly an ancient Arian race, their country being included (under the name of *Vehrkána*) among the earliest of the Arian settlements in the Zendavesta, their ethnic appellation being significative in the Arian language,[12] and the names in use among them being traceable to Arian roots.[13] They at no time attained to any distinction,[14] military or other, and disappear from history shortly after the time of Alexander.[15]

(ii.) The Parthians are mentioned by Herodotus in three places: first, as joined in the same satrapy with the Chorasmians, the Sogdians, and the Arians of Herat;[16] secondly, as obtaining a share of the waters of the river Aces, in common with the Chorasmians, Hyrcanians, Sarangians, and Thamanæans;[17] thirdly, as united with the Chorasmians under one and the same commander in the army of Xerxes.[18] These notices all tend to place them towards the north-eastern frontier, but the second alone is of use in definitely fixing their position. They there occur *between the Hyrcanians and the Sarangians*, and this seems to have been exactly their proper locality. They dwelt along the southern flank of the Elburz range, in the district now called *Atak*, or "the Skirt," a district[19] capable of a high cultivation, and strewn

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[10] Strabo uses both names (xi. p. 740, &c.), but most commonly adopts the later title. Polybius knows only the later (v. 44, 48, and 55). Agathemer uses the earlier most frequently, but in his formal account of all the known seas (i. 3), has the expression ἡ Ὑρκανία ἤτοι Κασπία θάλασσα.

[11] See vol. i. p. 538.

[12] Ibid. p. 674, note [9].

[13] Ibid. note [8]. The root *carta* in their chief city Zadracarta (Arrian, iii. 25), is probably the Persian *gherd*, which is found in such names as *Derabgherd*, *Velazgherd*, &c.

[14] Quintus Curtius calls them "a warlike nation" (gens bellicosa, VI. iv. § 15), and remarks upon their cavalry as "excellent" (III. ii. § 6). But they do not seem to have really offered any serious resistance to Alexander (cf. Arrian. Exp. Alex. iii. 23–5).

[15] Their country is, however, still found under its old name of Hyrcania (*Urkanieh*) in Yacut (ab. A.D. 1250–1300).

[16] Herod. iii. 93.

[17] Ibid. iii. 117.

[18] Ibid. vii. 66.

[19] Supra, vol. i. p. 538. Mr. Fraser

with the ruins of magnificent cities, but now nearly a desert. Their western limit is said to have been the Caspian Gates,[20] while their eastern was the territory of the Arians (*Heratees*); on the north they had the Hyrcanians for neighbours; on the south they melted into the great desert of Khorassan, beyond which, on the *Haroot-rud*, or river of *Subzawur*, were the Sarangians.[1] This location agrees perfectly with all the notices of good authorities. The lists of Darius join Parthia with Sarangia, Aria, and Sagartia,[2] while the Behistun Inscription unites it closely with Hyrcania.[3] Again, Alexander's historians relate that at the time of his expedition it was under the government of the same satrap with Hyrcania.[4] Strabo[5] and Pliny are more distinct, and thoroughly in accordance. The notice of the latter is particularly clear and valuable:—"As regards the Parthians," he says, "Parthia has always been the country lying at the foot of the mountains which we have so often mentioned, whereby all those nations are encompassed. It is bounded on the east by the Arians, on the south by Carmania and Ariana, on the west by the Pratitæ (?), who are a race of Medes, and on the north by the Hyrcanians."[6] The only difficulty here is the extent southwards, which is carried somewhat further than by most writers.

The Parthians were one of the most important of the tribes included within the limits of the Persian empire. They appear to have belonged to the primitive race of Scyths,[7] whom the Arian immigrants had in general exterminated or reduced to subjection. By some peculiar inherent strength they preserved themselves intact while their kindred elsewhere was absorbed or perished;

gives the following description of this district:—"These mountains (the Elburz), although they present to the desert their loftiest face, still sweep down in a manner so gradual near their base, as to afford, in the valleys and ravines they include, as well as at their feet, a quantity of rich land, watered by numerous rivulets, which once was well peopled and cultivated. This stripe of country has been termed by the natives the *Attock*, a word signifying "a skirt" as of a garment; and it contained the considerable towns of Nissa, Abiverd, Direem, Mehineh, with their dependant villages, all of which are now in ruins." (Journey into Khorassan, p. 245.)

[20] Strab. xi. p. 749.

[1] Compare Ptolem. vi. 5; Strab. xi. p. 751; Agathem. ii. 6, &c.

[2] Supra, vol. ii. p. 485, note [6].

[3] Col. ii. Par. 16 (supra, vol. ii. p. 603).

[4] Arrian. Exped. Alex. iii. 23. Alexander himself continued the union (ibid. iii. 22).

[5] See Strab. xi. pp. 749–750.

[6] H. N. vi. 25. "Quod ad Parthos attinet, semper fuit Parthia in radicibus montium sæpius dictorum, qui omnes eas gentes prætexunt. Habet ab ortu Arios, a meridie Carmaniam et Arianos, ab oceano Pratitas Medos, a septemtrione Hyrcanos." Compare Isidor. Char. p. 7, where Parthyene evidently represents this same district.

[7] See vol. i. pp. 649–650. The name of the Parthian whom Alexander made satrap, which was Amminapes (Arr. Exp. Al. iii. 22) or Menapis (Q. Curt. vi. 4, ad fin.), is decidedly more Scythic than Arian.

and patiently biding their time succeeded, after the lapse of about five centuries, in exchanging situations with their masters. The establishment of the Parthian kingdom of the Arsacidæ inverted the position of the old Scythic race and their Arian conquerors, giving predominance to barbarism over comparative civilisation, and subjecting Western Asia, from the Euphrates almost as far as the Indus, to the oppressive yoke of a coarse and rude people. The Parthian conquests were very gradually effected, and some of them were only maintained for a short period. We possess no clear account of the extent and arrangement of their empire; but the "Parthian Stations" of the native writer, Isidore of Charax (who lived about B.C. 150), show that it reached from the Euphrates to the Affghan mountains, and there is reason to believe that in the most flourishing period it extended over the greater portion of Western Asia. The route which Isidore describes passed through nineteen districts,[8] viz, Mesopotamia (which included Babylonia), Apolloniatis, Chalonitis, Media, Cambadena, Media Superior, Media Matiana, Choarena, Comisena, Hyrcania, Astabena, Parthyena (or Parthia Proper), Apavarcticena, Margiana, Aria, Anava, Zarangiana or Drangiana, Sacastana, and Arachosia. The struggles of the Parthians against Rome, the defeat of Crassus, their losses in the reign of Trajan, their subsequent recovery of all that they had lost from Adrian, and their final re-subjection by the Persians, are well-known circumstances in their history, and scarcely require more than a passing notice. They maintained their independence for 482 years (from B.C. 256 to A.D. 226); and during this period, which coincided with the *acmé* of Rome's greatness, were almost the only enemy that she feared, or at whose hands she suffered serious defeats. On the conquest of Arsaces XXX. (Artabanus IV.) by Artaxerxes, the son of Sassan, the empire of the Parthians ceased, and with its disappearance we lose all trace of their existence as a nation.

(iii.) The Chorasmians were a primitive Arian race,[9] as is evident from the mention of their country (*Khairizao*) among the earliest settlements of that people.[10] They seem in the time of Herodotus to have occupied the low desert north of Hyrcania, which is still called "the desert of *Kharesm*."[11] This position

[8] Mans. Parth. pp. 1–2. Pliny (H. N. vi. 25), and Solinus (Polyhist. c. 59), say that the number of the provinces was eighteen; but they do not enumerate them.

[9] See vol. i. Essay xi. pp. 674–5.

[10] Burnouf's Commentaire sur le Yaçna, notes, p. cviii.

[11] Fraser's Khorassan, p. 242, and Appendix B. p. 58; Wilson's Arian.

entirely suits all the early notices. The fourth Fargard of the Vendidad joins *Khairizao* with *Haroyu* (Aria), *Çugdha* (Sogdiana), and *Merv* (Margiana).[12] The lists of Darius unite it with Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, and Sarangia.[13] Herodotus attaches it to Hyrcania, Parthia, Sogdiana, and Aria.[14] No situation harmonises these various statements so well as that above assigned to the country. It was probably bounded on the south by Hyrcania; on the east by Sattagydia, Bactria, and Sogdiana; on the north by the desert between the Caspian and the Aral; on the west by the Caspian. Chorasmia was not visited by Alexander, since it had nothing to tempt him, and lay too much to the left of his route. It had by this time shaken off the Persian dominion, and was under a native king, Pharasmanes,[15] who made overtures to Alexander which were favourably entertained. According to Arrian, this monarch stated that his dominions extended to the borders of Colchis and the country of the Amazons (!), and offered to conduct Alexander to those parts, but how the boast was understood does not appear; and there is no evidence to show that Chorasmia ever reached northward farther than the latitude of the Sea of Aral. Strabo indeed includes the Chorasmians among the Sacæ and Massagetæ, but still he seems to make them border upon Bactria and Sogdiana,[16] so that his evidence does not really conflict with that of the earlier writers. Ptolemy places them in Sogdiana, on the banks of the Oxus.[17] By his time they had evidently become a very unimportant tribe.

The Chorasmians cannot be said to have a history. Nothing definite is known of them after the time of Alexander.[18] It is probable that they formed a part of the semi-Greek Bactrian kingdom (founded B.C. 254), and perished under the attacks of the nomade races from the north, by whom that kingdom was overthrown.

(iv.) The Sogdians, like the Hyrcanians and the Chorasmians,

Antiqua, p. 129. For a description of this country, vide supra, vol. i. p. 540, note [8].

[12] Burnouf, l. s. c.

[13] See vol. ii. p. 485, note [6].

[14] To Parthia, Sogdiana, and Aria, in the list of satrapies (iii. 93), to Hyrcania in the account of the river Aces (iii. 117), to Parthia in an especial way, in the account of the army of Xerxes (vii. 66).

[15] Arrian, Exped. Alex. iv. 15.

[16] Strab. xi. p. 747. Τοῦ δὲ τῶν Μασσαγετῶν καὶ τῶν Σακῶν ἔθνους καὶ οἱ Ἀττάσιοι καὶ οἱ Χωράσμιοι, εἰς οὓς ἀπὸ τῶν Βακτριανῶν καὶ τῶν Σογδιανῶν ἔφυγε Σπιταμένης.

[17] Geograph. vi. 12.

[18] The great Kharesmian empire, which was destroyed by Genghis Khan about A.D. 1224, gave to the name Chorasmia or *Kharesm*, a glory previously unknown to it. This empire derived its ordinary designation from the capital city *Kharesm* (or *Urgunge*) which had kept the old name of the country. But it may be questioned whether the people had really any close connexion with the ancient Chorasmian race.

were an Arian race. Their country, called *Çugdha* in the Zendavesta, is the very earliest of the Arian settlements.[10] It lay next to Bactria, which it always follows in the lists of Darius,[1] being separated from it (according to Eratosthenes[2]) by the Oxus. Sogdiana was represented by him as extending from the Oxus (*Jyhún*) to the Jaxartes (*Syhún*), being bounded on the north by Scythia, and on the south by Bactria. Eastward it appears to have reached as far as the *Bolor* range, while westward it may perhaps have extended to the Aral. This region is still called the Vale of Soghd by the Mahometans.[3] Its ancient capital, Maracanda,[4] is continued in the modern city of *Samarkand*; and in general position and extent it may be regarded as nearly corresponding to the present kingdom of Bokhara. The Sogdians are by most writers connected in a very special way with the Bactrians;[5] and it may be suspected that at an early period the two provinces were united in a single satrapy. The nations strongly resemble one another;[6] but the Sogdians are of a coarser type, and in military reputation fall short of their neighbours. Still they offered a respectable resistance to the army of Alexander,[7] and were among the last of the tribes reduced by him before he quitted Bactria to attack the Indians.[8] Sogdiana formed a part of the Bactrian kingdom which arose out of the ruins of Alexander's empire, and became thenceforth merged in that country, whose fortunes it followed.

(v.) The Arians.—It has been already noticed[9] that the specific name of this tribe was in reality quite distinct from the general ethnic title of Arian, which belonged to the Bactrians, the Medes, the Persians, the Hyrcanians, the Chorasmians, the Sogdians, the Sarangians, and to many other nations. There is an initial *h* in the one case which is wanting in the other, and there is further a root-letter *u* or *v* in the special which has no correspondent in the general name; but though the resemblance of appellation appears to be accidental, there is no reason to doubt that the people in question were a branch of the great

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10 It is the first settlement occupied after the primitive abode of the race (*Aryanem vaejo*). See above, vol. i. p. 673. [Curiously enough the word means "first" or "head" in the Hamitic Babylonian.—H. C. R.]

1 Supra, vol. ii. p. 486, note 6.

2 Ap. Strab. xi. p. 748.

3 See Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, p. 129.

4 See Arrian. Exped. Alex. iii. 30.

5 Compare Arrian. Exp. Al. iii. 8, iv. 1 and 17; Strab. xi. pp. 747–8; Plin. H. N. vi. 17; Agathemer, ii. 6; Q. Curt. III. ii. § 9, &c.

6 Strabo says, Τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν οὐ πολὺ διέφερον τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσι τῶν νομάδων οἵ τε Σογδιανοὶ καὶ οἱ Βακτριανοί, μικρὸν δ' ὅμως ἡμερώτερα ἦν τὰ τῶν Βακτριανῶν.

7 Arrian. Exp. Al. iii. 30, iv. 1, &c.

8 Ibid. iv. 18–19.

9 Supra, vol. i. p. 673.

Arian stock. Their country is found, under the name of *Haroyu*, in the Zendavesta, among the earliest Arian settlements, in conjunction with Sogdiana, Margiana, and Chorasmia. They are always classed with Arian races—in the inscriptions with the Sarangians, the Bactrians, and the Chorasmians;[10] in Herodotus with the Sogdians and the Bactrians;[11] in Strabo[12] and Isidore of Charax[13] with the Margians. The modern Heratees, who inherit their name, are probably in some measure their descendants, and they are certainly an Arian people.

The Aria of Herodotus does not appear to have been an extensive tract. It was probably bounded by Parthia upon the west, by Chorasmia (or perhaps by Sattagydia) upon the north, by Sattagydia and the country of the Aparytæ on the east, and by the Thamanæans upon the south. Strabo gives it a length of 2000, with a breadth of only 300 stades,[14] extending it along the southern flank of the mountain-chain which here bounded Bactriana (the *Paropamisus*), probably from about *Ghorian* to the sources of the Arius river (the modern *Heri-rud*). Ptolemy inclines it, apparently, a little more to the west;[15] but in the main agrees with Strabo. There can be little doubt that the Arians occupied the southern skirts of the Elburz range, and the fertile country between that range and the desert, immediately to the east of the Parthians,[16] extending thence along the valley of the *Heri-rud* to some distance above Herat; but their exact bounds on either side it is impossible to determine.[17] They have never been a distinguished people, but they offered a stout resistance to Alexander,[18] and appear at that time to have constituted a distinct satrapy.[19]

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[10] Supra, vol. ii. p. 485, note [6].

[11] Herod. iii. 93, and vii. 66.

[12] Strab. xi. pp. 750–1.

[13] Mans. Parth. pp. 7–8.

[14] Strab. xi. p. 751.

[15] Geograph. vi. 17.

[16] Ptolemy bounds Aria on the west by Parthia and *Carmania* (l. s. c.). But this is because he extends Carmania so as to include in it almost the whole of the desert. Strabo, proceeding eastward from the Caspian, describes Aria directly after Parthia. Isidore of Charax has two districts between them, Apavarctiene and Margiana (pp. 7–8). But Apavarctiene was a part of Parthia (Ptol. vi. 5), and Margiana bounded Aria upon the *north* (ibid. ch. 17).

[17] The heart of Aria was probably always the country about Herat. This is "a rich well-watered valley, the length of which is about 30 miles, and the breadth 15, the whole being covered with villages and gardens." Here, "besides abundance of the finest fruit-trees, the mulberry bush is cultivated to a great extent, for rearing silk-worms; wheat and barley are plentiful; pasture of the best quality abounds in the mountains, and all the necessaries of life are cheap and plentiful. The assafœtida plant grows in great quantities upon the plains and hills all around the city." (Fraser's Khorassan, Appendix B., pp. 30–2. Compare Ferrier's Caravan Journeys, p. 139, and p. 165.)

[18] Arrian. Exp. Al. iii. 25 and 28.

[19] Ibid. ch. 25.

(vi.) The Bactrians are the most distinguished of all the tribes on the north-eastern frontier. Various stories have come down to us attesting the belief of the Greeks in the power and importance of Bactria during the Assyrian period,[1] but no great value can be attached to these tales, which are probably devoid of any historic foundation.[2] The Zendavesta however shows that the Arians settled in the country at a very early date;[3] and there can be no doubt that the historical Bactrians were of that remarkable race.[4] They are spoken of as a powerful people in the time of Cyrus, who looked upon their subjection as a matter which he could not safely intrust to his lieutenants.[5] The Persians always regarded them as among the bravest and most warlike of the nations whereof their empire was composed;[6] and the Bactrian satrapy seems to have been considered as a sort of royal appanage.[7] In the final struggle of the Persians against Alex-

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[1] Diodorus, apparently following Ctesias, makes Ninus march into Bactria and contend, for some time doubtfully, with its king Oxyartes (ii. 6), who is finally reduced by Semiramis. Justin (i. 2) and Cephalion (Fr. 1) have the same story, but call the king Zoroaster, and identify him with the founder of the Magian religion. Again, Diodorus makes the success of Arbaces, in his attack on Nineveh, depend mainly on the assistance which he receives from the Bactrians, who have been summoned to aid the Ninevites, but join their assailants (ii. 26, et seqq. Compare vol. i. p. 414.)

[2] It is noticeable, however, that the Persian traditions made Bactra their earliest capital, in the times anterior to Kei Khosru or Cyrus; and that General Ferrier observed among the ruins, bricks with cuneiform inscriptions (Caravan Journeys, p. 207).

[3] Supra, vol. i. p. 672. The Bactrians are also celebrated under the name of Bahlikas, in the early legends of the Hindoos (Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, p. 125); but these do not reach much beyond the 3rd or 4th century B.C. No satisfactory meaning has yet been found for the name Bactria. Burnouf (Comment. p. cxii.) derived it from a Zend word, *apaktara*, which means "north." But Bactria is only called by a name at all closely resembling this in the Armenian geography, which is not likely to have preserved the real Zend title. The true ethnic root is probably only *Bakh*, the *-di* of the Zendavesta, the *-trish* of the Achæmenian tablets, and the -*τρία* of the Greeks being a mere locative suffix. But what *Bakh* means is unknown at present.

[4] Supra, vol. i. p. 673.

[5] Herod. i. 153. Ctesias professed to relate some of the circumstances of this war (Persic. § 2); but no dependance can be placed on his narrative.

[6] The Bactrians were among the troops selected by Mardonius on the retreat of Xerxes (Herod. viii. 113). They held the left wing at Arbela (Arrian. Exp. Al. iii. 11), where they greatly distinguished themselves (ibid. c. 13; Q. Curt. IV. xv. § 18). Arrian (Peripl. Mar. Erythr. p. 27), if it be he, calls them *μαχιμώτατον ἔθνος*. Strabo regards them as similar in character to the Scythians (xi. pp. 752–3), and Q. Curtius thus describes their habits:—"Sunt autem Bactriani inter illas gentes promptissimi; horridis ingeniis, multùmque a Persarum luxu abhorrentibus, siti haud procul Scytharum bellicosissimâ gente, et rapto vivere assueta; semperque in armis errant" (Vit. Alex. IV. vi. § 3).

[7] According to Ctesias (Exc. Per. § 8), Bactria, Chorasmia, Parthia, and Carmania, were conferred by Cyrus upon his second son Tanyoxarces (= Smerdis). Afterwards, in the reign of Xerxes, we find his brother Masistes in possession of the Bactrian satrapy (Herod. ix. 113). Again, upon the death of Xerxes, it appears that another brother, Hystaspes, had received the government (Diod. Sic. xi. 69). Da-

ander, the Bactrians played a very conspicuous part;[8] and it was no doubt as much owing to the energies of the race as to the advantages of position, that the Greek governors appointed by the Seleucidæ were able to assert their independence, and to establish a Bactrian kingdom, which certainly continued for above a century. In the course of time they have yielded to the flood of Tâtar immigration, ever pressing southward from the Asiatic steppes; but in the non-Tâtar population of the country about Balkh, whose language is decidedly Arian,[9] we probably have the representatives aud descendants of the great Bactrian nation.

The geographical limits of Bactria are for the most part well marked and defined. Sogdiana bounded it on the north, being separated from it by the Oxus or *Jyhún* river;[10] the *Hazarah* mountains (called anciently Paropamisus[11]) was its limit upon the south;[12] on the west it was probably bounded by Chorasmia or the great desert of *Kharesm;*[13] while on the east it was shut in by the snowy chain of *Bolor*, which unites the *Thianchan* with the *Hindoo-Koosh*. Thus it included *Badakshan* and *Koondooz*, as well as the Balkh district, to which the ancient name still attaches. It was a country of varied character and multiform products. On the east and south, extending to the summits of lofty mountain-ranges—while on the north it descended into the flat of the Oxus valley, and on the west melted into the low sandy desert of Kharesm—it had every species of soil and every variety of climate.[14] Its capital, Bactra, is represented by the

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darses, however, the satrap of Bactria under Darius Hystaspes (Beh. Inscr. Col. iii. Par. 3), was not, as far as we know, of the royal house.

[8] Arrian. Exp. Al. iii. 29, iv. 17 and 22.

[9] See Professor Müller's 'Languages of the Seat of War' (1st ed.), p. 33.

[10] Strab. xi. p. 752; Ptolem. vi. 11–12.

[11] Or Paropanisus, according to some authors. The word seems first to occur in the Babylonian transcript of the Behistun Inscription, where under the form *Paruparaesanna* it represents and replaces the Persian *Gadara* or Gandaria (see Col. Rawlinson's Babylonian Text of Behistun Inscription, p. xx.).

[12] It appears from the travels of General Ferrier, that no fewer than four ranges of mountains, only slightly divergent, separate between the low country towards the Oxus, and the flat region of Seistan, towards Girisk and Furrah. (Caravan Journeys, pp. 230, 234, 238, and 247; and compare the map.) It is the second of these, as one proceeds from north to south, that is here regarded as the main range. This is the mountain-chain dividing between the valleys of the Murgaub and the Heri-rud, which is now known as the *Sufeid Koh* or White Mountain (Ferrier, p. 239).

[13] Ptolemy (vi. 11) bounds it on the west by Margiana. or the country watered by the *Murgaub*, the ancient district of Merv; but the desert of Kharesm extends further east than the *Murgaub*, and must have been at all times the natural frontier in this direction.

[14] Q. Curtius thus describes Bactria: "Bactrianæ terræ multiplex et varia natura est. Alibi multa arbor, et vitis largos mitesque fructus alit. Solum pingue crebri fontes rigant; quæ mitiora sunt frumento conseruntur, cætera armentorum pabulo cedunt. Magnam deinde partem ejusdem terræ steriles arenæ tenent. Squalida siccitate regio

modern *Balkh*, which is now mostly in ruins, but bears ample traces of its ancient splendour.[15]

(vii.) The Ægli are mentioned by Herodotus in one passage only, wherein they appear as neighbours of the Bactrians.[16] There is no trace of them either in the Inscriptions or in the Zendavesta. Possibly they are the Augali[17] of Ptolemy, whom he places upon the Jaxartes, and therefore the people intended in the passage of the Paschal Chronicle which speaks of Alexandria Eschata as being ἐν Αἰγαίοις.[18] Or they may be identified with the Ægêli of Stephen, who seem to be the Gêlæ of Strabo, and the Gelæ or Geli of other authors, the inhabitants of the modern *Ghilán*.[19] We may suspect that they were Arians, since Stephen's Ægêli are "a Median people."[20] It is impossible to fix their locality in the time of Herodotus.

(viii.) The Sacæ.—It is very difficult to locate with any certainty the Sacæ of Herodotus. In his notices they are generally connected with the Bactrians,[21] upon whom therefore it is natural to suppose that they adjoined, but on which side he intended to place them it is not easy to determine. Their conjunction in the list of the satrapies with certain Caspians[1] might lead us to locate them upon the lower Oxus, and in the region between that river and the Caspian Sea (the modern Khanat of *Khiva*); and this position would suit exactly the notice of Hellanicus,[2] who derives the title of Amyrgii, by which a portion of the Persian Sacæ were certainly distinguished,[3] from a tract called "the Amyrgian *plain*," which they inhabited. But on the other hand it must be remarked, first, that this region has with good reason been assigned to the Chorasmians,[4] who were certainly not Sacæ;[5]

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non hominem, non frugem alit; quum vero venti a Pontico mari spirant, quicquid sabuli in campis jacet, converrunt: quod ubi cumulatum est, magnorum collium procul species est, omniaque pristini itineris vestigia intereunt" (Vit. Alex. VII. iv. § 26–7). "The language of the most graphic writer," says Sir A. Burns, "could not delineate this country with greater exactness" (Bokhara, vol. i. p. 245). A detailed account of the whole region will be found in Ferrier (pp. 197–230).

[15] See Ferrier's Caravan Journeys, pp. 206–8.

[16] Herod. iii. 92 ad fin.

[17] Geograph. vi. 12.

[18] Vide supra, vol. ii. p. 484, note [1].

[19] Strab. xi. p. 734; Plut. vit. Pomp. c. 35; Plin. H. N. vi. 16; Ptol. vi. 2.

[20] Steph. Byz. ad voc. Αἰγηλοί.

[21] Herod. i. 153, vii. 64, viii. 113, and ix. 113; compare Arrian. Exped. Al. iii. 8. On the general subject of the Sacæ, see below, Essay ii.

[1] Herod. iii. 93.

[2] Fr. 171. Ἀμύργιον, πεδίον Σακῶν.

[3] See Herod. vii. 64 (Τούτους δὲ, ἐόντας Σκύθας Ἀμυργίους, Σάκας ἐκάλεον), and compare the Nakhsh-i-Rustam inscription (Par. 3; infra, p. 241), where the *Saka Humawarga* are mentioned.

[4] Supra, p. 202.

[5] Strabo indeed says, τοῦ δὲ τῶν Μασσαγετῶν καὶ τῶν Σακῶν ἔθνους καὶ οἱ Ἀττάσιοι (?) καὶ οἱ Χωράσμιοι (xi. p. 747); but this statement is of little value. The Chorasmians could not be at once Mas-

secondly, that the Caspians joined with the Sacans are not those from whom the sea derived its name,[6] and therefore may have dwelt at any distance from it; and, thirdly, that the Alexandrine geographers knew of no Sacæ south of the Oxus.[7] The country beyond the Jaxartes is that usually assigned to them by these writers, but this cannot be the Sacia of Herodotus. It is too remote from Bactria; and besides Herodotus assigns it to the Massagetæ,[8] who were not Scythians,[9] and were not subject to Persia.[10] There remain two tracts between which our choice lies: one is the tract between the lower Oxus and the lower Jaxartes, which has been regarded above as a part of Sogdiana,[11] but which may possibly be the Sacia of Herodotus' time. It is a low plain, like the country south of the Oxus, so as to answer the description of Hellanicus; and it approaches, if it does not adjoin, Bactria. This whole tract, however, except along the river-courses, is an arid desert, and can never have supported more than a very scanty population. The other is the region east of the Bolor range—the modern kingdoms of *Kachgar* and *Yarkand*, the most western portion of Chinese Tartary. This seems to be the Sacia of Ptolemy[12] and Curtius;[13] and as its eastern position and near approach to Gandaria and India accords with the place assigned to

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sagetæ (Arians) and Sacæ (Turanians); and if we must connect them with either, it should be with the former rather than with the latter people.

6 The Caspians, from whom the sea derived its name, are undoubtedly those whom Herodotus places in his 11th satrapy (iii. 92). They dwelt towards its south-*west* angle, in the modern *Ghilan* (infra, p. 234).

7 Arrian's Scyths (whom he identifies with the Sacæ, iii. 8) dwelt north of the Jaxartes (iv. 1, and 4). So the Sacæ of Eratosthenes (ap. Strab. xi. p. 748), who are separated by the Jaxartes from the Sogdians. Strabo is less clear, but brings the Scythian conquerors of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom ἀπὸ τῆς περαίας τοῦ Ἰαξάρτου τῆς κατὰ Σάκας καὶ Σογδιανούς, ἣν κατεῖχον Σάκαι (ibid. p. 744). There were, of course, Sacæ in Armenia, the Sacasinæ of Arrian (Exp. Al. iii. 8), who adjoined on the Medes and the Cadusians (comp. Strab. xi. pp. 745, 767, &c.; Plin. H.N. vi. 10; and Ptol. v. 13). But these cannot be the Sacæ whom Herodotus *joined with the Bactrians*; and indeed they are never called Sacæ, but Sacesinæ or Sacassani; and their country is not Sacia, but Sacassenè. Strabo appears to regard these Scyths as a remnant of the invaders who held dominion in Upper Asia for 28 years, but were subdued by Cyaxares (compare Strab. xi. p. 745 with Herod. i. 106). But they were probably among the most ancient inhabitants of the country.

8 Herod. i. 201.

9 Ibid. ch. 216. The Massa-Getæ should by their name be Goths (supra, vol. iii. p. 214). That they were Arians is shown by the name of their prince Spargapises (Herod. i. 211), which may be compared with the Spargapeithes of the A-*gath*-yrsi (ibid. iv. 78), and of the European Scyths or Scoloti (ib. ch. 76), whose Indo-European character has been already proved (vol. iii. pp. 192-205).

10 Herod. i. 214.

11 Supra, p. 203.

12 Ptolemy's Sacia, which he in a marked way distinguishes from Scythia (vi. 13), lies *east* of Sogdiana, and north of Mount Imaus (the *Hima-laya*). Compare Marcian. Heracl. (p. 25); ἡ ἐντὸς Γάγγου ποταμοῦ Ἰνδικὴ περιορίζεται ἀπὸ μὲν ἄρκτων τῷ Ἰμάῳ ὄρει παρὰ τοὺς ὑπερκειμένους αὐτοῦ Σογδιανοὺς καὶ Σάκας.

13 Vit. Alex. VIII. iv. § 20.

the Sacæ (*Saka* in Darius's lists,[14] it is perhaps on the whole to be preferred to the other. The western and northern portions of this region are very mountainous, but on the south and east it sinks down into a vast sandy plain or desert, which extends uninterruptedly from about long. 75° to long. 118° E. from Greenwich.

The Sacæ of Persia were probably a Turanian race, or at least a population in which the Turanian element preponderated.[15] They were among the best troops in the Persian armies,[16] their chief weapons being the bow and the battle-axe.[17] It appears that some time before the invasion of Alexander they had succeeded in detaching themselves from Persia, and completely establishing their independence, so that they fought at Arbela, not as subjects, but as allies of Darius.[18] Soon afterwards we find Sacans contending without dishonour with the army of Alexander;[19] and about a century later, tribes which bore the name subverted the Græco-Bactrian kingdom,[1] and established their rule over the entire tract between the Aral and the Indus.[2] They even ventured to invade India, but were repulsed with great loss (B.C. 56),[3] after which they fell under the dominion of the Parthians, and were finally absorbed in the kingdom of the Sassanidæ.

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[14] See vol. ii. p. 485, note [6]. Darius, it will be seen, conjoins Sacia, 1. with Gandaria and Sattagydia; 2. with Gandaria and Mecia; 3. with India.

[15] See vol. i. pp. 648–9. This view is not incompatible with that maintained in vol. iii. (Book iv. Essay ii. pp. 192–205) with respect to the ethnic character of the European Scyths. The term Scyth, or Sacan, is probably not a real ethnic name, but merely a title given to all nomades, like the *Ilyat* of modern Persia. From the mere term Scyth we cannot conclude anything as to the ethnic character of a people. [In the Babylonian transcripts of the Achæmenian inscriptions, the term which replaces the *Saka* of the Persian and Scythic columns, is *Gimiri* (query, Gomerites?)—a term which elsewhere in Babylonian always means "the tribes." Compare the Greek ἀλλόφυλοι.—H. C. R.]

[16] They fought well at Marathon (Herod. vi. 113); they were included among the picked troops of Mardonius (ibid. viii. 113), and they distinguished themselves at Arbela (Arr. Exp. Al. iii. 13). It is also to be noted that they formed, together with the Medes and Persians, the marines of the Persian fleet (Herod. vii. 184).

[17] Herod. vii. 64.

[18] Arrian. Exp. Al. iii. 8. εἵποντο . . . οὐχ ὑπήκοοι . . . ἀλλὰ κατὰ συμμαχίαν τὴν Δαρείου.

[19] Ibid. iv. 4.

[1] Strabo, xi. p. 745. See Dr. Smith's Geographical Dictionary, ad voc. BACTRIANA.

[2] Of course these exploits are not to be assigned to the Persian Sacæ *only*. The Sacæ of the fifteenth satrapy were but the advanced guard of that great Scythic or Tâtar people which has at all times held undisputed sway in the steppe country of central Asia. The Scythic influx of the first and second centuries before the Christian era was a movement begun probably in the heart of Asia, and extending to a multitude of tribes besides those who had at one time been subject to Persia (Strab. l. s. c.). Its success was chiefly owing to the vast numbers of the invaders, who gradually won their way to the Paropamisus, whence, in one line, they descended the valley of the Helmend to the country about lake Zerrah—called from them Sacastene (Isid. Char. p. 8), which passed into *Segestan* (now *Seistan*)—while in another they entered India and reached the mouths of the Indus, where they are placed by Ptolemy (vii. 1) and Arrian (Peripl. P. Eryth. p. 21, &c.).

[3] See Wilson's Arian. Antiq. p. 302.

(ix.) The Caspians are mentioned twice in the list of the satrapies—once in connexion with the obscure tribes of the Pausicæ, the Pantimathi, and the Daritæ;[4] and a second time in conjunction with the Sacæ.[5] In the former passage there is reason to suppose that the inhabitants of a portion of the tract directly south of the Caspian Sea—from whom indeed it derived that name—are intended;[6] in the latter it has been proposed to alter the reading, substituting for Caspii either Casii,[7] or Caspeiri.[8] But this practice of alteration in cases of difficulty, where there is no variation in the MSS., is always dangerous; and in the case before us the readings suggested are neither of them remarkably happy. The Casii are first mentioned in Ptolemy,[9] and then they appear to be placed in eastern Thibet, on the borders of China, far beyond the utmost limits to which the Persian empire can be thought to have extended. The Caspeiri, or people of Cashmere,[10] are less remote, and they were probably Persian subjects, but still they are not likely to have been included in the same satrapy with the Sacæ, whichever view we take of the country occupied by that people.[11] On the whole it seems best to accept the reading as it stands, and to suppose that the Caspians, like so many other tribes in this part of Asia,[12] were divided, part having proceeded westward into *Ghilan* and *Mazenderan*, while part abode in more primitive settlements nearer the original seat of the Arian nation. It is impossible, however, to locate the eastern branch otherwise than conjecturally.

(x.) The Sagartians (or *Asagarta*) were probably the principal people of the Great Desert of Iran, which extends from Kashan and Isfahan on the west, to the *Haroot-rud*, or river of *Subzawur*, on the east. They are placed by Herodotus in his great central satrapy (the fourteenth), where they are conjoined with the Sarangians and Thamanæans on the one hand, the Utians and Mycians

[4] Herod. iii. 92.

[5] Ibid. ch. 93.

[6] Vide infra, p. 284.

[7] The reading Casii was, I believe, first proposed by Larcher. It was adopted by Rennell (Geogr. of Herod. p. 302), whence it passed to Beloe and the other translators.

[8] This conjecture was first made by Reizius (Pref. ad Herod. p. xvi.), who supported it by the passage in Stephen, where the third Book of Herodotus is made an authority for Caspeirus as a city of the Parthians (Κάσπυρος, πόλις Πάρθων, προσεχὴς τῇ Ἰνδικῇ· Ἡρόδοτος τρίτῃ). But the correction proposed would not justify the citation, which really shows a reading of Κάσπυρος for Κασπάτυρος in Herod. iii. 102.

[9] Geograph. vi. 15.

[10] Vide infra, p. 219.

[11] Though Cashmere is not far from the territory of *Kashgar* and *Yarkand*, yet being completely separated from it by the highest ranges of the *Hindoo Koosh*, it could scarcely fall into the same satrapy.

[12] As the Mardians, the Sagartians, the Gandarians, the Arachosians, and others.

on the other.[13] This tract is only capable of bearing a very sparse population,[14] and the Sagartians were at no time a people of any great power or influence. It is rather surprising to find that they furnished to the army of Xerxes as many as 8000 troops (horsemen, armed with *lassoes*[15]), since, except on this occasion, they are scarcely found as a military nation. Their tribes appear to have been scattered and isolated. Darius, in one inscription,[16] conjoins them with the Parthians; in another,[17] represents them as inhabiting a part of Media. Ptolemy places them immediately to the east of Zagros,[18] while Stephen speaks of their occupying a peninsula projecting into the Caspian.[19] By the other geographers they are unnoticed. Probably their main locality in the early times was the southern skirt of the mountains from the Caspian Gates eastward to about *Shahrud* and *Bostam*, or the district immediately west of Parthia.[1] From this position they commanded all the northern portion of the Great Desert. Hence they had sent colonists to accompany the Persians in their great migration, who may have been the ancestors of Ptolemy's Sagartians, immediately to the east of Zagros. If Stephen's authority is allowed, we must suppose that the eastern Sagartians, being gradually driven from their country by the Parthians, found a refuge in *Mazenderan*, where they may have occupied the long promontory which forms the northern protection of *Asterabad* Bay.

The Arian character of the Sagartians has been proved in a former Essay.[2] They seem to have been a tribe very closely akin to the Medo-Persic stock. Herodotus tells us that they resembled the Persians both in language and dress;[3] and we find by the Behistun Inscription, that when a pretender to the crown of Sagartia rose up, he claimed it as a descendant from the great Median prince Cyaxares.[4] In war they served rather as a portion of the Persian contingent[5] than as a distinct people, and their omission from some important lists of the provinces[6] may

[13] Herod. iii. 93.

[14] Supra, vol. i. pp. 535–6.

[15] Herod. vii. 85.

[16] The great inscription at Persepolis. Vide supra, vol. ii. p. 485, note [6].

[17] Beh. Inscr. Col. ii. par. 15 (supra, vol. ii. p. 602).

[18] Geograph. vi. 2.

[19] Steph. Byz. ad voc. Σαγαρτία.

[1] See Justin. xli. 1, where "Sagartani" must be read for "Spartani." [Here their name seems to remain in the modern *Lasjird* or *Al Asgird*, the appellation of a very ancient fort in these parts.—H. C. R.]

[2] Vol. i. Essay xi. p. 674.

[3] Herod. vii. 85.

[4] Beh. Inscr. Col. ii. par. 14.

[5] Herod. l. s. c. ἐτετάχατο ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας.

[6] They are omitted from the Behistun and Nakhsh-i-Rustam lists, only appearing in the Persepolitan. (See vol. ii. p. 485, note [6]).

be accounted for by their probable inclusion in Media. They are thought to have been connected with the Indian *Aswas*, and are regarded by some as the ancestors of the Scandinavian nations.[7]

(xi.) The Sarangians.—Concerning the position of this people there can be little doubt. They are clearly identical with the Zarangi, Zarangæi, or Drangæ, of Arrian,[8] the Drangæ of Strabo[9] and Ptolemy,[10] who occupy the region directly south of Aria, bounded on the east by Arachosia, on the west by Carmania, and on its own southern frontier by Gedrosia. They may be recognised in the *Zaraka* of Darius' inscriptions,[11] who are joined in the lists with the Parthians, the Arians, and the Arachosians. Their name is derived by Burnouf[12] from the Zend word *Zarayo*, or *Zarayangh*, "sea," a term which still attaches to the great lake into which the *Helmend* empties itself, called *Zerrah* by the Persians.[13] They were probably the occupants of the country round the lake, and to some extent of the banks of the streams which flow into it from the east and north, as the Helmend, the *Haroot-rud*, the river of *Farrah*, the river of *Khash*, &c.—the modern province of Seistan.[14] They appear to have been Arians by race,[15] and are called by Q. Curtius a "warlike

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[7] See Col. Rawlinson's Vocabulary, ad voc. ASAGARTA (p. 62).

[8] In some editions of Arrian (as the Tauchnitz) one form only is used, viz., Drangæ (Δράγγαι). But the MSS. have in iii. 25, Ζαραγγαῖοι, in iii. 28, Δράγγαι, and in vi. 17, Ζαράγγοι.

[9] Strab. xv. pp. 1023, 1025, &c.

[10] Geograph. vi. 19, &c.

[11] Supra, vol. ii. p. 485, note [6]. It must be remembered that the Persians could not articulate the *n* before a consonant, and therefore said *Gadara* for *Gandaria*, *Hidush* for India, &c.

[12] Commentaire sur le Yaçna, p. xcviii. [As, however, the ancient Persian word for sea was *daraya*, not *zaraya*, this derivation can scarcely be regarded as sound.—H. C. R.]

[13] Gen. Ferrier says that this name is "not known to the great majority of Asiatics" (Caravan Journeys, p. 429), and that it is only found in old Persian authors. The inhabitants of the surrounding country, according to this writer, now call the lake *Mechila Seistan*, "the lake of Seistan," or *Mechila Roostem*, "the lake of Roostem," the great Persian hero.

[14] The following description of Seistan is given by Gen. Ferrier:—"Seistan is a flat country, with here and there some low hills. One third of the surface of the soil is composed of moving sands, and the two other thirds of a compact sand, mixed with a little clay, but very rich in vegetable matter, and covered with woods of the tamarisk, *saghes*, *tag*, and reeds, in the midst of which there is abundant pasture. These woods are more especially met with in the central part of the province, through which the Helmend and its affluents flow. The detritus and slimy soil which is deposited on the land after the annual inundations fertilise it in a remarkable manner, and this has probably been the case from time immemorial" (Caravan Journeys, pp. 426–7). It may be added that the productive land is almost confined to the river courses, while the intermediate country is an arid desert very difficult to traverse. The flat country extends up the Helmend as far as *Girishk*, whence a line drawn across to *Furrah* will give the natural limits of Seistan in this direction.

[15] Supra, vol. i. p. 675.

people;"[16] but nevertheless they are among the nations which offered least resistance to Alexander,[17] and are as little distinguished in history as any Arian tribe.

(xii.) The Thamanæans are a very obscure people. Herodotus mentions them in two places; first, in the list of the satrapies, where they occur between the Sarangians and the Utians;[18] and secondly, in his account of the river Aces, where they are coupled with the Sarangians, Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Chorasmians.[19] No other ancient author, except Stephen, mentions their name, and Stephen merely echoes Herodotus.[1] Under these circumstances they can only be located conjecturally. Col. Rawlinson suspects that they are the tribe who gave name to *Damaghán*, *Demawend*, &c.,[2] which would lead us to look for their settlements in the hill country immediately south of the Caspian. But as this is too remote from the territory of the Sarangians, and from the confines of the other tribes who used the Aces water, to be the position intended by Herodotus, it is perhaps best to suppose that the Thamanæans, like so many of the other Arian tribes,[3] sent colonies along with the great migratory stream which pressed westward,[4] and thus carried their name in that direction, while the bulk of the nation continued in their old quarters, occupying a more easterly position. The situation which best suits the two notices in Herodotus, and which was perhaps formally assigned to the Thamanæans by Isidore of Charax,[5] is the district south and east of Herat, from the sources of the *Khash-rud* and the *Haroot-rud*, to the banks of the Helmend about *Girisk*.[6] Exactly in this position is found

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[16] Vit. Alex. VI. vi. § 36. "Bellicosa natio est."

[17] Arrian. Exp. Al. iii. 28.

[18] Herod. iii. 93.

[19] Ibid. ch. 117.

[1] Steph. Byz. ad voc. Θαμαναῖοι, ἔθνος Πέρσαις ὑπήκοον· Ἡρόδοτος τρίτῃ.

[2] Memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions, vol. ii. p. 62. [*Daman* was the Arian correspondent of the Turkish *Atak*, "skirt," and was equally applied to the flank of the mountains in these parts. The *Damani*, or Thamanæans, were the inhabitants of this "skirt."—H. C. R.]

[3] As the Sagartians (supra, p. 212), the Mardians, and Dropici (supra, vol. i. p. 425), the Gandarians (ibid. p. 675), &c.

[4] Besides leaving their name along the *Elburz* range in the words above-mentioned, the Thamanæans appear to have brought it as far west as the Kurdish mountains, where Agathias has κώμη Θαμανῶν (see vol. ii. p. 484, note [3]).

[5] By an ingenious emendation, communicated to me by letter, Mons. C. Müller of Paris has brought a passage of Isidore to bear on this difficult subject. He observes that our present editions of Isidore give, after an account of the great Parthian route from west to east as far as Aria, the following—ἐντεῦθεν Ἀναύων χώρα, τῆς Ἀρείας (Hudson, p. 8), and notes that these Ἀναῦοι are wholly unknown to us. He therefore proposes to read ἐντεῦθεν [Θαμ]αναίων χώρα κτλ. The mistake might easily arise from the carelessness of a transcriber.

[6] The towns mentioned by Isidore of Charax in his account of the Thama-

the modern tribe of the *Taymounees*,[7] which appears to retain almost unchanged the appellation of the ancient inhabitants.

(xiii.) The Pactyans.—Herodotus has two nations of Pactyans, one inhabiting a portion of Armenia,[8] and the other adjoining upon India.[9] It is the latter with which we are here concerned. Their country is said to have been upon the upper Indus, and to have contained the city of Caspatyrus,[10] which most writers are inclined to identify with the city of Cashmere.[11] If this identification be approved, Pactyica must be regarded as the Cashmere valley, or perhaps as that region, together with the valley of the Indus above *Attock*.[12] The name Pactyan has been thought to be connected with the word *Pushtun*, or *Puhtan*,[13] the title by which the Affghans call themselves.

(xiv.) The Sattagydians are a people entirely unknown to all the classical writers except Herodotus. Yet it is certain that in the time of Darius they were a nation of considerable importance. They are mentioned in the Achæmenian inscriptions wherever a list of the subject people is given,[14] and we are further told that they were among the tribes which revolted from Darius in the earlier portion of his reign.[15] Their exact situation can only be conjectured. Herodotus, by uniting them in the same satrapy with the Gandarians,[16] who dwelt in Cabool and on the Upper Indus,[17] shows that they must be sought towards the extreme east of the empire; and Darius, by attaching them in all his lists to the Arachosians, leads us to the same conclusion.[18]

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nman country are *Phra* (Φρά), which is clearly *Furrah*; Bis, which is the Bestó or Abesté of Pliny (N. H. vi. 23), the modern *Bist*; Gari (*Girisk*), and Nii, which is unknown. These names clearly mark the position of the country.

7 This resemblance of name may be merely accidental, for the Taymounees cannot be traced very far back in Oriental history. Their country was traversed in several directions by Gen. Ferrier, who found it to consist of a series of mountains, valleys, and small plains, well watered towards the east by beautiful lakes and rivers, but becoming drier and more desert towards the west. On the south it terminates abruptly in a range of high mountains, which present their steep side to the broad plain of *Seistan* at their base, forming a very marked limit between the high and the low country. (See Ferrier, pp. 273–4.)

8 Herod. iii. 93.

9 Ibid. ch. 102.

10 Ibid. and compare iv. 44.

11 See Dr. Smith's Geographical Dictionary, sub voc. CASPATYRUS, and compare Bähr's Excursus ad Herod. iii. 102; and supra, vol. ii. p. 491, note 5.

12 It is said that boats might descend the *Jelum* from the lake *Wulur*, a little below Cashmere (Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geograph. vol. i. p. 558), and that Herodotus may have been mistaken about the direction in which the stream ran.

13 Malte-Brun, Annales nouvelles des Voyages, tom. ii. p. 344, et seqq.

14 Beh. Inscr. Col. i. par. 6; Persep. Inscr. par. 2; Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscr. par. 2.

15 Beh. Inscr. Col. ii. par. 2.

16 Herod. iii. 91.

17 See vol. i. p. 675, and infra, p. 217.

18 The Arachosians are placed by Ptolemy west of the Sarangians and north of the Gedrosians; they are bounded on the east by the valley of

They probably were the chief inhabitants of the high tract extending from Cabool to Herat in one direction, and from *Sir-pool* to the banks of the Helmend in another. The inscriptions even seem to extend them eastward to Margiana, or the district of *Merv*. They may perhaps be represented by Ptolemy's Paropamisadæ, or occupants of the mountain-chain of Paropamisus, whom he places between Bactria and Arachosia.[1] Their name is said to have signified "the possessors of a hundred cows,"[2] an appellation sufficiently indicating the pastoral character of their country.[3]

(xv.) The Gandarians are a very remarkable people, and held in ancient times a very prominent position among the tribes dwelling between India and Persia. All the early Sanscrit authorities give the name of *Sindhu Gandhára* to the country lying upon the banks of the Upper Indus and its tributaries ere they issue from the mountains;[4] and the term *Gandhára* continues to be applied to the Cabool country in the writings of the Arabian geographers,[5] down to the 12th or 13th century of our

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the Indus. There can be little doubt that their country was the modern Candahar, or the tract lying upon the Arachotus (*Urghandab*) river. (See Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, pp. 156–7.)

[1] Geograph. vi. 18.

[2] Col. Sir H. Rawlinson's Persian Vocabulary, ad voc. THATAGUSH.

[3] The region in question is formed by a fan-like radiation of no fewer than five mountain-ranges from a point in the great latitudinal chain of Asia, a little to the west of Cabool. The most northern of these ranges has a direction from S.E.E. to N.W.W., the most southern from N.N.E. to S.S.W. The *Murgaub*, *Heri-rud*, and *Helmend*, occupy the valleys between the ranges. Gen. Ferrier gives the following description of this country as seen from the highest of the ridges, the *Siah-koh*, which bounds the valley of the *Heri-rud* on the south:—

"Standing actually on the highest point of the ridge I felt an indefinable sensation of admiration at the splendid sight thrown in bold relief at my feet. There was much variety in the magnificent view, and it was possible to see already the details of it. In the horizon, and at thirty parsangs from us, was the grand peak of *Tchalap*, which, capped with its eternal and unchanging snows, seemed to reach the heavens. The high mountains which we had crossed in our ascent looked mere hillocks compared with the distant giant. The district we had traversed between us and *Sirpool* was but a spot on the surface of the country spread out before us; and the chain on which we stood stretched E. and W. to a distance that exceeded the powers of vision to measure. An infinity of lower chains diverged from the principal, and (I may say) imperial range, decreasing gradually in height towards the north, leaving lovely and productive valleys between them, with here and there an encampment of the black tents of the nomadic inhabitants, and luxuriant verdure intersected by streams of water shining in the sun like threads of silver. All this had such animation about it that I felt riveted to the spot by the entrancing pleasure of contemplating it." (Caravan Journeys, p. 288.)

[4] See Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, p. 131 et seqq., and his remarks in the Asiatic Researches, vol. xv. p. 103. Compare Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, p. 422, and his Memoir on Bactrian history, translated in the ninth volume of the Bengal Asiatic Journal (part i. p. 473, et seqq.).

[5] As Beladhori, Mass'oudi, Abu Rihan, Edrisi, and Abulfeda (see Col. Rawlinson's Persian Vocabulary, p. 126).

era. This then appears to have been the primitive country of the Gandarians, and may be regarded as their proper abode in the time of Darius, of Hecatæus, and of Herodotus.[6] Hence, at a very early date, they seem to have sent out colonies,[7] which accompanied the first Arian emigrants, and settled partly on the northern frontier of Sogdiana, where we find them as Candari,[8] partly in Khorassan, where we meet with a town called Gadar.[9] In later times a second movement took place on a grander scale. The Gandarians of *Sindhu Gandhára*, pressed upon by the *Yue-Chi*, a Tâtar race, relinquished their ancient abodes, and migrated westward, in the fifth or sixth century of our era, carrying with them their sacred vessel—the water-pot of Fo—regarded as the most holy relic of Buddhism, which they transported from the upper Indus to the vicinity of the *Arghandáb*.[10] To this new country they carried also their name, and here it still remains in the modern *Candahár*, the appellation alike of the province and the capital.

The Gandarians seem to be more properly regarded as an Indian than as an Iranian tribe. Hence the expression of Hecatæus, Γάνδαραι, Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος,[11] and hence the attachment of Gandaria to India in the lists of Darius.[12] So Strabo regards Gandaris, or Gandaritis, as a part of India;[13] and Ptolemy includes the Gandaræ among his Indian nations.[14] Their name among the later and less careful writers became confused with that of the Gangaridæ, or inhabitants of the country about the mouths of the Ganges[15]—an additional proof that their Indian connexion was undoubted. Like the other hill-tribes of these parts, they seem to have been a warlike race; and it is not improbable that they were included among the Indians whose services were retained by Mardonius after the retirement of Xerxes.[16] It is curious that they do not appear among the opponents of Alexander, since he must have marched through their country on his way to the Indus.

[6] Darius specially attaches the Gandarians to the Indians, connecting them also with the Sattagydians and the Sacans (supra, vol. ii. p. 485, note [6]). Hecatæus calls them ἔθνος Ἰνδῶν (Fr. 178), and places the city Caspapyrus in their country (Fr. 179). Herodotus, by uniting them (vii. 66) with the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Bactrians, seems to give them a *northern* rather than a southern emplacement.

[7] Supra, vol. i. p. 675, note [10].

[8] Compare Ptolem. Geograph. vi. 12; Plin. H. N. vi. 16; Pomp. Mel. i. 2.

[9] Isid. Char. p. 7 (Hudson). The Persian form of the name, it must be remembered, is *Gadára* (Beh. Inscr. col. i. par. 6, &c.).

[10] See the notice of this migration in Col. Rawlinson's Pers. Vocab. p. 127.

[11] Fr. 178.

[12] See above, vol. ii. p. 485, note [6].

[13] Strab. xv. p. 992 and p. 995.

[14] Ptol. Geograph. vii. 1.

[15] Dionys. Perieg. 1144.

[16] Herod. viii. 113.

(xvi.) The Dadicæ are joined closely with the Gandarians by Herodotus, being not only immediately attached to them in the list of satrapies,[17] but also united with them under the same commander in the army of Xerxes.[18] No other writer speaks of the Dadicæ under this name. It has been conjectured[19] that they are the Daradræ of Ptolemy,[1] who seem to be the Derdæ of Strabo,[2] and the Dardæ of Pliny;[3] but etymological considerations forbid this identification. Ptolemy seems really to indicate the country of the Dadicæ by his Tatacênê, which he places in Drangiana, towards its north-western limits.[4] Probably they had been brought by emigration to this region in the time of the Egyptian geographer, having previously dwelt further to the east, perhaps about *Ghuznee* and the course of the *Ghuznee* river, where they would be in contact with the Gandarians; or at any rate in some part of the Paropamisus.[5] It is conjectured that the modern *Tats*, or *Tajiks*, who form the bulk of the agricultural population in Eastern Persia, are the inheritors of their name, and (possibly) to some extent their descendants.[6]

(xvii.) The Aparytæ are, perhaps, scarcely a distinct race. They have been properly enough compared with the Paryetæ of Ptolemy,[7] whose name simply means "mountaineers," from the Zend, *pouru*, Sanscrit, *paruh*, "a mountain."[8] From the connexion of Herodotus's Aparytæ with the Gandarians and Sattagydians,[9] it may be conjectured that they were the inhabitants of some part of the Hindoo-Koosh range, a portion of which, near the source of the Cabool river, is still called Kohistan, or "the mountain country."[9a] But it would be rash to attempt to fix their exact seat, or to identify them with any particular tribe or nation.

(xviii.) The Caspeiri do not occur in the manuscripts of Herodotus, and it is uncertain whether they were really mentioned by him. They are found in Ptolemy as the inhabitants of the country about the sources of the Hydaspes, or *Jelum*

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17 Herod. iii. 91. 18 Ibid. vii. 66.

19 See Dr. Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography, ad voc. DARADRAE.

1 Geograph. vii. 1.

2 Strab. xv.

3 Plin. H. N. vi. 19.

4 Geograph. vi. 19.

5 So Wilson (Arian. Antiq. p. 131).

6 See Col. Rawlinson's Persian Vocabulary, p. 172.

7 Ritter's Erdkunde von Asien, vol. vi. p. 98; Bähr, ad loc., &c. (See Ptolem. vi. 16.)

8 The same root appears in *Paropamisus* or *Paropanisus*, and (perhaps) in *Paricanii* and *Parætaceni*.

9 Herod. iii. 91.

9a The river Cophen (the *Cabool* river) and the town of the same name (Plin. H. N. vi. 23) have a similar derivation, *kuf* in old Persian being synonymous with *parwat*, which is the Persian form of the Sanscrit *paruh*, "a mountain."—H. C. R.

river,[10] and are therefore fairly identified with the Cashmeerees.[11] It has been proposed to substitute their name for that of the Caspians, in two passages of Herodotus;[12] and the present translation, which follows the edition of Gaisford, adopts the emendation in one instance.[13] But the alteration thus made is either too much or too little, for it only removes one difficulty to introduce another.[14] That there has been some corruption of the text seems certain, but very little dependance can be placed on the name which has been introduced conjecturally.

(xix.) The Indians included within the Empire of Darius were probably the inhabitants of the Punjaub, together with those of the lower valley of the Indus—the country now known as Scinde.[15] It is impossible to fix their boundaries with exactness. They seem to have been enclosed upon the north by the Gandarians,[16] on the west by the Pactyans, Arachosians, and Gedrosians, on the east by the great Indian desert, and on the south by the sea.[17] They were a warlike race in the time of Darius,[18] who forcibly brought them under the Persian sway;[19] and they maintained the same character down to the invasion of Alexander, who found in the native prince of these parts (Porus) and his men, the enemy whom he had most difficulty in conquering.[1] There can be no doubt that they belonged to the true Arian or Sancritic stock, to which alone the name of Indian (Hindoo) properly attaches.

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10 Geograph. vii. 1.

11 See Dr. Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography, ad voc. CASPEIRIA.

12 Herod. iii. 93, and vii. 86. The conjecture was first made by Reizius (Pref. ad Herod. p. xvi.).

13 In vii. 86. It is adopted here not only by Gaisford, but by Schäfer, Bekker, Bähr, and A. Matthiæ.

14 The *double* mention of Caspii among the nations which furnished cavalry is the difficulty which is removed by the substitution of Caspeiri for Caspii in the second passage. But if we make this substitution, we read that, "the Caspeirian horsemen were armed *exactly as their foot*," when no mention at all has been made of their foot previously. To meet this it has been proposed to insert Caspeiri in the *lacuna* at the beginning of vii. 76 (Bähr ad Herod. vii. 86). But their introduction in that place *among the nations of Asia Minor* is quite inadmissible.

15 This is perhaps doubtful and is not expressed on the map of the Satrapies by Mons. C. Müller, which accompanies these volumes, but my own convictions are in its favour. I think it follows from the descent of the Indus by Scylax and the *continued use* of the ocean and river as a line of communication with the eastern provinces (Herod. iv. 44). The stream could not have been safely used until the tribes which dwelt along its banks were subjugated.

16 This, again, is not expressed on the map. The *Gandharas*, however, of the Hindoo writers extend across the Upper Punjaub to Cashmere (Wilson's Arian. Antiq. p. 131).

17 For a description of the Punjaub and the Indus valley, vide supra, vol. i. pp. 540-1.

18 This is shown by their being included among the troops selected by Mardonius (Herod. viii. 113).

19 Herod. iv. 44. Compare the inscriptions of Darius at Behistun and at Persepolis (vol. ii. p. 485, note [6]).

1 Arrian. Exped. Alex. v. 13-19.

(xx.) The Paricanians are very difficult to locate. It has been customary to identify them with the Gedrosians of later times,[2] on the notion that their name connects them with the capital city of that people, which is called Pura (Πούρα) by Arrian.[3] But the resemblance on which this theory is built, slight in itself, becomes wholly valueless when we find reason to believe that Pura is not really a proper name at all, but merely the native word for "a town," which appears in the terminations of Cawnpoor, Nagpoor, Bhurtpoor, &c. The Paricanians seem to have had a city, Paricané, which was known to Hecatæus,[4] and which may perhaps be denoted by Paricœa in the Peutingerian Table,[5] but we have no sufficient means for determining its site. Our data do not really allow us to say more with any confidence, than that the Paricanians must have inhabited a region in close proximity to the Ethiopians of Asia;[6] or in other words, must have been included within the country now known as Beloochistan.

(xxi.) The Ethiopians of Asia, as Rennell saw long ago,[7] must represent the inhabitants of the "south-eastern angle" of the empire—the tract intervening between Eastern Persia, or Carmania, and the mouths of the Indus. Here alone, out of India, would absolute blacks[8] be found; and to this country and the region in immediate contact with it, the name of Ethiopia seems to have been attached in Grecian legend from a very high antiquity.[9] The reasons have been already enumerated,[10] which make it in the highest degree probable that a homogeneous people was originally spread along the entire coast from the modern Abyssinia to the Indus. This Cushite race, which probably proceeded from the shore deep into the continent, was at a later date encroached upon by the more energetic and ex-

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[2] Rennell's Geography of Herod. p. 303; Bähr ad Herod. iii. 94.

[3] Exped. Alex. vi. 24.

[4] Fr. 180. Παρικάνη, πόλις Περσική.

[5] Segment. 8.

[6] Since they were contained in the same satrapy (Herod. iii. 94). It is not improbable that in the term *Pari*-canii we have an equivalent of A-*pary*-tæ, *Pary*-etæ, *Pare*-taceni, &c., *i. e.* a term of Arian origin, merely signifying "mountaineer." Perhaps, then, the Paricanians are the Arian as distinguished from the Cushite inhabitants of Beloochistan, standing to these last as the *Beloochees* now stand to the *Brahoos*. Being the stronger people they would hold to the mountains of the interior, where cultivation is possible and springs of water abound, leaving to the weaker Cushites the parched coast and the many arid plains. A somewhat similar distribution of the Beloochees and Brahoos is even now found.

[7] Geography of Herodotus, p. 303.

[8] The Beloochees of the interior are of an olive complexion (Ferrier, p. 433), but those along the coast are nearly black.

[9] Cf. Hom. Od. i. 23-4; and compare the traditions concerning Memnon (supra, vol. iii. p. 261, note [1]).

[10] Supra, vol. i. p. 650, notes [7] and [8].

pansive Arians, who in the region in question seem to have continually pressed it back, till it was once more almost confined to the sea-board. From them, however, the whole tract east of *Kerman* (Carmania) was, as late as the time of the Sassanian princes, called *Kusan*;[11] and they probably constitute in some measure the stock from which the *Brahui* division of the Belooch nation is descended.[12] The absence of any mention of Ethiopians in these parts by the bulk of the later geographers, is perhaps to be accounted for by the division of the nation into tribes, and the prevalence of tribe-names—Gedrosi, Oritæ, Arbii,[13] &c.—over the general ethnic title.

The ancient country of the Ethiopians may be regarded as nearly equivalent to the modern Beloochistan, which extends from the Indian Ocean to the Helmend, and from Cape *Jask* to *Kurrachee*. The general character of this tract has been already given.[14] As it is chiefly rock and sandy desert, it can never have been more than scantily peopled, and accordingly we hear but little of its inhabitants, who seem to have been (at least towards the coast) a weak race, living on fish,[15] and content to give themselves up at the first summons of an invader.[16]

4. The northern tribes not included in the above summary consist of those which either skirted the southern shore of the Caspian, or else intervened between that sea and the eastern limit of Asia Minor. They were comprised in three satrapies, the eleventh, the eighteenth, and the nineteenth;[17] and were in number thirteen, viz., the Moschi, the Tibareni, the Macrones, the Mosynœci, the Mares, the Colchi, the Sapeires, the Alarodii, the Matieni, the Caspii, the Pausicæ, the Pantimathi, and the Dareitæ. These tribes are for the most part exceedingly obscure,

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[11] See Col. Rawlinson's Early History of Babylonia (As. Soc. Journ. vol. xv. part ii. p. 233).

[12] The *Brahoos* are said to have migrated, at a comparatively recent time, from Arabia to *Mekran* (ibid.); but, if this be true, they were probably drawn thither by the knowledge that they would find it inhabited by a kindred race. The Brahui dialect is Scythic or Turanian, while that of the Belooches is Arian (see Mr. Seymour's note in Ferrier's Caravan Journeys, p. 431).

[13] Col. Rawlinson (Vocabulary, pp. 138-9) has shown grounds for connecting the Gedrosi with the Cadusii or Cadrusi (Plin. H. N. vi. 23), whose Scythic character is nearly certain (Strab. xi. pp. 761-2; Arrian. Exp. Alex. iii. 8 and 19, &c.). The descriptive term Ichthyophagi was also used to designate the tribes of the coast between the Oritæ and Carmania (Strab. ii. p. 173; xv. p. 1021; Nearch. Parapl. p. 17; Agatharc. de Rub. Mar. p. 27; Plin. H. N. vi. 23; Solin. c. 57, &c.).

[14] Supra, vol. i. Essay ix, p. 536 and pp. 538–9.

[15] Nearch. Parapl. l. s. c.

[16] Arrian. Exp. Al. vi. 22. Compare Q. Curtius, IX. x. § 5. Alexander's losses in this country were caused by its want of resources, not by the strength or valour of its inhabitants (Arrian, vi. 25–6).

[17] Herod. iii 92 and 94.

but in general it will be found that we can locate them without much difficulty.

(i.) The Moschi adjoined upon Colchis,[18] which, according to one view, was included in the Moschian territory.[19] They appear to have inhabited the mountain district about Kars and Erzeroum—the Μοσχικὰ ὄρη of Strabo.[1] In this remote locality very little is known of them, but still they are a race of considerable importance, which has played no undistinguished part in the world's history. They are frequently mentioned in Scripture under the name of Meshech (מֶשֶׁךְ),[2] and occur as *Muskai*, in many of the Assyrian inscriptions. In the flourishing period of Assyria they were the principal people of Northern Syria, Taurus, and Cappadocia; and in this last-named place their name long continued in the appellation of the city *Mazaca*,[3] which was the capital of the province.[4] The great Arian invasion which introduced the Cappadocians into these parts, about B.C. 700—650,[5] seems to have driven them northward into the country immediately below the Caucasus, and perhaps across the Caucasus into the steppes. At any rate there is reason to believe that they ultimately found a refuge in the steppe country, where they became known as *Muskovs*, and gave their name to the old capital of Russia.[6]

According to the Mosaic genealogy, the Moschi were descendants of Japhet.[7] Their ethnic character, however, is not Indo-European, but Turanian. This is apparent from the names of the Moschian kings in the Assyrian records,[8] and otherwise is in accordance with what we know of the people. They seem to have formed the substratum of the population in Cappadocia

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[18] Strab. xi. p. 726. "οἱ τὰ Μιθριδατικὰ συγγράψαντες Ἀχαιοὺς λέγουσι πρώτους, εἶτα Ζυγούς, εἶτα Ἡνιόχους, εἶτα Κερκέτας καὶ Μόσχους καὶ Κόλχους." Compare Plin. H. N. vi. 10.

[19] Strab. xi. p. 728 (vide supra, vol. i. p. 651, note [5]). Hecatæus on the other hand called the Moschi "a Colchian people" (ἔθνος Κόλχων. Fr. 188).

[1] Ibid. ii. p. 90; xi. p. 726, &c. Pliny (l. s. c.) places the Moschi on the river Iberus, an affluent of the Cyrus (*Kur*): Scylax shows, by his omission of them, that they did not reach the coast.

[2] Ps. cxx. 5; Ezek. xxvii. 13; xxxii. 26; xxxviii. 2; xxxix. 1. &c.

[3] Joseph. Ant. Jud. i. 6.

[4] Strab. xiv. p. 948.

[5] Supra, vol. i. p. 653.

[6] Ibid. p. 652, note [8].

[7] Gen. x. 2. We need not be surprised at finding Turanians among the descendants of Shem and Japhet. "The whole earth was of one speech and one language" till the time of Peleg (cf. Gen. xi. 1 with x. 25), and there is every reason to believe that this form of speech was Turanian. The form which we call Semitic was developed among the descendants of Shem, but was not adopted by all of them, while it was adopted by some Hamites, for instance, the later Babylonians. Similarly the Indo-European type of speech was developed *among* the descendants of Japhet; but some had separated from the rest before it was formed, and these continued Turanian.

[8] Supra, vol. i. p. 654.

down to classical times, and gave it that "semi-barbarous" character which has been noticed as belonging to it.[9] They "traded in the persons of men"[10] with the Tyrians, probably selling their own children for exportation. Their "wooden helmets," "short spears," and "small shields,"[11] indicate the low condition of the mechanical arts among them in the time of Darius. At one time, in conjunction with their neighbours, the Tibareni, they appear to have kept the inhabitants of Syria and Mesopotamia in continual dread of their ravages,[12] but the establishment of the Median, and afterwards of the Persian power, over the whole tract within the Caucasus, brought these incursions to an end, and reduced the Moschi to the condition of a subject people. After a short term of submission they seem to have shaken off the yoke;[13] but they never again became formidable in this part of Asia. The bulk of the nation had probably crossed the Caucasus, and found a home in some quiet portion of the illimitable steppe region.

(ii.) The Tibareni are commonly united with the Moschi,[14] and they were undoubtedly of the same race.[15] Moreover, the two people had once been close neighbours;[16] but in the time of Darius it is probable that their territories were separated by those of two interjacent tribes—the Mosynœci and the Macrones.[17] The Tibareni occupied a small tract upon the coast, lying about the Greek city Cotyora, which seems to have been the modern *Ordou*.[18] It was little more than two days' journey across,[19] and appears to have been bounded on the one side by the river Melanthius (the *Melet Irmak*), and on the other by the spur thrown out from the coast range which forms the promontory known as

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[9] Heeren's Asiatic Nations, vol. i. p. 119, E. T.

[10] Ezek. xxvii. 13.

[11] Herod. vii. 78.

[12] Ezek. chs. xxxviii. and xxxix.

[13] This may be gathered from the Anabasis of Xenophon (vii. viii. § 25), where we find that all the tribes in this quarter had become independent. The Moschi, indeed, are not mentioned; but this is because the Greeks had not crossed their territory. They can, however, scarcely be supposed to have continued subject, when the Tibareni, the Chalybes, the Macrones, and the Mosynœci had regained their freedom.

[14] Herod. iii. 94; vii. 78; Strab. xi. p. 765, &c. They were not only joined in one satrapy, but they fought under one leader in the army of Xerxes.

[15] See above, vol. i. pp. 651-2.

[16] When they dwelt in lower Cappadocia. See vol. i. p. 213, note 7*.

[17] Cf. Xen. Anab. v. v. § 1; Scylax, Peripl. p. 79; Plin. H. N. vi. 4, &c.

[18] See Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 267. According to Mr. Ainsworth, however (Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand, p. 204) Cotyora is *Pershembah*, between Cape *Jasoun* and *Ordou*.

[19] Xenophon reached Cotyora after a two days' march through the country of the Tibareni (Anab. l. s. c.). It can have extended but very little further to the west, as the Jasonian promontory was in the territory of the Chalybes (Scylax, Peripl. p. 80).

Cape *Yasoun* (Jasonium). Inland they may have extended to some distance along the range (Paryadres),[1] but probably not beyond the 39th degree of longitude. The most valuable portion of their country was the coast tract, which was a low plain, well watered by a number of streams, and highly productive.[2]

The Tibareni, who always accompany the Moschi in Herodotus,[3] are fairly enough identified with the *Tuplai* of the Assyrian inscriptions, and the Tubal (תֻּבַל) of Scripture,[4] who have a similar close connexion with the *Muskai* or Meshech. They are first found in lower Cappadocia, on the southern flanks of Taurus,[5] where they appear as a number of petty tribes under the government of separate chiefs,[6] and offer a weak resistance to the arms of the Assyrian monarchs. It may be gathered from Ezekiel that about this time they sometimes joined with the Moschi in the raids which that people made in Syria;[7] but their power constantly diminished, and they were gradually pushed back to the north, till at last they found a refuge in the corner which they occupy throughout the classic times. They are stated by a Scholiast to have been a Scythian people;[8] and it is probable that they came of the same stock with the Moschi, whose Turanian character has been proved already. Their manners, however, were of a more gentle type than those of most Scythic nations; they received the Ten Thousand hospitably on their return from Cunaxa;[9] and were generally reported to addict themselves to sports and laughter, finding therein their greatest happiness.[10]

(iii.) The Macrônes of Herodotus are probably the Macrocephali of other writers.[11] Their real name appears to have been

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[1] This is indicated by Strabo, who makes the Moschian and Colchian mountains run on *to the Tibareni* (xi. p. 765), and speaks of these last as lying *above* Pharnacia (xii. p. 795).

[2] Hence the wish of the Ten Thousand to plunder it (Xen. Anab. l. s. c.). Mr. Hamilton describes the mountains as receding from the shore a little to the east of Cotyora (*Ordou*), and the country between their base and the sea as becoming "less hilly and more cultivated" (Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 266; compare Xenophon's χωρία πολὺ πεδινώτερα). He crosses here "an alluvial and highly productive plain," where "many herds of cattle were grazing." (Compare the πολύῤῥηνες Τιβαρηνοί of Dionysius, l. 767.) Three streams, the *Durma Su*, the *Melet Irmak*, and "another smaller and winding stream," water this region, which is chiefly cultivated in rice and mulberries.

[3] Herod. iii. 94; vii. 78.

[4] Gen. x. 2; Ezek. xxvii. 13, &c.

[5] Supra, vol. i. p. 213, note 7.

[6] Ibid. p. 464, note 4.

[7] Ezek. xxxviii. 11–12, &c.

[8] Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1010.

[9] Xen. Anab. V. v. § 2.

[10] Ephor. Fr. 82; Scymn. Ch. Fr. 177–180; Pomp. Mel. i. 21.

[11] Dr. Schmitz rejects this identification (Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geography, vol. ii. p. 241) because Pliny (H. N. vi. 4) distinguishes between the two. But very little dependence can be placed on Pliny's distinctions. The Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (i. 1024) identifies the two names; and a comparison of Xenophon (Anab. iv. 8) with Scylax (Peripl. p. 79) seems to show that the

Sanni,[12] or rather Tzani;[13] but from a custom prevalent amongst them of artificially elongating the head, they received from the Greeks the designations by which they were most commonly known.[14] Their country was a portion of the coast about Trapezus;[15] together with an inland tract south of the Becheiri,[16] who held the district near Rhizus[17] (the modern *Rizeh*). According to Herodotus they practised the rite of circumcision,[18] which they had received from the Colchians, who were not confined to the country about the Phasis, but dwelt also in other parts of this mountain-region.[19] Their manners are said to have been less savage than those of their neighbours, the Mosynœci, but still sufficiently uncivilised.[1] Herodotus relates that in the army of Xerxes they had the same equipment as the Tibareni and Moschi — wooden helmets, small shields, and short spears.[2] Xenophon adds to this that their shields were of wicker-work, and that their garments were made of hair.[3] Like the other tribes in these parts, their subjection to the Persians was of brief duration. In the time of Xenophon they were independent;[4] but they appear to have fallen under the yoke of the kings of Pontus, and from them to have passed under the Romans. Justinian converted them to Christianity,[5] which religion their descendants seem still to retain in a rude form, together with the rite of circumcision, a relic of their old religion.[6]

(iv.) The Mosynœci, or Mosyni, as they are sometimes called,[7]

Macrônes of the one and the Macrocephali of the other occupied as nearly as possible the same site. Except Pliny no writer recognises the two as distinct.

[12] Hecatæus, Fr. 191; Strab. xii. p. 795; Eustath. ad Dion. Per. 766; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Μάκρωνες. Pliny again distinguishes the two (l. s. c.), but probably without reason. Arrian (Peripl. P. E. p. 123) professes his belief that the Drilæ of Xenophon (Anab. v. 2) were Sanni, but in this he stands alone, and indeed he evidently puts forward the view as a mere conjecture.

[13] Eustath. ad Dionys. Per. l. s. c. Compare Amm. Marc. xxv. 1, where the form Zani is used.

[14] Hippocrat. de Aere, Aqua, et Locis, c. 35; Strab. xi. p. 758.

[15] Scylax, Peripl. p. 79.

[16] Eustath. l. s. c.

[17] Scylax, l. s. c.

[18] Herod. ii. 104.

[19] See Xen. Anab. iv. 8.

[1] Pomp. Mel. i. 21. "Deinde minus feri, verum et hi incultis moribus, Macrocephali, Bechiri, Buzeri."

[2] Herod. vii. 78.

[3] Xen. Anab. IV. viii. § 3.

[4] Ibid. VII. viii. § 25.

[5] Procop. de Æd. Just. iii. 6, &c.

[6] Mr. Hamilton observes that the inhabitants of the mountainous region south of Trebizond are a remarkable people. They are in reality Christians, but profess Mahometanism, submit to be circumcised, attend mosques, and practise all the other ceremonies enjoined by the Mahometan religion. He thinks it probable that they are the descendants and representatives of the ancient Macrones, and that, although they are not aware of it themselves, their circumcision is in reality the continuance of an ancient usage, and not derived from the Mahometans (Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 240).

[7] Cf. Scylax, Peripl. p. 79, who uses both terms; Nic. Dam. Fr. 126; Plin. H. N. vi. 4; Q. Curt. vi. 4; Tibull. IV. i. 46, &c.

are said to have derived their name from the wooden towers (*μόσυνες*) in which they made their abode.[8] It would seem therefore that their real ethnic title has not come down to us. They inhabited the tract of coast between the Tibareni and the Macrônes or Macrocephali,[9] beginning a little west of Cerasus[10] (marked by the *Kerasoun Dere Su*[11]), and extending beyond Chœrades[12] or Pharnacia, the modern *Kerasunt*. This is a rich and beautifully wooded tract, consisting of a series of spurs from the range of Paryadres, between which are deep gorges[13] containing clear and copious streams, and expanding at the coast into small plains of great fertility.[14] The manners of the Mosynœci were very peculiar, and attracted much remark from the classic writers.[15] They were the rudest and most uncivilised of all the inhabitants of Western Asia. They tatooed their bodies and dyed them with colours; they utterly disregarded all decency; in war they cut off the heads of their slain enemies, and carried them about amid dances and songs. They dwelt in wooden towers, and sometimes in trees, whence they pounced down upon the unwary traveller. They are said to have lived under chiefs of their own choice, who were maintained at the public expense in towers placed on the most elevated point within the villages, which towers they were not allowed to quit for a moment during the whole course of their lives. In general the commands of the chiefs were implicitly obeyed; but if they displeased their subjects, food was no longer supplied to them, and in this way they were starved to death. Rye, filberts, salt fish, and a rough wine, constituted the common food of the people; and on this diet they thrived so well that, according to Xenophon,[16] the children of the richer men among them were very nearly as broad as they were high. The Mosynœci used canoes capable of

[8] Strab. xii. p. 795; Eustath. ad Dionys. Per. 766, &c.

[9] Scylax, l. s. c. Xenophon interposes some Chalybes between the Mosynœci and the Tibareni (An. V. v. § 1), but he admits that they were subject to the Mosynœci. Hecatæus, like Scylax, placed the Mosynœci immediately to the east of the Tibareni (Fr. 193). So Pliny, l. s. c.

[10] Xen. An. V. iv. § 1-2.

[11] See Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 250.

[12] Scylax, Peripl. l. s. c.

[13] Cf. Xen. An. V. iv. § 31. The villagers on either side of the gorges could communicate by shouts, when their villages were eight or nine miles distant by the road—οὕτως ὑψηλή τε καὶ κοίλη ἡ χώρα ἦν.

[14] Hamilton's Asia Minor, vol. i. pp. 251-266.

[15] The earliest extant description is that of Xenophon (Anab. v. 4), but he evidently considers himself to be describing what the Greeks generally knew (see especially § 26). Probably Hecatæus had given an account of them. The later writers add little to Xenophon. See Ephor. Fr. 81; Strab. xii. p. 795; Nic. Dam. Fr. 126; Mela, i. 21; Diod. Sic. xiv. 30; Scymn. Ch. Fr. 162-172; Dionys. Per. 766-7; Eustath. ad eund.; Apollon. Rhod. ii. 1015-1030.

[16] Xen. An. V. iv. § 32.

carrying three men. Their arms, in the time of Xenophon,[17] were leathern helmets, wicker shields covered with ox-hides and shaped like an ivy-leaf, heavy spears nine feet long with a knob at the lower end of the shaft, and steel battle-axes. They were brave and warlike; had recovered their independence before they were visited by Xenophon,[18] and probably maintained it to the time of the great Mithridates,[19] after which they passed under the Romans.

(v.) The Mares are a very obscure tribe. They are only noticed by Herodotus and Hecatæus. Hecatæus said that they adjoined the Mosynœci.[1] Herodotus attaches them to the Mosynœci in one place,[2] in another to the Colchians.[3] Perhaps the Colchians intended are those placed by Xenophon in the mountains between the Macrônes and the Mosynœci,[4] who appear to have been a detached body dwelling quite separately from the great mass of the nation upon the Phasis. If this be allowed, we may locate the Mares in the Paryadres range, about long. 39°. As they are omitted by Scylax, it would seem that they did not reach the coast.

(vi.) The Colchians appear to have been in part independent, in part subject to Persia. Their true home was evidently that tract of country about the river Phasis, where, according to the well-known story,[5] they were settled by the great Egyptian conqueror, Sesostris. Here they first became known to the commercial Greeks, whose early dealings in this quarter seem to have given rise to the poetic legend of the Argonauts. The limits of Colchis varied at different times, but the natural bounds were never greatly departed from. They were the Euxine on the east, the Caucasus on the north, the mountain range[6] which forms the watershed between the Phasis (*Rion*) and the Cyrus (*Kur*) on the east, and the high ground between *Batoum* and *Kars* (the Moschian mountains) on the south.[7] This country, which includes the modern Mingrelia and Imeretia, together with a portion of Gouriel, is picturesque and well wooded,[8] abounding with streams

[17] Xen. An. V. iv. § 12–3. Herodotus gives them the same arms as the Moschi (vii. 78).

[18] Ibid. VII. viii. § 25.

[19] None of these northern tribes were present at Arbela (see Arrian, Exp. Al. iii. 8).

[1] Fr. 192.

[2] Herod. iii. 94.

[3] Ibid. vii. 79.

[4] Anab. IV. viii. § 9, et seqq. and VII. viii. § 25.

[5] Herod. ii. 104; Diod. Sic i. 28; Dionys. Per. 689, &c.

[6] This range is said to attain an elevation of 6000 feet (Geograph. Journal, vol. iii. p. 33).

[7] See Strab. xi. pp. 729–730; Scylax, Peripl. pp. 77–8; Plin. vi. 5, &c. Ptolemy, however (v. 10), makes the Phasis the southern boundary.

[8] Woods of oak and beech clothe the mountains, vines are cultivated. The

and game.[9] Occasionally it is diversified with rich plains, especially at the mouths of the principal rivers, but for the most part it is a succession of valleys and wooded heights.[10] The Colchians also possessed, besides this region, a further tract situated more to the west, in the mountain country above Trapezus, or *Trebizond*. Here they were found by Xenophon,[11] in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mosynœci, and hence perhaps came the Colchian soldiers who fought in the army of Xerxes.[12] The northern Colchians were independent of Persia, not being included in any satrapy, and only paying every fourth year a tribute of 100 boys and 100 maidens.[13]

The most interesting question connected with the Colchians is that of their nationality. They were a black race[14] dwelling in the midst of whites, and in a country which does not tend to make its inhabitants dark-complexioned. That they were comparatively recent immigrants from a hotter climate seems therefore to be certain. The notion entertained by Herodotus of their Egyptian extraction appears to have been a conjecture of his own, based on resemblances which struck himself.[15] It was not, strictly speaking, a tradition, but rather the fancy of a lively and imaginative Greek, who found the two nations willing to accept his theory, which was flattering to both alike. Probability is against the view, which is unsupported by any other author of weight,[16] and which neither accords with what we know of the Egyptian character and customs,[17] nor with the tenor of the inscriptions, and

flat valley of the Rion, which begins 12 miles below Kutais, is fertile, but liable to floods. The whole district is very unhealthy (Geograph. Journ. vol. iii. pp. 34–5).

9 The pheasant (ὄρνις Φασιανός) was introduced into Europe from this region, and derived from the river Phasis the name which has now passed into all the languages of modern Europe.

10 See Geograph. Journ. l. s. c., and compare Strab. xi. p. 729.

11 Anab. v. 3–4.

12 Herod. vii. 79. Their close connexion with the Mares, who were also neighbours of the Mosynœci (Hecat. Fr. 192), favours this view. But it must be allowed that contingents were sometimes furnished by the semi-independent nations. (See vol. ii. p. 562, note 4.)

13 Ibid. iii. 97.

14 Herodotus was not the first to note this. Pindar had already called the Colchians κελαινῶπας (Pyth. iv. 378). For the white complexion of the natives of these parts generally, see Strab. xvi. p. 1046; Xen. An. V. iv. § 33.

15 Herod. ii. 104. Herodotus expressly says that he "remarked" the apparent connexion himself, without hearing anything of it from others. When "the thought struck him" he proceeded to make inquiries, by which his conviction was confirmed.

16 The writers who assert the Egyptian origin of the Colchians, all, probably, follow Herodotus. They are Diodorus (l. s. c.), Valerius Flaccus (v. 419–423), Apollonius Rhodius (iv. 268, et seqq.), Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 8), and Dionysius Periegetes (689, et seqq.)—the earliest a writer of the Augustan age, when it is apparent from Strabo (xi. p. 728) that the supposed resemblance was not to be traced.

17 The Egyptians never colonise: they are found in but one place out of Africa (Xen. Hell. III. i. § 7; comp. Cyrop. VII. i. § 45); and there they were forced settlers.

the limits they assign to the expeditions of the greatest kings.[18] Perhaps the modern theory that the Colchians were immigrants from India[19] is entitled to some share of our attention. It would be natural for such persons to follow the line by which their own merchandise passed to the Greeks;[1] and in this way the dark complexion of the Colchians, the excellence of their textile fabrics, and even the name of *sindon* which these bore in Greece,[2] would be accounted for.

The Colchians are by some writers identified with the Lazi of later times,[3] but it is doubtful whether there was really any very close connexion.[4] If the true Colchi were a colony of blacks, they must have become gradually absorbed in the white population proper to the country. Probably they were never more than one element out of many in the region which went by their name, and were gradually lost amid the succession of races which have surged and eddied about the Caucasus. They remained, however, an important people to the time of Mithridates,[5] and are even mentioned as continuing by writers of the Byzantine Empire.[6]

(vii.) The Sapeires appear to be the Iberians of later writers. The name is found under the various forms of Saspeires, Sapeires,[7] Sabeires[8] or Sabeiri,[9] and Abeires,[10] whence the transition to Iberes is easy. They are always represented as adjoining on the Colchians to the east and south-east, so that they must evidently

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18 Supra, vol. ii. pp. 358, 360, 362, 366-7, 369-370, &c.

19 This is Ritter's theory. (See his "Vorhalle Europaisch. Völkerschaft," pp. 36-48, quoted in the notes to Bähr's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 715.) As even this view is not quite satisfactory, a third may perhaps be suggested. The Colchi may possibly have been transported from the Persian Gulf to the mountains of Armenia by some of the Assyrian monarchs, who certainly transported Chaldæans to this locality. (See vol. i. p. 319, note [8]; compare Mos. Choren. ii. 4, and the Armenian Geography, p. 356, where Chaldæans are mentioned among the Colchians.) A people called *Gilkhi* appear in the extreme north of Armenia, in the inscriptions of Assyria.

1 Supra, vol. i. p. 560, note [3]. There were certainly Sindi in this neighbourhood (Herod. iv. 28. See note [7], ad loc.).

2 See Sir Gardner Wilkinson's note [1] on Book ii. ch. 104.

3 Procop. de Bell. Goth. iv. 2; Agath. ii. 18.

4 Ptolemy places the Lazæ in Colchis, but distinguishes them from the Colchians (v. 10). Arrian mentions them as two distinct people (Peripl. P. E. p. 123). There is nothing peculiar in the language of the modern Lazes, which closely resembles Georgian and the bulk of the Caucasian dialects (Müller's Languages of the Seat of War, p. 115, 1st ed.).

5 Appian. de Bell. Mithrid. pp. 251 and 253.

6 Not only by Ammianus (xxii. 8), whose geography is drawn from books, but by such writers as Menander Protector (Fr. 11, p. 210), Theophanes Byzantius (Fr. 4), and the like.

7 The MSS. of Herodotus vary between these two readings.

8 Steph. Byz. ad voc. Σάπειρες. (Vide supra, vol. i. p. 651, note [3].)

9 Menand. Prot. Fr. 5, 41, 42, &c.

10 Ibid. Fr. 42. Compare Etym. Mag. Βίχειρ, ἔθνος Σκυθικὸν, ὡς Ἄπειρ, ἢ μετὰ τοῦ σ, Σάπειρ.

have inhabited the greater part of the modern province of Georgia. This is a rich and fertile district,[11] consisting of the large and open valley of the *Kur* or Cyrus, together with the flanks of the mountains which on three sides surround it. The valley is 350 miles in length, and runs almost straight, in a direction a little to the south of east, from *Souram*, where the river first emerges from the mountains, to the plain of *Moghan* upon the Caspian. Its width below Tiflis varies from 25 to 60 or 70 miles; above the defile at whose lower end that town is placed—which divides the valley into two separate portions—it is narrower, not exceeding 10 or 12 miles.[12] Both the upper and the lower plains are rich and fruitful in the highest degree,[13] being abundantly watered not only by the *Kur* and its tributary streams, but by a countless number of sparkling rivulets which descend from the hills on all sides. The special feature of the country is flatness between the great mountain-chains, which rise suddenly from the low ground, betraying abundant marks of their volcanic origin.[14] How much of this district was really occupied by the Sapeires in Herodotus' time, it is impossible to determine. By declaring that it was feasible to cross from the Black Sea to the Indian Ocean, passing through the territory of four nations only—viz. the Colchi, the Sapeires, the Medes, and the Persians[15]—Herodotus would seem to extend the Sapeires to the *Moghan* district, where alone they could come in contact with the Medes. Later writers assign this tract, and all the more easterly portion of Georgia, to the Albanians,[16] who were un-

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[11] Strab. xi. p. 729. Εὐδαίμων χώρα καὶ σφόδρα καλῶς οἰκεῖσθαι δυναμένη.

[12] Dubois' Map (Voyage autour du Caucase, Atlas, Série Géologique, pl. ii.), which is taken from the Russian surveys, probably gives the best idea of this region. The two plains and the defile are very distinctly marked, and show the importance of the situation of Tiflis.

[13] Ker Porter thus describes the upper plain (Travels, vol. i. p. 114):—"As we followed the further progress of the Kur the mountains gradually lost both their rocks and forest scenery, presenting immense heights covered with beautiful verdure. The course of three or four wersts brought us to a fine level expanse of country in high cultivation and traversed by a thousand sparkling rivulets from the hills on the western side of the plain. The river also added its waters to the refreshing beauty of the view." The lower plain is noticed in the Geographical Journal (vol. iii. p. 31):—"Nothing," says the writer, "could exceed the richness of the soil or the luxuriance of the vegetation. . . . We continued our route over a country covered with what might be called a forest of gardens . . . . Pomegranates and figs were growing wild. The plain was as level as the sea, with a belt of thick forest on the banks of the Kur, a deep and broad but sluggish stream."

[14] Mud volcanoes are a remarkable feature of this district. They are grouped in two distinct fields, one a little to the east and north-east of Tiflis, between that place and the Caucasus, the other along the shore of the Caspian, north of the embouchure of the Kur (see Dubois' Atlas, Série Géologique, pl. ii.).

[15] Herod. iv. 37.

[16] Strab. xi. pp. 731-4; Plin. vi. 10; Ptolem. v. 12; Eustath. ad Dionys. Per. 731; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Ἀλβανία.

known to Herodotus, and who first came into notice in the time of Alexander.[17] The Sapeires of our author seem to occupy the whole country which Strabo[18] and Ptolemy[19] assign to the two nations of the Iberians and Albanians, namely, the entire tract between Colchis and the Caspian, bounded on the north by the Caucasus, and on the south by the *Aras* river. They may also have inhabited a piece of country, assigned commonly to Armenia, along the upper course of the *Tchoruk Su*, or river of *Batoum*, where the modern town of *Ispir*, or *Isperá*,[1] seems still to retain the name of the primitive inhabitants.

The Sapeirians, if we may identify them with the Iberians, have an important history. It would be wrong to lay any stress on the native traditions of their origin,[2] which are probably mere fictions, destitute of any historic foundation; it would be equally wrong to accept the statement of Megasthenes and Abydenus—that the eastern Iberians were planted by Nebuchadnezzar on the borders of the Pontus, and consisted of captives brought from the western Iberia;[3] but still setting aside these fables, we may say with truth that the Iberians have a history lasting for above a thousand years—from B.C. 550 to A.D. 600—and continuing in one sense down to the present day. This history may be divided into five periods:—During the first, which lasted from their conquest by Cyrus (about B.C. 550) to their recovery of independence (before B.C. 331[4]), they were under the dominion of Persia, forming a satrapy in conjunction with the Matienians and the Alarodians.[5] During the second, which was the interval between the decay of the Persian power and the establishment of the king-

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17 Arrian. Exped. Alex. iii. 8. They are a powerful nation at the time of the Mithridatic war (Appian. B. Mithr. pp. 242 and 250).

18 Strab. xi. pp. 729–734.

19 Ptolem. v. 11–2.

1 *Ispir* is the form used by Mr. Hamilton (As. Minor, vol. i. pp. 219–226). Mr. Ainsworth (Travels in the Track &c., p. 189) has *Isperá*.

2 These are given by St. Martin in his 'Recherches sur l'Arménie,' and by Dubois (Voyage autour du Caucase, vol. ii. pp. 8 et seq.). They seem to come from the same source as the early Armenian traditions in Moses of Chorêné.

3 Megasthen. Fr. 22; Abyden. Fr. 9 and 10. Resemblance of name was generally supposed among the ancients to involve an identity of race, but in this case they found it impossible to settle which was the original and which the derived people. Appian says—"Ἴβηρας δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ οἱ μὲν προγόνους οἱ δὲ ἀποίκους ἡγοῦνται τῶν Εὐρωπαίων Ἰβήρων," to which, however, he adds—evidently as his own opinion—οἱ δὲ μόνον ὁμωνύμους· ἔθος γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦν ὅμοιον ἢ γλῶσσα (De Bell. Mithrid. p. 240).

4 The Iberians send no troops to Arbela (Arrian. Exp. Al. iii. 8), a sure sign of independence. From Xenophon's narrative and summary (Anab. VII. viii. § 25), we should have concluded that all the tribes above Armenia had regained their independence by his time (B.C. 400); but as the Albanians and the Sacesini (his Scythini) serve at Arbela, it is evident that Persia had, even to the last, an influence in these remote regions.

5 Herod. iii. 94.

dom of Mithridates (B.C. 112), they were independent. During the third—from B.C. 112 to B.C. 64—they were Mithridates' subjects.[6] During the fourth—from B.C. 64 to A.D. 364—they were practically independent, but continued under the nominal suzerainty of the Romans.[7] During the fifth—from A.D. 364 to A.D. 600—they were again wholly free. In this last period they suffered greatly from the attacks of the Avars, Huns, and other northern barbarians,[8] who poured in a perpetual stream over the Caucasus; and to this flood they seem at last to have yielded, disappearing from history about the end of the sixth century.[9] Even then, however, they were not destroyed, but only became obscure. There is reason to believe that the modern Georgians—still called *Virk* by their neighbours[1]—are their descendants, and preserve, in the original seat of the nation, a name and a nationality which have defied the destroying touch of time for more than twenty-four centuries.

The manners of the Iberians are described at some length by Strabo. According to him they were divided into four castes; the first, a royal tribe, which furnished the kings; the second composed of priests; the third of soldiers and husbandmen; and the fourth of slaves belonging to the first. The bulk of the population was settled and agricultural, but some were nomads. They lived in towns and scattered farmsteads, which were roofed with tiles, and had some pretensions to architectural elegance. They had market-places in their towns, and other public buildings. Their law of inheritance made property common between all the children, but gave the management of it to the eldest son.[2] In war the Iberians never exhibited any large share of either skill or courage. With a country presenting every facility for defence,[3] they seem to have fallen a ready prey to each bold invader; as allies the assistance which they render is slight, and as enemies they are weak and without enterprise. Altogether they are of a softer character than most of their neighbours; but combined with this softness is a tenacity of national life, which

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[6] Memnon, Fr. xxx.; Appian. B. Mithr. p. 180, &c.

[7] Dio Cass. lxix. 15; Tacit. Ann. vi. 33-6; Petr. Patric. Fr. 2, 3, and 14.

[8] Prisc. Panit. Fr. 30 and 37; Menandr. Prot. Fr. 5, &c.

[9] The last classic notices seem to belong to the reigns of the emperors Anastasius, Justin, and Maurice (see Procop. de Bell. P. i. 10; Menandr. Prot. Fr. 47; Theoph. Byzant. Fr. 4, &c.), the last of whom died A.D. 602.

[1] Vide supra, vol. i. p. 651, note [4]. The Georgians appear by their language to be Turanians with a considerable Arian admixture.

[2] Strab. xi. p. 729 and p. 731.

[3] Ibid. p. 730.

enables them to maintain themselves unchanged amid almost ceaseless shifts of population.

(viii.) The Alarodians are entirely unknown to every writer except Herodotus, and Stephen, who quotes him.[4] In the army of Xerxes Herodotus couples them with the Sapeires, as armed in the same way, and included under the same command.[5] In the list of the satrapies, he joins them with the Sapeires and Matieni.[6] Nothing can be gathered of their exact locality from these statements, which only show in a general way their connexion with the tribes between the Euxine and the Caspian. It has been conjectured that they were the ancestors of the Alani;[7] but for this supposition there is no tittle of evidence.

(ix.) The Matieni, as has been already observed,[8] seem to be assigned by Herodotus almost the whole of the mountain-range from the sources of the *Diyáleh*, near *Hamadán*, to those of the *Aras*, or Araxes, near *Erzeroum* in Upper Armenia.[9] Towards the south they adjoin on Cissia, or Susiana;[1] towards the north they approach the Alarodii and Sapeiri, with whom they are united in one satrapy.[2] They thus appear to occupy the mountains of Kurdistan, from the 35th parallel to Lake Van, and thence extend along the chain which runs on by *Bayazid* and Ararat to *Erzeroum*. The whole of this region is mountainous in the extreme, containing many peaks which are covered with perpetual snow,[3] and consisting throughout of a series of lofty ranges from which flow down all the great rivers of Western Asia. It has been suggested that the word "Matieni" may mean "mountaineer,"[4] and certainly no term could be more appropriate for the inhabitants of the tract in question.

The Matieni appear in history as a weak people, with difficulty maintaining themselves against the aggressions of their more powerful neighbours. They are scattered in different parts of Western Asia, being found on the Halys[5] and in the district about Rhages,[6] as well as between Media and Armenia—always where the country is strong, and presents obstacles to an invader.

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[4] Steph. Byz. ad voc. Ἀλαρόδιοι. On the general subject of the Alarodians, see below, Essay iii. p. 250.

[5] Herod. vii. 79.

[6] Ibid. iii. 92.

[7] See Bähr ad Herod. iii. 92.

[8] Supra, vol. i. page 325, note [6].

[9] Compare Herod. i. 189, with i. 202.

[1] Ibid. v. 49 and 52. The Matiana of Strabo, which he regards as a part of Media (ἐν τῇ Ματιανῇ τῆς Μηδίας, xi. p. 742) is in this direction, but seems not to extend so far either north or south.

[2] Herod. iii. 94.

[3] Supra, vol. i. p. 533, note [7].

[4] See Col. Rawlinson's note, vol. i. p. 325. The etymological ground for this conjecture has, however, failed; since the word read as *mati* is now found to be really *sati*.

[5] Herod. i. 72.

[6] Isid. Char. p. 6.

They gradually decline and disappear, being known to Hecatæus,[7] Xanthus,[8] Herodotus, Eratosthenes,[9] and Polybius,[1] but not appearing as a people in Strabo,[2] and scarcely traceable at all in the Geography of Ptolemy.[3] Their territory becomes absorbed in Media, Armenia, and Cappadocia; and finally their name only attaches to a lake in the heart of that district which constituted, in the time of our author, their principal country.

(x.) The Caspians of the twelfth satrapy, whose place in the list of Herodotus is between the Medes and the Bactrians,[4] are probably the people of that name who are noticed by all the geographers, as dwelling on the shores of the Caspian sea, about its south-west angle.[5] They adjoined upon the Albanians, to whom their country was sometimes reckoned.[6] Strabo speaks of them as already "obscure" in his own day;[7] and very little is told us concerning them by any ancient writers. We may gather from their name that they were Arians.[8] Strabo says that they starved to death all persons who exceeded 70 years of age, after which they exposed them in a desert place and watched to see whether the body was attacked by beasts or birds of prey; if it were torn by birds, they rejoiced greatly; if by dogs or wild beasts, they were tolerably pleased; but if it remained intact, they were very unhappy.[9] This last is like a Magian custom.[1]

The tract inhabited by the Caspians seems to have been the strip of low plain which intervenes between the Caspian sea and

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7 Fragments 188 and 189.

8 Fr. 3.

9 Ap. Strab. xi. p. 748.

1 Polyb. v. 44, § 9.

2 When Strabo speaks of the Matieni (or Matiani) as a people, he is always using the words of some other writer, as in Book i. p. 72, where he quotes Xanthus; in Book xi. p. 748, where he reports Eratosthenes; and in the same Book, p. 771, where he makes a reference to our author. His own view seems to be that Matiane is a district of Media, just like Atropatene, the inhabitants in both cases being Medes.

3 Ptolemy, according to our present copies, calls Lake *Urumiyeh* the λίμνη Μαργιανή (Geograph. vi. 2). It is with reason conjectured that Μαργιανή is a corruption of Ματτιανή (see Dr. Smith's Dict. of Gr. and R. Geogr. ad voc. MATIANA). Beyond this he has no mention of the Matianians, who, as a distinct race, were probably lost before the time of Strabo. That Pliny (vi. 16) and Dionysius Periegetes (l. 1003) mention them, arises from the book-knowledge of those writers, who prove but little concerning the real geography of their day.

4 Herod. iii. 92.

5 Strab. xi. p. 733; Plin. H. N. vi. 13; Dionys. Per. 730; Mela, iii. 5, &c.

6 Strab. l. s. c. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἀλβανῶν χώρας καὶ ἡ Κασπιανή, τοῦ Κασπίου ἔθνους ἐπώνυμος, οὗπερ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα, ἀφανοῦς ὄντος νυνί.

7 See the preceding note. The city of *Kasbin* or *Kasvin* in this quarter, though situated rather in Media than in the actual Caspian country, may probably have been named from the settlement there at some time or other of a body of Caspii.

8 Supra, vol. iii. p. 554, ad voc. Caspii.

9 Strab. xi. p. 757. Compare p. 793.

1 See Herod. i. 140, and note [6] ad loc.

the mountains on the west and south, from the mouth of the *Kur*[2] to *Mazanderan*, together with the valleys of the *Shah-rud* and *Sefid-rud* south of the mountains. It thus coincided with the modern provinces of *Talim*, *Ghilan*, and *Tarom*,—about the richest and most beautiful region in Persia.[3] As this district has already been described,[4] no more need be said of it here. The Caspians seem to have been gradually deprived of their country by stronger races,[5] until, in the time of Ptolemy,[6] they were confined to the plain of *Moghan*, or the tract between the mouths, which were then distinct, of the *Kur* and *Aras* rivers.

(xi.) The Pausicæ are unknown under that appellation to any writer except Herodotus. They have been conjecturally identified[7] with the Pasiani of Strabo,[8] a Scythian tribe of some note, which took part in the destruction of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom,[9] and was itself, probably, swallowed up in the empire shortly afterwards established by the Parthians. This identification, however, is very doubtful; and we may with more reason regard them as the Pæsicæ of Mela[1] and Pliny,[2] whom Mela assigns a position to the east of the Caspian, upon his *Sinus Scythicus*, which may represent the gulf of *Kuli Derya*.[3] The Pausicæ of Herodotus are, however, more probably to be sought in the tract south of the Caspian—either in the *Elburz* chain or in the province of *Mâzanderan*, where a tribe called *Pâziki* is still found at the present day. A description of these tracts has been already given.[4]

(xii.) The Pantimathi are wholly and absolutely unknown. The form in which their name has come to us is so nearly Greek, that we may suspect a considerable variation from the native word. No name however that in the least resembles Pantimathi is furnished to us by any other writer; and we can only conclude that Herodotus has here preserved a trace of an obscure people

[2] Pliny says, "A Cyro Caspium mare vocari incipit; accolunt Caspii." H. N. vi. 13.

[3] Eustathius (ad Dionys. Per. 730) says that, in the country of the Caspians, the leaves of the trees distilled honey, the vine was more than commonly productive, and the fig yielded so abundantly that sometimes as much as 90 bushels (60 medimni) were obtained from a single tree. Compare Strabo's description of Hyrcania (xi. pp. 741-2).

[4] Supra, vol. i. p. 559. To the references there made may be added, Fraser's Khorassan, p. 165, and p. 171.

[5] Among others by the Aorsi (Strab. xi. p. 738).

[6] Geograph. vi. 2.

[7] Supra, vol. ii. p. 484, note [9].

[8] Strab. xi. p. 744.

[9] Strab. l. s. c.—Μάλιστα δὲ γνώριμοι γεγόνασι τῶν νομάδων οἱ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀφελόμενοι τὴν Βακτριανὴν, Ἄσιοι καὶ Πασιανοὶ καὶ Τόχαροι καὶ Σακάραυλοι.

[1] H. N. vi. 16.

[2] De Sit. Orb. iii. 5.

[3] Supra, vol. i. p. 564.

[4] Ibid. pp. 537-8.

who perished soon after his time. They probably dwelt in close proximity to the Pausicæ.

(xiii.) The Daritæ. We are not without some knowledge of the position of the Daritæ. Ptolemy has a district which he calls Daritis,[5] in the immediate vicinity of Rhagiana, or the country about Rhages, which was near the Caspian Gates, on the southern side of the *Elburz* range;[6] and Pliny mentions a place called Darium or Darieum, which was "celebrated for its fertility,"[7] and was included in the region called by him Zapavortênê, a tract of country that lay immediately east of the Caspians. Now, if the Caspians occupied *Ghilan*, Zapavortênê could only be *Mazanderan*, or that region together with *Asterabad*, and perhaps a tract still further to the eastward. And Darium, which is mentioned between the Caspians and the Tapyri, who gave to *Mazanderan* its old name of *Taburistán*,[8] must have lain towards the western side of that province. Perhaps the country about *Demawend* and *Firoz Koh* may be the tract intended. This district possesses a peculiar character of isolation, which would fit it for the habitation of a separate tribe; and it is one of great fertility and beauty,[9] which would suit the description given by Pliny.

5. It only remains now briefly to review the small and obscure tribes of the central and western provinces, which were omitted from the general account of those regions given in a former volume.[1] The tribes intended are the following:—The Lasonians, the Cabalians, the Hygennes or Hytennes, the Ligyes, the Orthocorybantes, and the Paricanians of the tenth satrapy.

(i.) The Lasonians, who occur in the second satrapy, between the Lydians and the Cabalians,[2] with the latter of whom they are identified in another place,[3] are probably the same people with the Lysineans of the numismatologists,[4] who were the inhabitants of a town called Lysinoë[5] or Lysinia,[6] situated in the neighbourhood of Sagalassus, on the borders of Pisidia and Cabalia. The

[5] Geograph. vi. 2.

[6] See Ferrier's Caravan Journeys, pp. 54-60; and compare Colonel Rawlinson's map in the Geograph. Journ. vol. x. part i.

[7] H. N. l. s. c. "A Caspiis ad Orientem versus regio est, Zapavortene dicta, et in eâ *fertilitatis inclytæ* locus Darieum. Mox gentes Tapyri, Anariaci, Stauri, Hyrcani, à quorum littoribus idem mare Hyrcanum vocari incipit a flumine Syderi."

[8] See Rennell's Geography of Herodotus, p. 276.

[9] Ferrier's Caravan Journeys, p. 61.

[1] Vol. i. Essays ii. and ix.

[2] Herod. iii. 90.

[3] Ibid. vii. 77.

[4] Mionnet, supplément, tom. vii. p. 120, No. 154, &c.

[5] Polyb. xxii. 19, § 2; Liv. xxxviii. 15.

[6] Ptolem. v. 5.

exact site has not been discovered. Mr. Hamilton suggests a spot near *Auschar*, on the eastern coast of the lake of *Egerdir*;[7] but this is certainly too far from Sagalassus and in the wrong direction. Lysinoë should lie south or south-west of Sagalassus,[8] and in this direction, at the distance of three miles,[9] is a village called *Alaysoon* or *Allahsún*,[1] in which it may be conjectured that we have a remnant of the ancient name.

The Lasonians were probably the most important people of eastern Cabalia. Together with the Hygennes or Hytennes, they may represent the Pisidians of later writers, who are so strangely omitted by our author. Their ethnic character is somewhat uncertain. If we must accept as ascertained their identity with the Mæonians, which Herodotus asserts,[2] we shall have to regard them as fugitives from Lydia, or at least as akin to the primitive people of that country, whom the Lydians conquered or drove out.[3] In this case they would probably be Indo-Europeans of the Pelasgic type,[4] differing but little from the bulk of the inhabitants of Asia Minor. If however we may discard the bare and unexplained statement of Herodotus, following in lieu of it those indications of ethnic affinity which position, language, manners and customs,[5] and an important notice in Strabo[6] seem to suggest, we shall probably see reason to rank them among that small Semitic element which has been already mentioned as existing in this region,[7] extending in a thin strip from Upper Syria to the borders of Caria. There is reason to believe that both the Pisidians and Cabalians came of this stock;[8] and, therefore, if the Lasonians held the position here assigned to them, they are not likely to have belonged to any other.

(ii.) The Cabalians, who are identified by Herodotus with the

[7] Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 478.

[8] Cneius Manlius is advancing from the south, from Termessus and other Pamphylian cities, on his way to Sagalassus, when he receives the ambassadors of the Lysineans (Polyb. l. s. c.: Liv. l. s. c.)

[9] Fellows's Asia Minor, p. 166.

[1] Hamilton, vol. i. p. 486.

[2] Herod. vii. 77. "Καβηλέες δὲ οἱ Μηίονες, Λασόνιοι δὲ καλεύμενοι."

[3] Supra, vol. i. p. 361. Strabo speaks of fugitives from Lydia in this region, but identifies them with the Cibyratæ (xiii. p. 904).

[4] Compare vol. i. p. 360 and p. 667.

[5] Note their vicinity to the Pisidæ, who were Semitic (vol. i. p. 658); the name of Cabalians, which is applied to them, and which may compare with Gebal (ibid. note [8]), and the resemblance of their equipment to that of Cilicians, who were Semitic in Herodotus's time (ibid. p. 657).

[6] Strabo says that the Cabalians were generally called Solymi (xiii. p. 904). The Semitic character of the Solymi seems to be fully established (supra, vol. i. p. 658).

[7] Supra, vol. i. p. 309, note [3], and p. 661, § 8.

[8] Strab. l. s. c.; Plin. H. N. v. 27; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Πισιδία.

Lasonians in one place, and distinguished from them in another,[9] seem to have been the inhabitants of a considerable tract of country, called Cabalis, Caballis, or Cabalia,[1] which is usually reckoned to Lycia,[2] but which was peopled by a different race, and which ought to be regarded as a distinct region. It lay between Milyas and the valley of the Mæander,[3] comprising apparently the whole of what was afterwards called Cibyratis,[4] and extending from Massicytus on the south to Cadmus and Lake Ascania on the north, and in the other direction from Sagalassus to near Stratonicea. This region has been but little explored, except towards its outskirts.[5] So far as it is known, it appears to consist of a series of high plains or table-lands—a continuation of the great Phrygian plateau—separated from each other by low ranges of mountains, the ramifications of Taurus, which here loses itself. The plains are fertile and well watered, containing both lakes and rivers. They extend in some instances a distance of above 60 miles. The general elevation of the tract is from 4000 to 5000 feet, while the mountains which bound it reach occasionally the line of perpetual snow.[6]

The Cabalians were descended from the old race of the Solymi;[7] that is, they were a Semitic people, belonging to a primitive body of settlers, anterior probably to the first Indo-European influx into these regions.[8] They possessed little strength, and gradually contracted their limits, settling finally near the sources of the Xanthus and Calbis rivers,[9] while Lydians, Pamphylians, and Pisidians occupied the remainder of their territory.[1] In this refuge they seem to have long maintained

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[9] Compare Herod. iii. 90, with vii. 77.

[1] Caballis by Strabo (xiii. p. 903), who, however, calls the people Cabaleis (p. 904); Cabalis by Stephen; Cabalia by Pliny (v. 27). Carbalia is probably a corruption of the text in Ptolemy (v. 3 and 5).

[2] Plin. l. s. c.; Ptol. v. 3; Steph. Byz. ad vocc. Βάλβουρα, Βουβών, and Οἰνόανδα.

[3] Strab. xiii. pp. 902-4; Leake's Asia Minor, p. 147.

[4] Kiepert has very properly given Cabalia this extension (Atlas von Hellas, Bl. iii.). Strabo implies it by speaking of the Cibyratæ as "descendants of the Lydians who occupied Caballis" (xiii. p. 904).

[5] Mr. Hamilton's Map of Asia Minor (prefixed to his first volume), which has the rare merit of leaving blank those districts which are unknown, shows this plainly enough.

[6] See Fellows's Lycia, p. 234 and pp. 256-266.

[7] Strab. xiii. p. 904.

[8] Supra, vol. i. p. 309, note [8], and p. 664, § 12.

[9] The three cities (Bubo, Balbura, and Œnoanda) which Pliny and Ptolemy agree in assigning to Cabalia, appear to have been all situated in this region. (See the map in Forbes' and Spratt's Lycia.)

[1] The Lydian encroachments seem to have been the earliest (Strab. xiii. p. 904). The Pisidians came later (ibid.). The encroachments of the Pamphylians may be gathered from the fact that the eastern Cabalia of Pliny (H. N. v. 32) and Ptolemy (v. 5) is reckoned to Pamphylia by those writers. It is the country about Termessus.

themselves, and the name Cabalia is found applied to the region in question by Pliny[2] and Ptolemy.[3]

(iii.) The Hygennes, or Hytennes, as the name should probably be read,[4] seem to be the people called Etennenses (Ἐτεννεῖς) by Polybius,[5] and Catennenses (Κατεννεῖς) by Strabo.[6] They are commonly reckoned among the Pisidians, but Stephen calls their city, Hytenna, "a city of Lycia."[7] It appears to have been situated on the southern flank of Taurus, above Sida and Aspendus, and in the neighbourhood of Selga and Homonada.[8] Coins of this place are common,[9] and it continued to be the see of a bishop down to the ninth century of our era.[10] The Etennenses or Catennenses may have been connected ethnically with the Cataonians of Cappadocia, who are said to have been distinguished by the early writers from the other Cappadocians as a different people.[1] Like the rest of the Pisidians, they were probably a Semitic race.

(iv.) The Ligyes, who are joined in the army of Xerxes with the Matieni, the Mariandynians, and the Cappadocians,[2] seem to belong to the north-eastern portion of Asia Minor, but cannot be located with any approach to exactness. They probably dwelt east of the Halys, within the limits of the region commonly regarded as Armenia. They must have been in the time of Herodotus a weak and expiring race, for not a single notice of them has been discovered in any later writer. Eustathius, in his comment on the Periegesis of Dionysius, informs us that Cytæa (or Cutacesium, the modern *Kutaïs*) was called by Lycophron "a Ligurian city;" and draws the conclusion that besides the western Ligurians, there must have been others in the region of Colchis, whom he regards as colonists from the European Liguria.[3] A more probable conclusion would be that in the Asiatic Ligurians (as in the Asiatic Iberians[4]) we have a remnant of the primitive race, which, while sending out perhaps the greater portion of its body to join the emigrants who were

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[2] Plin. H. N. v. 27.

[3] Ptol. v. 3.

[4] See the Museum Philologicum, vol. i. p. 634; and supra, vol. ii. p. 482, note [9].

[5] Polyb. v. 73.

[6] Strab. xii. p. 824.

[7] Steph. Byz. ad. voc. Ὕτεννα.

[8] Compare the notices in Polybius and Strabo—Ἐτεννεῖς, οἱ τῆς Πισιδικῆς τὴν ὑπὲρ Σίδης ὀρεινὴν κατοικοῦντες (Polyb.) τινὲς δὲ [τῶν Πισιδῶν] καὶ ὑπὲρ Σίδης καὶ Ἀσπένδου . . . . κατέχουσι γεώλοφα χωρία, ἐλαιόφυτα πάντα, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἤδη ὀρεινὰ, Κατεννεῖς (Strab.). Col. Leake has marked the probable site correctly in his map of Asia Minor.

[9] See Eckhel, Doct. N. Vet. vol. iii. pp. 11-2, and Mionnet, Descript. des Méd. Ant. vol. iii. p. 455.

[10] Notit. Episc. Græc.

[1] Strab. xii. p. 775.

[2] Herod. vii. 72.

[3] Eustath. ad Dionys. Per. l. 76. "Ἰστέον δ' ὅτι ἐοίκασι καὶ Κολχικοί τινες Λίγυες εἶναι, ἄποικοι τῶν Εὐρωπαίων· καὶ δηλοῖ ὁ Λυκόφρων, ἱστορῶν ἐν τοῖς Κόλχοις Κύταιαν Λιγυστικὴν πόλιν."

[4] Supra, p. 231, note [3].

flocking from Asia into Europe, still kept a hold upon the place of its original abode. A connecting link between the eastern and the western Ligurians may be found in the Ligyræans of Thrace, who are mentioned in a fragment of Aristotle.[5]

(v.) The Orthocorybantes may perhaps be best regarded as the inhabitants of the Corbiané of Strabo,[6] which he reckons to Elymaïs, and places in the Zagros mountain-range, between Media and Susiana. They would thus be the Corbrênæ (Corbiênæ?) of Polybius,[7] and the inhabitants of the "Mons Charbanus" of Pliny.[8] The tract which they occupied was probably that lying immediately south of Ecbatana (*Hamadan*), between the river of *Dizful* and the *Kerkhah*, which is now inhabited by the tribes of the *Pish-kuh Lurs*, and is known as *Luri-kuchuk*. It is a position of great strength,[9] very mountainous, and one in which an oppressed race would be likely to find a refuge. Thus it would naturally become the home of the Elymæans when pressed upon by their Cushite invaders,[10] and once occupied would be a place in which they might easily retain their nationality for many centuries.

(vi.) The Paricanians of the tenth satrapy,[1] who are united in that political division with the Medes and the Orthocorybantes, are probably the Median tribe of the Parætaceni,[2] who inhabited part of Zagros, and whose name in an Arian mouth meant simply "mountaineers" or "Highlanders."[3] Or they may possibly (as Mr. C. Müller thinks[4]) represent the Hyrcanians of Book vii.,[5] who are termed "Barcanians" by Ctesias,[6] *Vehrkana* in Zend, and *Varkana* in ancient Persian.[7] Hyrcania requires but a little extension towards the west in order to adjoin on the district of Rhagiana, which was always included in Media; and some indication of a connexion between the Hyrcanians and the Medes is perhaps to be traced in the position which they occupy in the list of the army of Xerxes.

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[5] Fr. 284.

[6] Strab. xvi. p. 1057. Compare Rennell (Geography of Herod. p. 270). This identification rests principally on the similarity of "Corybantes" to "Corbiané," which is close; but if we adopt it, what account shall we give of the prefix, *Ortho?* [Probably it represents the Zend *Eredha*. The mountains lying between Media and Susiana are now called *Bala-geriva*, or "the high country" —the exact Zend equivalent for which would be *Eredha-gerevan*, whence probably "Ortho-corybantes."—H. C. R.]

[7] Polyb. v. 44.

[8] H. N. vi. 27.

[9] See the description given by Col. Rawlinson in the ninth volume of the Geographical Journal, part i. pp. 93-102.

[10] Supra, vol. i. p. 446.

[1] Herod. iii. 92.

[2] Herod. i. 101. Compare vol. i. p. 575, note [6].

[3] Supra, p. 220, note [6]. They would then be identical with the Parætaceni, a word of the same meaning.

[4] See the map of the Satrapies given in an earlier volume.

[5] Book vii. ch. 62, ad fin.

[6] Excerpt. Pers. § 8.

[7] Beh. Inscr. col. ii. par. 16.

ESSAY II.

ON THE EARLY MIGRATIONS OF THE PHŒNICIANS.

1. Diversity of opinions on the subject — Weight of the arguments in favour of a migration. 2. Two views of the migration — the immigrants Hamites — Semites. 3. Supposed identity of the Phœnicians with the Canaanites — arguments in its favour. 4. Arguments to the contrary. 5. The Phœnicians distinct from the Canaanites. 6. Early movement of Hamites from Babylonia to the Mediterranean. 7. Similar movement of Semites subsequently — This last the migration of the Phœnicians. 8. Over-wisdom of Strabo and Justin. 9. Movers' grounds for rejecting the migration — (i.) Silence of Scripture — (ii.) Authority of Sanchoniathon — Examination of these grounds. 10. Probable date of the migration.

1. THE migration of the Phœnicians, at a very early time, from the shores of the Southern Sea to the coast of the Mediterranean, has been contemptuously ridiculed by some writers,[1] while by others it has been regarded as a fact scarcely admitting of question.[2] The authority of Herodotus,[3] of Strabo,[4] of Trogus Pompeius,[5] of Pliny,[6] of Dionysius Periegetes,[7] of Solinus,[8] and of Stephen,[9] is quoted in favour of the movement; while against it can only be urged the difficulty of the removal, and the small value of half a dozen Greek and Roman authorities in respect of a fact admitted to be of so very remote an antiquity. If indeed we were obliged to suppose a migration *by sea*, involving the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and the circumnavigation of Africa,[10] sound criticism would undoubtedly require a rejec-

[1] See Voltaire's Questions sur l'Encyclopédie, part iv. p. 310. Bochart dismisses the notion of a migration, almost without examination (Geograph. Sac. iv. 34, p. 301). Heeren (As. Nat. vol. ii. pp. 231, 415, &c. E. T.) likewise decides against it. Movers (Die Phönizier, ii. 1, 38) takes a similar view.

[2] Kenrick's Phœnicia, ch. iii. pp. 46–52.

[3] Herod. i. 1; vii. 89.

[4] Strab. xvi. p. 1090.

[5] Justin, xviii. 3, § 2. "Tyriorum gens condita a Phœnicibus fuit, qui terræ motu vexati, relicto patriæ solo, Assyrium stagnum primum, mox mari proximum littus incoluere."

[6] H. N. iv. 22. "Tyrii . . . . orti ab Erythro mari ferebantur."

[7] Dionys. Per. 906.

[8] Polyhist. c. 26.

[9] Ad voc. Ἄζωτος.

[10] So Voltaire argued:—"Il semblerait que les Phéniciens se fussent embarqués au golfe de Suez, qu'arrivés au détroit de Babel Mandel ils eussent cotoyé l'Ethiopie, passé la ligne, doublé le Cap des Tempêtes, appelé depuis le Cap de Bonne Espérance, remonté au loin entre l'Afrique et l'Amérique, qui est le seul chemin, repassé la ligne, entré de l'océan dans la Méditerranée par les colonnes d'Hercule, ce qui aurait été un voyage de plus de quatre

tion of the story; but the tale which has come down to us is one far different from this, and really presents no intrinsic difficulty which can properly be regarded as very serious. The removal of Abraham, with his family and dependants, from Chaldæa to Palestine, and the expedition of Chedorlaomer with his confederate kings, from Elam to the valley of the Jordan,[11] demonstrate the feasibility, even at a very early time, of such migrations as that traditionally ascribed to the Phœnicians; while they afford a further support to the tradition, by showing that at a very ancient period there was certainly a movement of the population of Western Asia in this direction.[12] And though the authorities alleged may be of less value than at first sight they appear—though they may in part merely copy,[13] in part contradict, one another,[14]—still they must be allowed to possess, even in themselves, a certain considerable weight; and in some cases the peculiar character of their testimony lends additional force to their opinions. For instance, Herodotus does not merely relate to us the circumstance as one of whose truth he was himself convinced; but informs us that his belief rested on the double testimony of "the Persians best informed in history,"[15] and "the Phœnicians themselves."[16] The latter of these statements is of peculiar importance, since nations are rarely deceived in such a case. The fact of an immigration, and the quarter from which it came, are handed down from father to son, and can scarcely be corrupted or forgotten, unless in the case where the people sink into absolute barbarism.

2. If we allow, on these grounds, the probability of such a

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mille de nos grandes lieues marines, dans un tems où la navigation était dans son enfance." (Questions, &c., l. s. c.)

[11] Gen. xiv. 1–16.

[12] See above, vol. i. p. 154, note [2], and Essay vi. p. 447.

[13] Pliny, Solinus, and Dionysius merely repeat a tradition which had perhaps obtained currency chiefly from the statements in Herodotus. They are scarcely additional witnesses.

[14] It has been said that the account given by Strabo of the relation between the Phœnicians proper and the inhabitants of the islands in the Persian Gulf, "reverses" the tradition of Herodotus, since it makes those inhabitants "colonists from Phœnicia" (Blakesley's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 388, note 314). But this is untrue. Strabo's words are, *πλεύσαντι δ' ἐπὶ πλέον ἄλλαι νῆσοι, Τύρος καὶ Ἄραδος, εἰσιν, ἱερὰ ἔχουσαι τοῖς Φοινικικοῖς ὅμοια· καὶ φασί γε οἱ ἐν αὐταῖς οἰκοῦντες τὰς ὁμωνύμους τῶν Φοινίκων νήσους καὶ πόλεις ἀποίκους ἑαυτῶν* (xvi. p. 1090). A more real discrepancy exists between Strabo and Herodotus on the one hand, and Stephen on the other, who speaks of the Red Sea Phœnicians as *refugees* (*φυγάδες*) from Phœnicia Proper (ad voc. *Ἄζωτος*). Justin's account may, perhaps, be reconciled with Herodotus (see Kenrick's Phœnicia, pp. 46–7), though it is not in very palpable accordance.

[15] *Περσέων οἱ λόγιοι* (Herod. i. 1).

[16] *Οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες τὸ παλαιὸν οἴκεον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ* (Ib. vii. 89).

movement as that to which Herodotus witnesses, a question will still arise as to what exactly we are to understand by it. Are we to identify the Phœnicians with the Canaanites, and to understand a Hamitic migration from Chaldæa or Susiana in times long anterior to Abraham? Or are we to distinguish between the two races, and to regard our author as describing a long subsequent immigration of Semites into these parts—a settlement of the Phœnicians, such as we know them in history, among the Canaanites, a people of quite a different character?

3. It was long ago maintained by the learned Bochart,[17] and it has been strongly argued, within the last few years, by Mr. Kenrick,[18] that the Phœnicians and the Canaanites were one and the same race. The inhabitants of several towns known to us in later times as chief seats of the Phœnician power, are mentioned in Genesis[19] among the descendants of Canaan. The genealogical historians either identify Canaan and Phœnix,[20] or make the former father to the latter.[21] The Hellenistic Jews use the terms Canaan and Phœnicia, Canaanite and Phœnician, indifferently;[1] and there is even some ground for asserting that the Phœnicians, both in Syria and in North Africa, knew themselves as Canaanites to a late date.[2] Such are the principal arguments adduced in favour of this hypothesis; a bold etymologist might add that Phœnix is probably a mere translation of Χνᾶ or حنا, which is the name of the *red* dye so admired by the orientals.

4. But these arguments, though plausible, are far from satisfactory. There is a marked contrast, which cannot fail to strike the least observant enquirer, between the whole character of the Phœnicians and that of the Canaanites. The Canaanites are

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[17] Geograph. Sacr. iv. 34.

[18] Phœnicia, ch. iii. pp. 42–3. The same view is taken by Mr. Dyer in Smith's Geographical Dictionary, and by the writer of the article on Phœnicia in Kitto's Biblical Encyclopædia.

[19] Gen. x. 15–18. Sidon is mentioned by name as the "first-born" of Canaan. Aradus, Arca, and Simyra seem to be represented by "the Arvadite, the Arkite, and the Zemarite."

[20] As Sanchoniathon, who speaks of Χνᾶ τοῦ [πρώτου] μετονομασθέντος Φοίνικος (ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. i. 10, p. 88, ed. Gaisf.).

[21] So Eupolemus (Euseb. Præp. Ev. ix. 17); τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Χαναὰν γεννῆσαι τὸν πατέρα τῶν Φοινίκων.

[1] See the Septuagint version, Ex. vi. 15, xvi. 35; Josh. v. 12; Job xli. 6, &c. And compare Matt. xv. 22, with Mark vii. 26.

[2] Augustine says (Ep. ad Rom. Op. iii. p. 932) that the rustics in his part of Africa "interrogati quid sint, Punicè respondent, Chanani." There is also a coin of Laodicea, the legend upon which has been read as ללאדכא אם בכנען, and explained as "Laodiceæ matris in Canaan" (Gesenius, Linguæ Scripturæque Phœniciæ Monumenta, pp. 270–1).

fierce and intractable warriors, rejoicing in their prancing steeds and chariots of iron,[3] neither given to commerce nor to any of the arts of peace; the Phœnicians are quiet and peaceable, a nation of traffickers, skilful in navigation and in the arts both useful and ornamental, unwarlike except at sea, and wholly devoted to commerce and manufactures. Again, whereas between the real Canaanites and the Jews there was deadly and perpetual hostility, until the former were utterly rooted out and destroyed, the Jews and Phœnicians were on terms of almost perpetual amity[4]—an amity encouraged by the best princes, who would scarcely have contracted a friendship with the accursed race. Further, if the arguments adduced in favour of the identity be examined severally, they will be found to lose much of their force upon a near scrutiny. The towns Sidon, Aradus, Arca, and Simyra, may have been originally settled by one race, yet have passed into the possession of another without losing their appellations; just as we know to have happened with Ascalon, Gaza, and other cities in this neighbourhood. The genealogical historians are never much to be depended on; and in the case before us, they may have meant no more than that the one name (Chna) preceded the other (Phœnice) in the same country.[5] The indifferent use of Canaanite and Phœnician, Canaan and Phœnicia, by the Hellenistic nations, may merely indicate that the distinction between the terms had ceased to be appreciated when they wrote. It is perhaps a parallel to the indifferent use of Britain and England, Briton and Englishman, common among ourselves at the present day. The statement of St. Augustine, that the country people about Hippo called themselves "Chanani," and the very doubtful interpretation[6]

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[3] Judges iv. 3; v. 22.

[4] So Dr. Stanley remarks:—"The histories of Phœnicia and Palestine hardly touch. Their relations were always peaceful" (Palestine, p. 263). The only apparent exceptions consist of a few passages of arms between the Israelites and the Sidonians in the early period of the Judges (Judg. x. 12, which probably refers to the time of Jabin, and xviii. 27-8), when it is not unlikely that Zidon was still Canaanite.

[5] The statement of Hecatæus (Fr. 254) that "Phœnicia was formerly called Canaan" (Χνᾶ, οὕτω πρότερον ἡ Φοινίκη ἐκαλεῖτο) has been quoted as an argument in favour of the ethnic identity (Kenrick, p. 42). But its real force is the other way. It is probably a parallel to such expressions as the following: "England was formerly called Britain;" "What is now Turkey was formerly the Greek Empire." Changes in the name of a country almost always indicate some change of the inhabitants.

[6] In the other cases where אם occurs on a coin it signifies "mother-city," and is followed by the name or names of the places supposed to stand in the relation of colonies (see Gesenius, ut supra, p. 262, and p. 267). There is no second instance where אם can be even supposed to be used as a mere title of honour, equivalent to "a great city."

of a single Phœnician coin, furnish but a slender foundation for the bold assertion that "the Phœnicians bore the name of Canaanites,"[7] and "knew their country by no other name than that of Canaan."[8] We must bear in mind, that except a single passage of one ecclesiastical writer, and a single legend on a coin, there is no evidence at all that the Phœnicians ever applied to themselves or to their country the terms in question. It seems scarcely possible that they should really have done so, and that no classical writer should have left us any hint of it. It is his perception of this difficulty, which leads Bochart to suppose that, though the Phœnicians were really Canaanites, they wholly laid aside the name, on account of the discredit which attached to all those who were known to be of the accursed race.[9] This conclusion is curiously at variance with the view of Gesenius[10] and Kenrick; it is not very probable, for a nation scarcely ever voluntarily lays aside its own name; but it is far more in accordance with the mass of facts, as they have come down to us, than the ingenious speculations of the more modern writers, who regard Canaanite as the only appellation by which the Phœnicians knew themselves.

5. On the whole it may be concluded that the Canaanites and Phœnicians were two distinct races, the former being the original occupants of the country, and the latter being immigrants at a comparatively recent date. Hamitic races seem to have been the first to people Western Asia,[11] whether starting from Egypt or from Babylonia, it is impossible to determine. These Hamites were the original founders of most of the towns, which sometimes retained their primitive names, sometimes exchanged them for Semitic appellations. Instances of the former kind are Marathus and Baalbek—the one a name very intelligible in the early or Cushite Babylonian,[12] the other containing an Egyptian root and formed on an Egyptian model.[13]

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[7] Kenrick, p. 45.

[8] Ibid. p. 42.

[9] Geograph. Sac. iv. 34, p. 301.

[10] Script. linguæque Phœn. Mon. p. 338, note.

[11] See Sir H. Rawlinson's article on the "Early History of Babylonia" in the fifteenth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, part 2, p. 230, note [2].

[12] *Martu*, probably the original form of Marathus (compare the Βραθύ of Sanchoniathon), is the ordinary term in the early Cushite or Hamitic Babylonian for "the West," and is especially used of Phœnicia and the Mediterranean (supra, vol. i. p. 436, note [8]).

[13] *Baal-bek*, "the city of Baal," or "the Sun," corresponds exactly with *Atar-bechis*, "the city of Athor," or "Venus," mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 41, and see note [2] ad loc.). *Baki* is still used for "a city" in the Coptic or modern Egyptian.

In *Bisan*, or *Beth-shan* (Scythopolis), we have a name composed of one Semitic and one Hamitic element (supra, vol. i. p. 609, note [1]).

6. It might perhaps be a sufficient explanation of the tradition which Herodotus records, to say that it refers to this early Hamitic connexion, which was perhaps not merely a connexion of race, but one involving actual migration from the shores of the Persian Gulf to those of the Mediterranean. Of this the local name Marathus is a sign; for a position on the Syrian coast would not be "the west" to any people but one which reached it from the Euphrates valley.[14] Another sign is, perhaps, to be found in the Canaanitic worship of Baal, if that word is really (as commonly supposed) identical with the Bel or *Bil* of the Babylonians.[1] And the conquests of Chedor-laomer, king of the Hamitic Elam,[2] furnish an actual example of the extension to this quarter of an influence from the Persian Gulf in the Cushite period.

7. But although the Phœnician story of a migration from the Persian Gulf might, by possibility, refer to this ancient Hamitic movement, it is far more probable that the tradition has a different origin. Semitism, as has been so often observed,[3] originated in Babylonia, and from this primitive seat, spread itself northward and westward. Out of Babylonia "went forth Asshur"[4]—from Ur (or *Mugheir*) departed, in search of a new home, the family of Abraham—and from the same quarter may be traced the Aramæan tribes, which are found to have gradually ascended the Euphrates.[5] Apart from any tradition, there is sufficient reason to believe that the Phœnicians, like the other Semitic races in these parts—the Jews and the Aramæans—were immigrants, whose original abode was lower Mesopotamia. The tradition does but confirm historically, what we should have

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[14] The more the Cuneiform Inscriptions are studied, the more it becomes evident that Babylon, or "the land of Shinar," was the real cradle of early civilisation. It could only have been from this central position that the names of "before" and "behind," or East and West, could have been applied to the respective countries of Susiana and Phœnicia. Such, however, are undoubtedly the significations of *Nuva* and *Martu* in Hamite Scythic, and of *Elam* and *Akhir* in Semitic, *Elam* indeed being cognate with עולם in Hebrew, and "olim" in Latin—words which in those tongues indicated priority in regard to time, though not in regard to place.—H. C. R.

[1] It is usual to assume the identity, but etymologically we cannot be sure that בעל is the same root as בל.

[2] See above, vol. i. Essay vi. § 19 (pp. 445-6).

[3] Ibid. § 21, pp. 446-7; and Essay xi. p. 647.

[4] Gen. x. 11.

[5] See vol. i. p. 447. [It is to be observed also that the Syrians were "brought up from *Kir*" (Amos ix. 7); and that *Kir*, which is associated in one text with Elam (Is. xxii. 6), and named in another as the country to which the Israelite captives were transported (2 Kings xvi. 9), can be no other than the *Kis* of the Inscriptions, in Southern Chaldæa, contiguous to Susiana.—H. C. R.]

concluded without it analogically, from our general knowledge of the early movements of races; and it may therefore be accepted as in all probability the statement of a real occurrence.

8. When Strabo, however, going beyond Herodotus, attempts exactly to determine the original habitat of the Phœnician race, and not content with placing them "upon the Erythræan sea,"[6] discovers that certain islands—those, namely, of the *Bahrein* group—were the first settlements of the nation, from which they started to found their great cities; and when again Trogus Pompeius undertakes to give the cause of the emigration and the route pursued by the emigrants—we must hesitate to follow these late authors, who are so much wiser than the Father of History. The identity of names, upon which Strabo builds, is a weak argument—such identity, where it is real, being very deceptive, and there being in this case reason to suspect that it is not so much real as apparent. The name of the island, which Strabo calls Tyrus, seems to have been, not Tyrus, but Tylus[7]—a term sufficiently remote from the native *Zur* or *Tzur*. And *Arad*, which is still the Arab name for one of the *Bahrein* islands, is scarcely the same word with Arvad[8]—the true original of the Syrian Aradus. As for the existence of Phœnician temples on these islands in Alexander's time, it is not at all improbable; since the Phœnicians, as the great carriers of antiquity, may easily (as Heeren supposes[9]) have occupied the *Bahrein* islands for the purposes of trade, and have carried with them their peculiar worship.

The story of Trogus—that the Phœnicians left their country in consequence of an earthquake—is puerile; and the route which he makes the migration pursue, though not improbable, can scarcely rest upon any better basis than conjecture. The "Assyrian Lake"—where (according to him) the emigrants first settled—represents, in all probability, the sea of *Nejjef*, or that natural basin together with the marshes which usually surround it.[10] A people ascending the Euphrates on its right bank, would necessarily pass this large body of water.

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6 Herod. vii. 89.

7 Tylus (Τύλος) is the form used both by Pliny (H. N. vi. 32) and Ptolemy.

8 *Arvad* is the form used throughout the Assyrian Inscriptions. Compare the ארוד of Gen. x. 18.

9 Asiatic Nations, vol. ii. p. 55, E. T.

10 Mr. Kenrick says, "The Assyrian Lake *can be no other* than the Dead Sea, or the Lake of Gennesaret" (Phœnicia, p. 47); and Mr. Dyer, in his article on Phœnicia in Smith's Geographical Dictionary, takes the same view. The ground of this assertion is the supposed fact, that "in Southern Assyria there was no collection of waters to which the

9. The only important grounds upon which the migration from the Persian Gulf has ever been rejected, are those advanced by Movers,[11] who dwells in the first place on the silence of Scripture, and secondly on the Phœnician mythic history, as recorded in the work which Philo-Byblius put out under the venerated name of Sanchoniathon. This work undoubtedly assumed the Phœnicians to have been aboriginals. Like the cosmogonies of Egypt and Babylon, it made the human race spring up in the country of the writer—a view which flattered the national vanity far more than a tale of early wanderings and privations. But the speculations of Philo-Byblius, though they occasionally throw some light on the Phœnician language and religion, are for historical purposes valueless.[12] They have no claim to be considered as real national traditions, being mythological fancies parallel to those of Hesiod, and clearly dating from a time not earlier than Alexander. With respect to the silence of Scripture, it may be observed, in the first place, that the argument *a silentio* is seldom of much weight; and secondly, that the slight contact between the Phœnicians and the Jews causes little to be said of the former, so that we have no right to feel surprise at the omission of any reference to their origin.

10. With respect to the time at which the migration took place, it is impossible to speak with confidence. If Tyre and Sidon were originally Canaanitic, and afterwards passed into the possession of Phœnician immigrants, we can conclude nothing concerning the date of the migration from the mention of those towns in the book of Joshua.[1] Much less can we draw any inference from the statement of Herodotus, that the temple

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name of lake could be applied" (Kenrick, l. s. c.). But the Sea of *Nejjef* is exactly such a collection of waters. It is a permanent lake of considerable depth, surrounded by cliffs of a reddish sandstone—in places 40 feet high—and extends in a south-easterly direction a distance of 40 miles, being at its greatest width about 35 miles broad (see Loftus's Chaldæa, p. 45, et seqq.). The famous "Chaldæan Marshes" are quite distinct from this lake, though they blend with it at the time of the inundation.

[11] Die Phönizier, vol. ii. part i. pp. 23-62.

[12] It seems to be universally agreed that the work of Philo-Byblius was not what it pretended to be—the translation into Greek of a Phœnician writer who lived not long after Moses. The only doubt is whether it was the mere work of Philo himself, or translated by him from a Phœnician original of a comparatively recent date. Mr. Kenrick decides in favour of this latter supposition (Phœnicia, p. 284); and suggests that the work was written in the fourth or third century before Christ (ibid. p. 290). But it is at least as likely that Philo himself composed the treatise; which, though called "a Phœnician history" by Porphyry (De Abstinent. ii. 56), is, so far as our extracts go, an account of the Phœnician mythology, of which the predominant element is Greek!

[1] Josh. xix. 28-9, &c.

of Hercules at Tyre was said by the inhabitants to have been built 2300 years before his visit to that city.[2] The Tyrians would be likely to exaggerate on such a matter; and the temple itself may have been more ancient than their possession of the city. I should incline on the whole to place the immigration in the thirteenth century before Christ. This was a time of increasing Semitic influence, as indicated especially in the rise of Assyria to eminence.[3] It was when the Jews were suffering oppression at the hands of their eastern and southern neighbours,[4] the power of their northern ones being broken. Again, it is sufficiently early to accord with the Greek traditions, which made the Phœnicians predominant in the eastern Mediterranean at the time of the Trojan war, and spoke of their settlements in Bœotia at a period still earlier.[5] And it is sufficiently late to harmonise with Scripture, which does not introduce to our notice the real artistic and commercial Tyrians and Sidonians till the reigns of David and Solomon.

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[2] Herod. ii. 44.

[3] See above, vol. i. Essay vii. p. 451.

[4] The Midianites, the Ammonites, and the Philistines (see Judg. vi. 1; x. 7; &c.

[5] On these settlements see note [1] on Book ii. ch. 49 (vol. ii. pp. 91-2).

ESSAY III.

ON THE ALARODIANS OF HERODOTUS. [H.C.R.]

1. The Alarodians of Herodotus identified with the *Urarda* or people of Ararat. 2. True position of the Hebrew Ararat. 3. Connexion of the *Urarda* of these parts with the Babylonian *Burbur* or *Akkad*. 4. Resemblance of the writing employed by the two races, and probable connexion of their languages.

1. The Alarodians of Herodotus, joined with the Sapires both in the notice of the 18th Satrapy[1] and in the muster-roll of the army of Xerxes,[2] and intervening apparently between the Matienians to the south and the Colchians to the north, are almost certainly the inhabitants of Armenia whose Semitic name was *Urarda* or Ararat. *Alarud*, indeed, is a mere variant form of *Ararud*, the *l* and *r* being undistinguishable in the old Persian,[3] and *Ararud* serves determinately to connect the Ararat of Scripture with the *Urarda* or *Urartha* of the Inscriptions.[4] It must be remembered that Herodotus was unacquainted with the name of Armenia, as applied to the country of the Alarodians; he uses the titles "Armenia" and "Armenians" in connexion with the more western part of the country, particularly with that part of the mountain chain of Taurus in which the river Halys takes its rise;[5] and although it is pretty certain that the Armenians in his time had really extended their sway over this central portion of Asia Minor, it is equally certain that the sources of the Halys could not have been included within the limits of the ancient *Urarda*. That country was conterminous with Assyria to the south, commencing at *Bohtan*, and it

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[1] Herod. iii. 94.

[2] Ibid. vii. 79.

[3] The Achæmenian Persian possessed no *l*, and everywhere therefore substituted an *r*, as in *Babiru* for Babylon, *Bira* for Bel, &c.

[4] There is a remarkable confusion of the dentals in Babylonian cuneiform, the two powers of *da* and *tha* being represented by a single letter, and another character having also the double value of *di* and *thi*. When the vowel *u*, however, terminates the name of *Ararat*, the consonant employed is clearly the *th*, answering etymologically to the Hebrew ט, though it is probable that the pronunciation more nearly approached the Arabic ذ, or the hard *th* (as in "the," "thou," "that," &c.) of the English.

[5] Herod. i. 72.

stretched to the northward probably as far as the Araxes, comprising within its limits the lakes both of Van and Urumiyeh, and having for its capital the ancient city upon the former lake, the foundation of which was ascribed to Semiramis.[6]

2. The name of Ararat is constantly used in Scripture, but always to denote a country rather than a particular mountain. The famous passage of Genesis,[7] which has given a world-wide celebrity to the name of Ararat, refers to a mountain range הרי אררט, and was understood by all the best early authorities on Eastern geography to indicate the lofty chain which overhung the plain of Assyria to the northward of Nineveh,—this chain known to the Greeks as the Gordyæan mountains, to the Syrians as Mount *Kurdu*, and to the Arabs as *Jabal Judi*, جبل جودى, being moreover visited by Christian pilgrims of the present day as the spot on which the ark of Noah rested, and where remains of the sacred vessel are still, it is believed, to be seen.[8] In other passages of Scripture, where Ararat is mentioned,[9] the English version, following the Septuagint and Vulgate, employs the term Armenia;[1] and there is no doubt but that as early

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[6] That this was the real country of Ararat is proved by the cuneiform inscriptions of Armenia, which, as it is well known, are found around the lake, but principally on the rock forming the acropolis of the city of Van. The name of *Urarda* or Ararat never once occurs, it is true, throughout these inscriptions, the more comprehensive title of *Nairi* being apparently used in its place, but the local kings who are enumerated, such as *Argistis* and *Belat-Duri*, are precisely those who on the Assyrian slabs and cylinders of Sargon and *Asshur-bani-pal*, are named kings of *Urarda*. The cuneiform inscriptions of Armenia are not, however, confined exclusively to the immediate vicinity of lake Van, nor indeed to the limits of the province of Ararat proper, but are to be met with throughout the whole extent of *Nairi*,—wherever in fact the *Urardians* or Alarodians had carried their arms; memorial tablets having been thus carved upon the rocks at *Malatiyeh* and at *Paloo* to the west, and even in the plain of *Miyandab* to the east, far within the borders of Media.

[7] Gen. viii. 4.

[8] Bochart has collected all the authorities, from Berosus down to Epiphanius, in Phaleg, lib. 1, c. 3. The identification of the scriptural Ararat with the remarkable peak now called *Agri dagh*, on the Araxes, does not appear to have obtained any currency until subsequently to the Christianisation of the Armenian nation, and the establishment of the famous convent of Etchmiadzin in the immediate vicinity of the mountain. St. Jerome, at any rate, is the first western author who placed Mount Ararat on the Araxes.

[9] 2 Kings xix. 37, and Is. xxxvii. 38.

[1] The passages here quoted refer to the flight into the mountains of the sons of Sennacherib after the murder of their father, and Ararat or Bohtan would thus be the first district they would reach on ascending from the plains. Their posterity, however, according to Mos. Chor. (lib. i. c. 22), settled further in the interior. There is still another passage however in Scripture where Ararat is mentioned, and where the English version preserves the original name, namely in the denunciation of Jeremiah which threatens Babylon with the power of the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz (Jer. li. 27), in allusion it may be supposed to the invasion of Cyrus, with whom probably the northern kings were associated as tributaries. *Minni* is well known from the inscriptions, both of Assyria and Armenia, being apparently

as the time of Darius Hystaspes the two names were used indifferently in the country, for in the Behistun inscriptions the Persian and Scythic texts everywhere employ Armenia for the more ancient Assyrian title of *Urarda*. But notwithstanding this confusion, it seems highly probable that there was in reality a marked ethnic distinction between the Armenians and the *Urardians* or Alarodians. The latter were certainly closely connected with the Scythic inhabitants of Babylonia, whose vernacular name was probably *Búrbúr*,[2] but who were known to the Semites as the *Akkad*, while the former were to all appearance an Arian race, having branched off, as Herodotus himself affirms,[3] from the Phrygians, who were themselves of Thracian origin. This ethnic difference, however, between Armenia and Ararat, notwithstanding the geographical interchangeability of the names, is a subject of so much interest, and so entirely opposed to the received opinion, that it may be as well to state in some detail the grounds upon which the argument is founded.

3. The connexion, then, of *Urarda* with the Babylonian tribe of *Akkad* is proved by the application in the inscriptions of the ethnic title of *Burbur* (?) to the Armenian king, who was contemporary with Sargon at the commencement of his reign, and who may be thus supposed to have been the immediate predecessor of *Argistis;* and the fact mentioned in the Behistun inscription of the Armenian *Arakha* having personated Nabochodrossor, the son of Nabonidus, is strongly confirmatory of this ethnic relationship; but there is nothing to prove whether the *Burbur* or *Akkad* of Babylonia descended in a very remote age

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immediately to the west of Ararat; and it has been sometimes supposed—though on insufficient evidence—to be the same name as Armenia ('Αρμενία = הר־מני Har-Mini or mountains of Minni); but Ashchenaz has not yet been recognised either in the local annals or in Greek geography; and there is every reason to suspect a false reading in the Hebrew text.

[2] It is with some diffidence I give this reading for the native name of the *Akkad*, as the compound cuneiform character which represents it, occurs in no other word. It seems, however, to be a mere doubled letter, of which the ordinary power is *Bur;* and *Burbur*, *Barbar* and *Berber* are well known ethnic titles, which have extended from Persia to Morocco. It is further curious to remember that in the Persæ of Æschylus, the ghost of Darius is raised by incantations in the Barbar tongue (Βαλὴν, ἀρχαῖος Βαλὴν, l. 659).

[3] Herod. vii. 73, and Steph. Byz. in voc. 'Αρμενία. Strabo in the strangest way confounds the Armenians with the Aramæans (i. p. 70), though there was not in reality the slightest connexion between them either ethnically or geographically. I am not prepared at present to suggest any etymology for the name of Armenia, though, as I observe that most of the ancient names of countries were adopted from their respective Pantheons, and as the Greeks recognised Armenus as one of the Argonauts, I would refer as a possible derivation to the god *Armenu*, who is said in one of the cuneiform mythological lists to have been worshipped at Susa.

from the mountains to colonise the plains, or whether the *Urardians* were refugees of a later period driven northward by the growing power of the Semites. The former supposition, however, is most in conformity with Scripture, and incidentally with the tenor of the inscriptions; for while the *Burbur* or *Akkad* are found in Babylonia at least as early as 2000 B.C.—being in fact, in all probability, the Accad mentioned in the 10th chapter of Genesis[4]—there is no trace of the passage of the tribe to the northward through Assyria at any period of history.

4. It would be going too far to derive the Babylonian cuneiform writing from the *Urardian*, although the *Burbur* or *Akkad* in their southern seats were not improbably the inventors of the alphabet; for we have no inscriptions in Armenia earlier than the 8th century B.C., and the artificial system of arrow-headed signs, together with the use of ideographs and determinatives, would thus seem more naturally to have been introduced into the mountains from the immediately neighbouring kingdom of Assyria, which was then in its most flourishing state;[5] but, on the other hand, unless there had been an identity of race between the *Burbur* or *Akkad* of the southern plains, and the *Burbur* or *Urardians* of the northern mountains, it is not likely that the latter would have readily adopted such a multitude of the Babylonian signs for the common objects of nature, nor can we otherwise explain the dominant worship in the mountains of the famous triad, the Moon, the Sun, and Æther, which was the distinguishing feature of primitive Babylonian mythology.[6]

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[4] Verse 10.

[5] A further proof that the Urardians formed their system of writing from the Assyrians is to be found in the fact that the earliest inscription in the country, commemorating native kings, is in the Assyrian language; and it is to this record, where the geographical title of the king is, in the usual Assyrian fashion, appended to the name, that we are indebted for our knowledge that these kings styled themselves kings of Nairi. This province, it may be added, which is described with so much minuteness of detail in the Inscriptions of Assyria, seems in its largest sense to have extended along the mountains, from the frontiers of Media to Cappadocia, and to have thus included within its limits all the minor divisions of Ararat, Minni, the Sapirès, and even northern Mesopotamia.

[6] I must here take occasion to modify the opinion given in my Essay on the Assyrian and Babylonian Mythology (supra, vol. i. p. 589), that the principal Armenian divinity named *Khaldi*, answered to the *Asshur* of Nineveh. *Khaldi* being invariably joined with the Sun and the Æther, can only represent the Moon god, known to the Assyrians as *Sin*, and to the Babylonians as *Hurki* or *Hur*; and a suspicion is thus raised that *Ararat* or *Urarda* may after all be *Hur-aredh*, or the moon country, and be thus a mere synonym of Chaldæa. This connexion of *Hur* and *Khaldi* as independent names for the Moon god, is at any rate curious, and a sanguine etymologist might even refer *Minni*, *Armenia*, and *Har-mina*, to the same source in an Arian tongue.

That the Accad again of the South continued to be a cultivated and literary race is proved by their employment under the Assyrian kings in drawing up comparative vocabularies of their own language and other dialects, and by their being promoted even to the post[7] which seems to answer to that of the Ministry of Education among modern nations, and we can thus understand how their brethren in the mountains came to be the only northern people who used a written language. I am not in a condition at present to pronounce on the precise degree of affinity which may exist between the *Urardian* language as presented to us in the Inscriptions of Van, and the Accadian tongue as it appears on the early Chaldæan bricks and on the later grammatical tablets of the Assyrians; but I think I can detect numerous points of resemblance, and I believe that both dialects will be found to be allied to the Achæmenian Scythic, with which we are already sufficiently familiar. At any rate the *Urardian*, whether purely Scythic like the *Accadian*, or partially Arianized by contact with northern races, possesses, as it would seem, no affinity whatever with the modern Armenian. The race speaking that tongue would really seem to have emigrated from Phrygia, and gradually to have brought the mountainous country to the eastward under their sway, driving out or absorbing the old Urardians, and substituting in their place their own name, language, religion, and traditions.[8]—[H.C.R.]

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[7] The *Shimu*, whither high priest or merely keeper of the archives, was certainly the superintendent, under the Assyrians, of the literature of the nation; and in several passages a Burbur or Akkad is said to have occupied that office.

[8] In this way indeed, and this way only, can we, I think, account for the complete discrepancy between the early Armenian sacred names, as preserved to us in the history of Moses of Chorene, and the names both of gods and kings that occur in the inscriptions of Van, or in the Assyrian annals which describe successful expeditions of the kings of Nineveh against the mountaineers.

NOTE A.

The following inscription is engraved on the sepulchre of Darius at *Nakhsh-i-Rustam*, a few miles north of Persepolis, between that city and *Murg-aub*, the ancient Pasargadæ. It is accompanied by a Babylonian and a Scythic transcript, which help to determine the true restoration of the Persian original in the places where it is illegible. These conjectural restorations are, in the following pages, printed in italics. There is also a second inscription at the same spot, which is in the Persian character only. This latter is in a very bad condition, and appears to have been purposely mutilated. It has not yet been copied by any traveller, but is thought, from the opening sentence, to have been "preceptive, not historical." Probably it "contained the last solemn admonitions of Darius to his countrymen with respect to their future conduct in polity, morals, and religion." (See Col. Rawlinson's Memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions, vol. i. p. 312.)

Par. 1. Baga vazarka Auramazdá, hya imám bumim adá, hya awam asmánam adá, hya martiyam adá, hya shiyátim adá martiyahyá, hya Dáryavum khsháyathiyam akunaush, aivam paruvanám khsháyathiyam, aivam paruvanám framatáram.

The great god Ormazd, he gave this earth, he gave that heaven, he gave mankind, he gave life (?) to mankind: he made Darius king, as well the king of the people as the lawgiver of the people.

Par. 2. Adam Dáryavush, khsháyathiya vazarka, khsháyathiya khsháyathiyánám, khsháyathiya dahyaunám vispazanánám, khsháyathiya ahyáyá bumiyá vazarkáyá duriápiya, Vishtáspahyá putra, Hakhámanishiya, Pársa, *Pá*rsahyá putra, Ariya, Ariya *chi*tra.

I (am) Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of all inhabited countries, the king of this great earth far and near, the son of Hystaspes, an Achæmenian, a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Arian, of Arian descent.

Par. 3. Thátiya Dáryavush khshá*ya*thiya:—Vashná Auramazdáhá ima dahyáva *tyá* ada*m* agarbáya*m* apataram hachá Pársá. Adamshá*m* patiyakhshaiya. Maná bájim abara . . . . . tyashám hacháma atha*hya awa akunava*. Dátam tya maná *awa* . . . . . adári. Máda, 'Uvaja, Parthva, *Hariva*, Bákhtrish, Sug*da*, 'Uvara*zm*ish, Zaraka, Harauvatish, Thatagu*sh*, *Ga*dára, Hidush, Saká Humavar*gá*, *Sa*ká Tigrakhudá, Bábirush, Athurá, Arabáya, Mudrá*yá*, *Armina*, Katapatuka, Saparda, Yuna, Saká tyai*yá páradaraya*, Skudra, Yuná takabará, Pu*tiyá*, Kushiyá, Máchaiyá, Kraká.

Says Darius the king:—By the grace of Ormazd these (are) the countries which I have acquired besides Persia. I have established my power over them. They have brought tribute to me. That which has

been said to them by me they have done. They have obeyed my law. Media, Susiana, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Zarangia, Arachotia, Sattagydia, Gandaria, India, the Sacæ Amyrgii, the Sakan bowmen, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Saparda, Ionia, the Sacæ beyond the sea, the Scodræ, the Ionians who wear helmets, the Budians, the Cossæans, the Masians, (and) the Characeni (?).

Par. 4. Thátiya Dáryavush khsháyathiya:—Auramaz*dá* yath*á* avaina, imám bumim yu . . . . . . parávadim maná frábara. Má*m* *kh*shá*y*athiyam akunaush. Adam khshá*y*at*h*iya amiya. Vashná Auramazdah*á* adamshim gáthwá niyashádayam. *Tyash*ám athaham, ava akunavat*á*. *Yathá* mám káma áha yadipa*d*iya maniy*áhya* *t*ya chiyakarma, *avá* *dahyáva* tyá Dárya*v*ush *kh*sháyat*h*iya adáraya patikarma d*idya* . . i . . *hya* gáthum baratiya . . . . á khshanása . . . . . Adataiya *a*zadá bav*á*tiya Pársa*hyá* martiyahyá du*r*aya ara . . . . sh parágamatá. Adataiya azadá bav*á*tiya. Pársa martiya, duraya *h*ac*h*á Pársá *bat*aram patiyajatá.

Says Darius the king:—Ormazd, when he saw that the world was heretical (or rebellious), he rendered it subject to my power. He made me king. I am king. By the grace of Ormazd I have reformed it completely. That which I have said to the people, that they have done.[1] If all parties shall respectively observe a line of conduct agreeable to my wishes, the stability which produces permanence shall be enjoyed by those countries which Darius the king has possessed (?). This shall be assured to thee, O ruler of the Persian people! supremacy over . . . . . (?) This shall be assured to thee, O Persian people! thy ruler shall inherit prosperity from Persia (?).

Par. 5. Thá*t*iya Dáryavush khsháyathiya: ai*ta* t*ya* kartam, ava vis*pa* vashná Auramazdáhá akunavam. Auramazdá*ma*iya upastám abara, yátá kartam akuna*vam*. *Mám* Auramazdá pátuva hac*há* sara . . . . *u*támaiya vitham, utá imám dahyáum. Aita adam Auramazdám jadiyámiya. A*itama*iya Auramazdá dadátuva.

Says Darius the king:—That which has been done, all of it I have accomplished by the grace of Ormazd. Ormazd brought help to me, so that I accomplished the work. May Ormazd protect from injury (?) me and my house and this province! That I commit to Ormazd. That may Ormazd accomplish for me!

Par. 6. Martiyá, hyá Auramazdáhá framáná, hauvataiya gastá, má thadaya. Pathim tyám rástám *má* avarada. Má sta*b*ava.

Oh! people, the law of Ormazd—that having returned to you, let it not perish. (Beware) lest ye abandon the true doctrine. (Beware) lest ye stumble (or, lest ye oppress it).

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[1] Owing to Sir H. Rawlinson's absence from England on the public service, the remainder of this translation has not had the benefit of his latest corrections.

NOTE B.

FAMILY TREE OF THE ACHÆMENIDÆ.

1. ACHÆMENES (Herod. vii. 11; Beh. Inscr. Col. i. Par. 2).

2. TEISPES (Herod. ibid.; Beh. Inscr. ibid.)

Children of Teispes:

3. CAMBYSES (Diod. Sic. ap. Phot. Bibl. P. 1158).
4. CYRUS (Herod. i. 111).
5. CAMBYSES (Herod. i. 107; Brick from Senkereh), m. *Mandané*.
6. CYRUS the Great (Ezra i. 1; Dan. vi. 28; Herod. Murg-aub Inscr. &c.), m. *Cassandané*.

Children of Cyrus the Great:

7. CAMBYSES (Herod. ii. 1; Beh. Inscr. Col. i. Par. 10), m. *Atossa*.
8. *Smerdis* (Herod. iii. 30; Beh. Inscr. Col. i. Par. 10).
12. *Parmys*, d. m. DARIUS (Herod. iii. 88).
9. *Atossa*, d. (Herod. iii. 88; vii. 3, &c. married— 1. CAMBYSES. 2. GOMATES. and 3. DARIUS.
10. *Artystoné*, d. (Herod. iii. 88; vii. 69). m. DARIUS.
11. A *daughter*, m. Cambyses (Herod. iii. 31).

13 *Ariaramnes* (Herod. ibid. Beh. Inscr. ibid.).
14. *Arsames* (Herod. i. 209: vii. 11; Beh. Inscr. Col. i. Par. 1, 2).
15. *Hystaspes* (Herod. i. 209; iii. 70; Beh. Inscr Col. i. Par. 1, &c.).

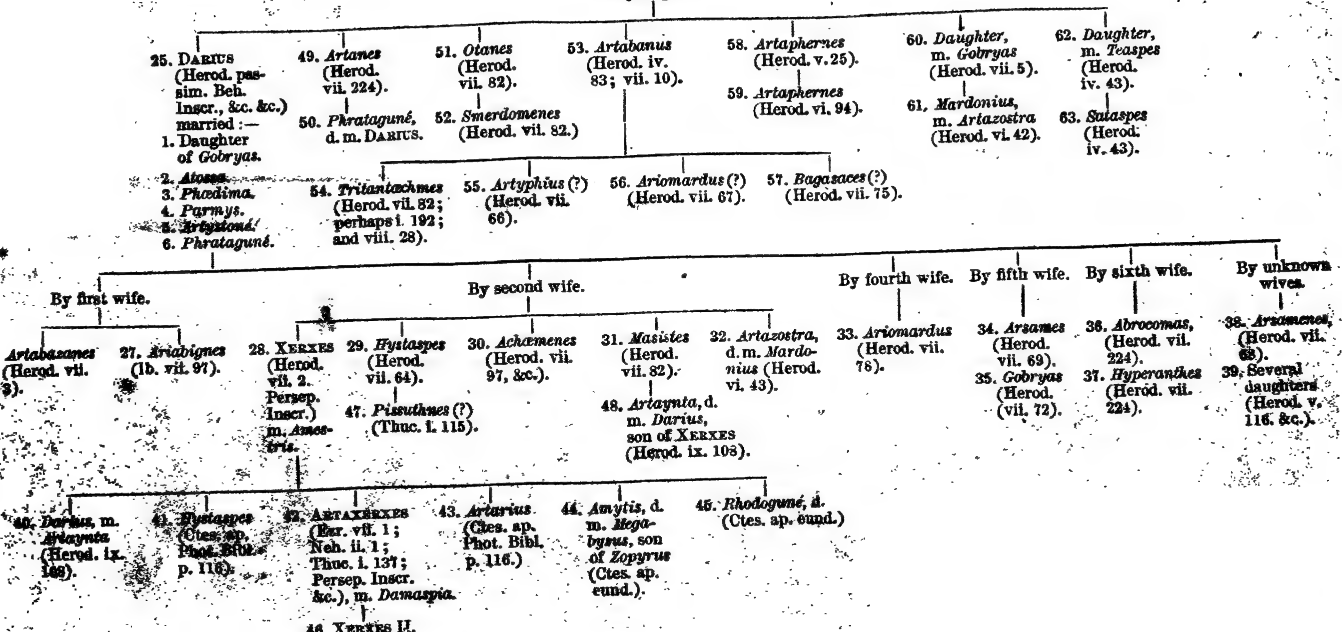
See next Page.

16. *Atossa*, d. (Diod. Sic. ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 1158), m. *Pharnaces*, king of Cappadocia.
17. *Gallus* (Diod. Sic. ibid.)
18. *Smerdis* (Diod. Sic. ibid.).
19. *Artamnes* (Diod. Sic. ibid., but compare Herod. iii. 68, where the father of Otanes is called *Pharnaspes*).
20. *Anaphes* or *Otanes* (Diod Sic. ibid.; Herod. iii. 68, &c.; Beh. Insc. Col. iv. Par. 18).

Children of Anaphes or Otanes:

21. *Phædima*, d. (Herod. iii. 69; 88; married— 1. CAMBYSES. 2. GOMATES. 3. DARIUS.
22. *Amestris*, d. (Herod. vii. 61; &c.). m. XERXES.
23. *Patiramphes* (?) (Herod. vii. 40).
24. *Anaphes* (?) (Herod. vii. 62).

NOTE B.—*continued.*



FAMILY OF THE ACHÆMENIDÆ.

[N.B.—The numbers correspond with those in the Genealogical Tree, pages 257 and 258.]

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1. ACHÆMENES, the first known founder of the family, was probably the chief under whom the Persians performed the last step of their long migration, and settled in the country which has ever since borne their name.[1] He is not a mere *heros eponymus*, as might be thought from the connexion in which he occurs in Stephen[2] and the Etymologicum Magnum.[3] Herodotus gives him his right place in the genealogy of Xerxes,[4] and the Behistun Inscription shows us that Darius traced his descent to him through four intermediate persons.[5] Herodotus again is quite correct when he asserts that the Persian royal family were called Achæmenidæ,[6] and Nicolas of Damascus was well informed when he connected the dynastic name with the hero.[7] The Persian kings, from Cyrus to Artaxerxes Ochus, make use of the title as one in which they glory;[8] and Darius expressly connects the term with the name of his great ancestor.[9] The date of Achæmenes may be regarded as about B.C. 700.

2. TEÏSPES was the son and successor of Achæmenes, as appears both from the Behistun Inscription[10] and from our author.[11] He appears to have had at least two sons, Cambyses and Ariaramnes.[12] We may gather from Diodorus that he had also a daughter, Atossa, whom he married to Pharnaces, king of Cappadocia.[13] (See below, No. 16.)

3. CAMBYSES I. is a person whose existence is somewhat doubtful. Both he and his son Cyrus are omitted from the genealogy of Xerxes, as given in Herodotus,[14] according to our present text; and Diodorus, in the passage where he perhaps really names him, seems to intend the father of Cyrus the Great.[15] The Cambyses, however, whose sister was the ancestress, in the *fourth* degree, of one of the seven conspirators, should be an earlier king than one whose son was contemporary with some of them.[16] Thus Cambyses is wanted, on chrono-

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[1] Persia, or *Parsa*, which was the old Persian word, is still *Fars* or *Farsistan*. The name continues in the old place, designating the province on the Persian Gulf, of which *Shiraz* is the capital. *Iran* is the native term for the whole country.

[2] See Steph. Byz. ad voc. Ἀχαιμενία. "Ἀχ. ἡ Περσικὴ μοῖρα, ἀπὸ Ἀχαιμένους, υἱοῦ Αἰγέως."

[3] Etym. Mag. ad voc. Ἀχαιμένης. "Ἀχ. ὁ ἥρως, ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι Ἀχαιμενίδαι· γέγονε υἱὸς Περσέως, ὠνόμασται δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶναι τὸν προπάτορα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχαΐας."

[4] Herod. vii. 11.

[5] Col. i. par. 2; and compare the detached inscriptions (Inscrip. A.).

[6] Herod. i. 125.

[7] See above, note [3]. The authority of Nicolas is quoted by the Etymologist.

[8] See Col. Rawlinson's Behistun Memoir, vol. i. pp. 195, 196, 261, 270, 271, 279, 287, 292, 320, 324, 327, 329, 334, 337, and 342.

[9] See vol. i. p. 264, note [5].

[10] Col. i. par. 2.

[11] Herod. vii. 11.

[12] See note [8] on Book vii. ch. 11.

[13] Ap. Phot. (Biblioth. p. 1158).

[14] Loc. cit.

[15] Ap. Phot. l. s. c.

[16] Cyrus the Great is contemporary with Darius, though the latter is of course a much younger man (Herod. i. 209). As

logical grounds, to give the same number of steps in this line that there are in the others; and again he is wanted, on historical grounds, to fill out the number of kings which Darius declares there to have been "of his race" before he himself mounted the throne.[17] We may therefore regard Cambyses I. as the son and successor of Teïspes, and the brother of Ariaramnes and Atossa. (See Nos. 13 and 16.)

4. Cyrus I. is mentioned by Herodotus, in one passage only, as the father of the Cambyses who married Mandané.[18] This passage, it may be remarked, is incompatible with the genealogy of Book vii., as it now stands, since there Cambyses is the son of Teïspes. Cyrus I. was the son and successor of Cambyses I., and the fourth king of Persia. His date was about B.C. 600.

5. Cambyses II., the son and successor of Cyrus I., and the father of Cyrus II., called the Great, was not a mere Persian of fair family, as Herodotus states,[19] but was king of the country, like his ancestors and his descendants. Xenophon has stated this[20] distinctly, and his statement is fully confirmed by the native records. A brick brought from Senkereh has the inscription:—"Cyrus the great king, son of Cambyses the great king"[1]—a plain proof that Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, is included among the "eight kings of his race" who are noticed by Darius.[2]

6. Cyrus II., surnamed the Great, does not require any prolonged notice. His famous inscription at *Murg-aub* has been already given.[3] He is mentioned in the Behistun Inscription,[4] in the Canon of Ptolemy,[5] in Berosus,[6] and in Æschylus,[7] as well as in Herodotus, Ctesias, Xenophon, and Scripture.[8] We may gather from Herodotus that he reigned from B.C. 558 to B.C. 529.

7. Cambyses III., the son and successor of Cyrus, is the subject of two long paragraphs in the Behistun Inscription,[9] by which it appears that he put his brother Smerdis (Bardes) to death, invaded Egypt, lost his kingdom to the Pseudo-Smerdis (Gomates), and died, probably by suicide. His name occurs in the Canon, in Manetho,[10] and in Egyptian Inscriptions,[11] as well as in the ordinary historians. He is alluded to, but not mentioned by name, in Æschylus.[12] He seems to be intended, in the Book of Ezra, by Ahasuerus[13]—a name which orthographically corresponds with the Greek Xerxes.

Cambyses marries the daughter of Otanes (ib. iii. 68), that noble must be regarded as about the age of Cyrus.

17 See Beh. Inscr. col. i. par. 4; and compare Col. Rawlinson's note on Book i. ch. 125 (note 5 ad fin.).

18 Herod. i. 111.

19 Ibid. i. 107, ad fin.

20 Cyrop. i. 2, § 1.

1 Supra, vol. i. p. 250, note 3.

2 Beh. Insc. col. i. par. 4.

3 Supra, vol. i. p. 351, note 9.

4 Beh. Insc. col. i. par. 10.

5 Mag. Syntax. v. 14.

6 Fragments 14 and 15.

7 Pers. l. 764.

8 The most remarkable mention of his name is the prophetic one in Isaiah (xliv. 28, and xlv. 1), which preceded his birth by above a century. The passages in which he is introduced historically are 2 Chr. xxxvi. 22-3; Ezr. i. 1-8, iii. 7, iv. 5, &c.; and Dan. i. 21, vi. 28, x. 1.

9 Col. i. par. 10 and par. 11.

10 Fr. 68 and 69.

11 Vide supra, vol. iii. p. 390.

12 Pers. l. 769.

13 Ezr. iv. 6. It is thought by some that Ahasuerus here is the true Xerxes, and that the Artaxerxes of the next verse is Artaxerxes Longimanus, the Darius under whom the temple was finished, becoming in that case Darius Nothus, and the Artaxerxes who was contemporary with Ezra and Nehemiah being then regarded as Mnemon. Certainly the sequence of the names is in this case all that can be wished, and there is in consequence considerable temptation to adopt the view. But the following objections seem to me fatal to it. 1. Zerubbabel the prince, and Jeshua the High Priest, who commence the building of the

8. *Smerdis*, the son of Cyrus, and brother of Cambyses, was really called *Bardiya* or Bardes. His secret destruction by his brother is mentioned in the Behistun Inscription.[13a] Ctesias called him Tanyoxarces,[14] which would seem to be an epithet meaning "great or strong of body"[15]—indicative therefore of the same physical superiority which is ascribed to him by Herodotus.[16] The partition of territory between Cambyses and Smerdis, which Ctesias ascribes to Cyrus, is very unlikely.

9. *Atossa*, the daughter of Cyrus, and wife successively of her brother Cambyses, of the Pseudo-Smerdis, and of Darius, is known to us chiefly from Herodotus and Æschylus.[17] There is no mention of her in the Inscriptions, nor by any historical writer of repute,[18] except such as follow Herodotus. According to one account she was killed by Xerxes in a fit of passion.[19]

10. *Artystoné* was probably the youngest daughter of Cyrus. As she was not taken to wife by the Pseudo-Smerdis, we may conclude that she was not in his reign of marriageable age. Her marriage with Darius is related by Herodotus;[20] as also that she bore him two children, Arsames and Gobryas.[21] (See Nos. 34 and 35.) She was of all his wives the one whom Darius loved best.[22]

11. A *Daughter* of Cyrus, whose name is not given, was married to Cambyses and accompanied him into Egypt, where she died of a miscarriage, caused, as was said, by his brutality.[23] She was his full sister, the daughter of Cyrus by Cassandané.[24] Nothing more is known of her.

12. *Parmys*, the daughter of the true Smerdis, was one of the wives of Darius.[1] She was the mother of Ariomardus, who commanded the Moschi and Tibareni in the army of Xerxes.[2]

13. *Ariaramnes* appears in the Behistun Inscription among the ancestors of

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temple under Cyrus, B.C. 536 (Ezr. iii. 2), preside also over the renewal of the work in the second year of the reign of Darius (ib. v. 2). Now the second year of Darius Nothus was B.C. 422: if we suppose him to be the king who found the decree of Cyrus, we shall make Jeshua certainly, and Zerubbabel probably, 144 *years old at the least* when they renew the building! Nay, as Zerubbabel was to finish the temple (Zech. iv. 9), he must have lived at least four years more, or attained to the age of 148. 2. Eliashib was the High Priest at the time when Nehemiah began to fortify Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 1). He was the grandson of Jeshuah (ib. xii. 10), who, as we have seen, came up to Jerusalem as High Priest in B.C. 536. If we make the Artaxerxes who sent Nehemiah to Jerusalem Artaxerxes Mnemon, as his 20th year was B.C. 385, we shall have the space of 151 years covered by a father, a son, and a grandson, the father being at least 30 when the 151 years begin, and the grandson being still vigorous and not (so far as appears) near his end when they terminate. 3. If we make the building of the walls of Jerusalem commence in B.C. 385 we shall find it impossible to bring the years of Daniel's prophecy of the weeks into accordance with our (supposed) facts. According to the lowest computation, the years intended amount to 480 years; and 33 years (the longest term for our Lord's life) added to 385 would give only 418 years, or 62 years short.

[13a] Col. i. par. 10.

[14] Exc. Pers. § 8.

[15] Vide supra, vol. iii. p. 562.

[16] Herod. iii. 30.

[17] Ibid. iii. 68, 88, 133-4, vii. 3, ad fin. Æschyl. Pers. 157 et seqq.

[18] Ctesias appears to have ignored her. The Atossa mentioned by Hellanicus (Fragments 163a and 163b) is not the wife of Darius, but the Assyrian or Babylonian queen, called otherwise Semiramis, who seems to have been the wife of Pul, and mother (?) of Nabonassar (supra, vol. i. pp. 467 and 501. Comp. Paschal Chron. p. 68; and Phot. Biblioth. p. 427-8).

[19] Aspasius ad Aristot. Eth. p. 171.

[20] Herod. iii. 88.

[21] Ibid. vii. 69 and 72.

[22] Ibid. vii. 69.

[23] Ibid. iii. 31-2.

[24] Ibid. iii. 31 ad init.

[1] Herod. iii. 88.

[2] Ibid. vii. 78.

Darius.[3] He was the son of Teïspes. Herodotus mentions him in the genealogy of Xerxes.[4]

14. *Arsames*, the son of Ariaramnes and father of Hystaspes, is mentioned with Ariaramnes in the two passages above quoted. He is also noticed by Herodotus in a second passage,[5] and further he is referred to by Artaxerxes Ochus in an inscription as in some sort the founder of the family.[6]

15. *Hystaspes*, the son of Arsames and father of Darius—the *Gustasp* of Persian romance—not only occurs in the genealogical lists, Greek and native,[7] but likewise appears in the Behistun Inscription as actually living in the reign of his son and serving under him.[8] According to Ctesias, he was accidentally killed as he was being drawn up by ropes to examine the sculptures which Darius was having executed for his own tomb.[9] I have already[10] noticed the probability that Hystaspes was the real heir to the throne, on the failure of male issue in the line of Cyrus, but waived his right in favour of his eldest son.[11]

16. *Atossa*, the sister of a Cambyses who was father of a Cyrus, king of Persia, according to Diodorus,[12] married Pharnaces, king of Cappadocia, and was ancestress, *in the fourth degree*, of Anaphes (= Otanes), one of the seven conspirators. This circumstance makes it probable that this Cambyses and Cyrus are not Cyrus the Great and his father, but two earlier kings.

17. *Gallus* is mentioned by Diodorus as the son of Pharnaces and Atossa. Nothing more is known of him. The name is suspicious.

18. *Smerdis* is mentioned by Diodorus as the son of Gallus, and father of Artamnes, who is the father of Anaphes.

19. *Artamnes*, according to Diodorus, is the son of Smerdis and the father of Anaphes, who clearly represents Otanes. It is curious that Diodorus, Herodotus, and the Behistun Inscription, should each give Otanes a different father. Diodorus, as we have seen, makes him the son of Artamnes; Herodotus makes his father a Pharnaspes;[13] the Behistun Inscription calls him "the son of *Thukhra*" (Socres).[14] The authority of this document is of course paramount; and the contradiction which it offers to Diodorus throws a suspicion on his whole story, but does not perhaps deprive it of all claim to consideration. Diodorus may be merely wrong in the name.

20. *Otanes* (or *Anaphes*), the conspirator, appears in the Behistun Inscription, not quite in the position assigned to him by Herodotus,[15] but still in one of some prominence. He is there the second in the list of those who assisted Darius.[16] Probably he owed this position, and the special privileges of which Herodotus speaks,[17] rather to his high birth and rank than to his waiving any claim to the throne. Herodotus speaks of him as employed to establish Syloson in Samos,[18] and probably intends to represent him as the commander

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[3] Col. i. par. 2.

[4] Herod. vii. 11.

[5] Ibid. i. 309.

[6] See Col. Rawlinson's Memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions, vol. i. p. 342.

[7] Herod. vii. 11, and Beh. Inscr. col. i. par. 2.

[8] Beh. Inscr. col. ii. par. 16, col. iii. par. 1.

[9] Exc. Pers. § 15.

[10] Supra, vol. ii. p. 479, note [8].

[11] Herod. i. 209.

[12] Ap. Phot. Bibliothec. p. 1158.

[13] Herod. iii. 68.

[14] Col. iv. par. 18. The Babylonian and Scythic versions agree. (See Col. Rawlinson's "Additional note on the Behistun Inscription" in the 12th volume of the Asiatic Society's Journal, part ii. p. xiv.)

[15] Herod. iii. 68-84.

[16] Intaphernes is the first (Beh. Insc. col. iv. par. 18).

[17] Herod. iii. 84.

[18] Ibid. iii. 141.

of the Persian contingent in the army of Xerxes,[19] and also as the father of Amestris, Xerxes' wife.[20] It has been questioned whether in these two last cases, Onophas, the son of Otanes, should not be substituted for Otanes himself, on account of the great age of the latter,[21] but I do not see the necessity of rejecting the authority of Herodotus.[22]

21. *Phædima*, the daughter of Otanes, married (according to Herodotus) first Cambyses; secondly, the Pseudo-Smerdis; and thirdly, Darius.[1] So far as appears, she had no children. The Greek cast of her name is suspicious. It has been compared with *Fatima*,[2] but that is Arabic, not Persian.

22. *Amestris*, the daughter of Otanes, according to Herodotus,[3] of Onophas according to Ctesias,[4] was the favourite wife of Xerxes, and bore him at least five children. Her crimes and cruelties are related by Ctesias at some length,[5] and are glanced at by Herodotus.[6] She may be the Vashti of Esther,[7] whose disgrace was perhaps only temporary. She lived to a great age, only dying, as it would seem, a little before her son Artaxerxes.[8]

23. *Patiramphes*, the charioteer of Xerxes, is said to have been the son of Otanes, "a Persian."[9] It is uncertain whether the Otanes intended is the conspirator or not. There were at least two other persons of the name living about the same time,[10] and of course there may have been several more.

24. *Anaphas*, the son of Otanes, who commanded the Cissians in the army of Xerxes,[11] is almost certainly a son of the conspirator, or the names would not have been confounded. He *may perhaps* be the father of Amestris.

25. DARIUS, the eldest son of Hystaspes, is the Persian king who has left by far the most copious records. Besides the Behistun Inscription—the most precious of all cuneiform documents—he has left memorials which may still be read, at Persepolis, at Elwand, at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, and at Suez.[12] Herodotus declares that he set up pillars with inscriptions, one column of which was Greek, in Europe.[13] He is almost certainly the monarch under whom the second temple was finished;[14] and thus his name appears repeatedly in Scripture.[15] He is likewise mentioned in the Canon of Ptolemy, in Mane-

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19 Herod. vii. 61.

20 Ibid. Ctesias may be considered to agree, though he makes Amestris the daughter of Onophas (Exc. Pers. § 20); for, like Diodorus, he names the conspirator Onophas (= Anaphes).

21 See As. Soc. Journ. vol. xii. part ii. note ad fin. pp. xiii.-xiv.

22 Otanes need not have been more than about eighty at the time of the expedition of Xerxes; and, as Mr. Blakesley remarks (note 192 on Book vii. ch. 61), his command would have been almost nominal. If his daughter Phædima married Cambyses in B.C. 530, at the age of fourteen (not an early age in the East), his own marriage need not have been before B.C. 541, or his birth (consequently) before B.C. 560. This would make him *exactly* eighty in B.C. 480. He may have had a daughter born to him at sixty who would have been quite young enough to have married Xerxes.

1 Herod. iii. 68 and 88.

2 By Von Hammer, quoted in Bähr's note to Book iii. ch. 88.

3 Herod. vii. 61.

4 Ctes. Pers. Exc. § 20.

5 Ibid. §§ 40-3.

6 Herod. vii. 114, ix. 112.

7 This will of course depend chiefly on the identity of Xerxes with the Ahasuerus of Esther. (See N° 28.)

8 Ctes. Pers. Exc. § 43 ad fin.

9 Herod. vii. 40. "ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω."

10 Otanes the son of Sisamnes (Herod. v. 26), and Otanes the brother of Darius (Herod. vii. 82).

11 Ibid. vii. 62.

12 See Col. Rawlinson's Memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions, vol. i. pp. 271-318; and on the Suez stone, vide supra, vol. ii. p. 243, note [8].

13 Herod. iv. 87 and 91.

14 See above, page 246, note [15].

15 Ezra, iv. 5, 24, v. 5-7, vi. 1-14. "Darius *the Mede*," however, in the book

tho,[16] in Æschylus,[17] in the Fragments of Pherecydes,[18] of Hellanicus,[19] and of Abydenus.[20] It is unnecessary in this place to give an account of the events of his reign, which occupy the chief part of four Books of Herodotus' History.

26. *Artabazanes*, who is called Artemenes by Justin,[21] and Ariamenes by Plutarch,[22] was the eldest son of Darius, born before he came to the throne. His mother was a daughter of the conspirator Gobryas. Nothing is known of him beyond the fact that he claimed to succeed his father, but was obliged to yield his claim in favour of Xerxes.[23]

27. *Ariabignes*, who was one of the chief commanders of Xerxes' fleet, was own brother to Artabazanes.[24] He fell in the battle of Salamis.[25]

28. Xerxes, the eldest of Darius' sons by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, has left records at Persepolis, at Van, and at Hamadán.[26] His invasion of Greece was witnessed and recorded by Æschylus.[27] His name appears in Ptolemy's Canon and in Manetho,[28] while his actions are recorded by the Greek writers generally. As the name Ahasuerus (אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ) is the natural Hebrew representation of the Persian word which the Greeks rendered by Xerxes, viz. *Khshayarsha*;[1] and as the description of the Ahasuerus of Esther accords well with what we know of the temper of Xerxes, we are perhaps justified in assuming it as most probable that the prince who disgraced Vashti, and made Esther his queen, was the son and successor of Darius.[2] Vashti may in this case have been Amestris, and though deprived for a time of the position of sultana or chief wife, may have been restored to favour afterwards.

29. *Hystaspes*, a son of Darius by Atossa, commanded the Bactrians and Sacans in the army of Xerxes.[3] He was probably the father of the Pissuthnes who held the Lydian satrapy a little before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian War.[4]

30. *Achæmenes*, another son of Darius by Atossa,[5] was made satrap of Egypt after its revolt in B.C. 487,[6] accompanied Xerxes as commander of the Egyptian contingent in his fleet,[7] and probably continued satrap till the revolt of Inaros, when he was slain in the great battle of Papremis, by which Egyptian independence was recovered.[8]

31. *Masistes*, also a son of Darius by Atossa,[9] was one of the superior generals in the army of Xerxes. He held the satrapy of Bactria; and being

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of Daniel, is a different person, as also is the Darius mentioned in Nehemiah xii. 22. This last is Darius Codomannus.

[16] Fragments 68 and 69.

[17] Pers. 677-838.

[18] Fr. 113.

[19] Fr. 166.

[20] Fr. 8, ad fin.

[21] Justin. ii. 10.

[22] Plut. de Frat. Am. ii. p. 488, D.

[23] Herod. vii. 3. Plutarch and Justin give a romantic turn to this story by representing the controversy as raised after the death of Darius, and amicably referred to Artabanus for decision.

[24] Herod. vii. 97.

[25] Ibid. viii. 89. Compare Plut. Themist. c. 14 and Diod. Sic. xi. 18.

[26] See Col. Rawlinson's Memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions, vol. i. pp. 319-339.

[27] See the Persæ, passim.

[28] Fragments 68 and 69.

[1] The prosthetic *a* was always put by the Hebrews before the Persian *Khsh*; and the substitution of *v* for *y* (ו for י) was also a common dialectic peculiarity.—H.C.R.

[2] This seems to have been the opinion of Heeren. (See his "Manual of Ancient History," p. 103, E. T.)

[3] Herod. vii. 64.

[4] Thucyd. i. 115.

[5] Herod. vii. 97.

[6] Ibid. vii. 7.

[7] Ibid. vii. 97.

[8] Ibid. iii. 12 and vii. 7

[9] Ibid. vii. 82.

ill-used by Xerxes, was about to revolt, when by the orders of Xerxes he was put to death.[10]

32. *Artazostra* was a daughter of Darius by Atossa.[11] She married Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, about B.C. 492 or B.C. 493.

33. *Ariomardus* was a son of Darius by Parmys, the daughter of the true Smerdis. He commanded the Moschi and Tibareni in the army of Xerxes.[12]

34. *Arsames* was a son of Darius by Artystônê, his favourite wife. He commanded the Arabians and Ethiopians in the army of Xerxes.[13] Perhaps he is the Arsames called by Æschylus governor of Memphis,[14] who perished at Salamis, according to the same author.[15]

35. *Gobryas* was also a son of Darius by Artystônê. He commanded the Cappadocians, the Mariandynians, and the Ligyans, in the army of Xerxes.[16]

36 and 37. *Abrocomas* and *Hyperanthes* were sons of Darius by his niece Phrataguna, the daughter of his brother Otanes. All that we know of them is that they fell in the final struggle at Thermopylæ.[17]

38. *Arsamenes* was a son of Darius. His mother is not mentioned. He commanded the Utians and Mycians in the army of Xerxes.[18]

39. There were several daughters of Darius married to generals in his army: one to Otanes the son of Sisamnes, another to Daurises, another to Hymeas, and others to other generals.[19] Among these may be included *Sandacé*, the wife of Artayctes, whose three sons were taken prisoners and sacrificed by the Greeks before the battle of Salamis.[20]

40. *Darius*, or as Ctesias more correctly gives the name, *Dareiæus*,[21] was, according to him, the eldest son of Xerxes, by Amestris the daughter of Onophas.[22] He is mentioned by Herodotus[23] as made by his father to marry Artaynta, the daughter of Masistes, who was thus his first cousin. He was put to death by his younger brother Artaxerxes, on the charge of having assassinated Xerxes—a crime of which he was quite innocent.[24]

41. *Hystaspes*, according to Ctesias, was the second son of Xerxes by Amestris.[1] As Ctesias says nothing of him at the time of Xerxes's death, we may suspect that he had died before his father; otherwise he would have been the heir to the throne after the execution of his elder brother.[2]

42. ARTAXERXES I., surnamed Longimanus, was the third son of Xerxes, if we may believe Ctesias.[3] He was a mere boy at the time of his father's murder, and did not mount the throne for seven months afterwards,—the captain Artabanus, who had murdered Xerxes, having the royal power during the interval.[4]

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[10] Herod. ix. 113.

[11] Ibid. vi. 43.

[12] Ibib. vii. 78. This can scarcely be the Ariomardus whom Æschylus makes governor of Egyptian Thebes (Pers. 37-8), and who is represented as among the slain at Salamis (ib. 946).

[13] Herod. vii. 69.

[14] Pers. ll. 36-7.

[15] Ibid. l. 310.

[16] Herod. vii. 72.

[17] Ibid. vii. 224.

[18] Ibid. vii. 68. This makes the twelfth son of Darius. Hellanicus gave him only eleven (Fr. 166).

[19] Ibid. v. 116.

[20] See the account which Plutarch professes to take from Phanias of Eresus (Vit. Themist. c. 13). The Artayctes intended is probably the governor of Sestos (Herod. ix. 116).

[21] The native name *Daryavush* is better represented by Dareiæus than by Dareius.

[22] Ctes. Exc. Pers. § 20.

[23] Herod. ix. 108.

[24] Ctes. Exc. Pers. § 29.

[1] Ibid. § 20. Diodorus makes him the *third* son (xi. 69).

[2] Ibid. § 29.

[3] Ibid. § 20.

[4] Ibid. § 29-30. Compare Justin. iii. 1, and Diod. Sic. l. s. c.

Artaxerxes reigned forty years, from B.C. 465 to B.C. 425.[5] He married Damaspia, and had one only legitimate child, Xerxes II.[6] He is mentioned by Herodotus once,[7] by Thucydides frequently.[8] Both writers were his contemporaries. There is every reason to believe that he was the king who sent Ezra and Nehemiah to Jerusalem, and sanctioned the restoration of the fortifications.[9] A brief sketch of his reign is contained in the epitome, which is all that we possess of Ctesias.[10]

43. *Artarius* appears in Ctesias as a half-brother of Artaxerxes, being the son of Xerxes but not of Amestris. He is said to have been satrap of Babylon under Artaxerxes.[11]

44. *Amytis*, daughter of Xerxes by Amestris, married Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus.[12] According to Ctesias she was very ill-conducted, and finally destroyed herself by her irregularities.[13]

45. *Rhodogunê* was also a daughter of Xerxes by Amestris.[14] No particulars are known of her.

46. Xerxes II. was the only legitimate son of Artaxerxes Longimanus.[15] He reigned for two months, when he was murdered by his half-brother Sogdianus, an illegitimate son of Artaxerxes.[16]

47. *Pissuthnes* was probably a son of Hystaspes, the brother of Xerxes. He was satrap of Sardis in B.C. 440,[17] a post which he seems to have still occupied in B.C. 427.[18]

48. *Artaÿnta* was the daughter of Masistes, the brother of Xerxes (No. 31). She was given in marriage to her first cousin Darius, Xerxes' eldest son, by command of Xerxes, who thought thereby to please her mother.[19] Afterwards Xerxes fell in love with herself, and the intrigue which followed led to the ruin both of her father and her mother.[20]

49. *Artanes* was a brother of Darius. He had only one child, a daughter named Phratagunê, who was taken to wife by her uncle Darius. He is said to have made her his sole heir.[21]

50. *Phratagunê*, who married her uncle Darius, was the mother of Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, the two sons of Darius who fell at Thermopylæ.[22]

51 and 52. *Otanes*, the brother of Darius, is mentioned by Herodotus only, and in a single passage.[23] His son *Smerdomenes* was one of the six superior commanders in the army of Xerxes.[24]

53. *Artabanus* is the most distinguished of all the brothers of Darius. He is represented as checking the warlike tendencies of both Darius[25] and Xerxes,[26]

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5 See Clinton, F. H. vol. ii. p. 380.

6 Ctes. Pers. Exc. § 44.

7 Herod. vi. 98.

8 Thucyd. i. 104, 127, ii. 67, iv. 50.

9 Ezr. vii. 1, &c. Nehem. ii. 1-8. The weeks of Daniel, however they are reckoned, can only count from the reign of this prince, by whom the command to "restore and build Jerusalem—the street and the *wall*," was given. (Compare Neh. ii. 8 with Dan. ix. 25.)

10 Phot. Bibliothec. pp. 115-124.

11 Ibid. p. 121.

12 Ibid. p. 115.

13 Ibid. p. 117 and p. 124. Compare Dino, Fr. 21.

14 Ibid. p. 115.

15 Ibid. p. 124.

16 Diod. Sic. xii. 71; Manetho, Fragments 68 and 96.

17 Thucyd. i. 115.

18 Ibid. iii. 31.

19 Herod. ix. 108.

20 Ibid. ix. 112-3.

21 Ibid. vii. 224.

22 Ibid. l. s. c.

23 Ibid. vii. 82.

24 Ibid. l. s. c. and vii. 121.

25 Herod. iv. 83.

26 Ibid. vii. 10-18, 46-52.

towards the latter of whom he acts as a sort of Mentor. His four sons seem to occupy positions of importance under Xerxes.[27]

54. *Tritantæchmes*, the son of Artabanus, was one of the six superior generals of the army of Xerxes.[1] It is not impossible that he may have been satrap of Babylon at the time of Herodotus' visit.[2]

55. *Artyphius*, son of an Artabanus, commanded the Gandarians and Dadicæ in the army of Xerxes.[3] It is not said that the Artabanus in question was Xerxes' uncle.

56. *Ariomardus*, brother of the Artyphius just mentioned, commanded the Caspians on the same occasion.[4]

57. *Bagasaces* (or *Bassaces*), the son of an Artabanus, commanded the Asiatic Thracians,[5] *i.e.* the Thynians and Bithynians.

58. *Artaphernes*, a half-brother of Darius, the son of Hystaspes by a different wife from Darius, was left by him as satrap at Sardis on his return from Scythia.[6] After suppressing the Ionian revolt, he made the rating which was in force throughout Asiatic Greece in the time of Herodotus.[7] He was the father of the Artaphernes who accompanied Datis to Marathon. (See the next No.)

59. *Artaphernes* the younger, who accompanied Datis, is said to have been a nephew of Darius,[8] and may therefore be fairly regarded as the son of the satrap of Sardis. He appears to have had little to do with the conduct of the expedition.

60. A *sister* of Darius is said to have married Gobryas the conspirator,[9] but her name is not given. Their issue was Mardonius. (See No. 61.)

61. *Mardonius*, who was in so much favour both with Darius[10] and with Xerxes,[11] is said to have been the son of Gobryas and a sister of Darius. He married his first cousin *Artazostra* (No. 32), daughter of Darius and Atossa, and full sister to Xerxes.[12] Hence perhaps his great influence with that monarch. His actions are too well known to need recapitulating. According to Ctesias he was wounded at Platæa, and being afterwards sent by Xerxes to plunder Delphi, was there killed by hailstones![13]

62 and 63. Another sister of Darius married Teaspes, of whom we know nothing except that he was the father of Sataspes, who was required as a penance to circumnavigate Africa, and failing to do so was impaled by Xerxes.[14]

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[27] See the four following numbers (54, 55, 56, and 57).
[1] Herod. vii. 82 and 121.
[2] See, however, note [5] on Book i. ch. 192, where the *improbability* of this is argued.
[3] Herod. vii. 66.
[4] Ibid. vii. 67.
[5] Ibid. vii. 75.
[6] Ibid. v. 25.
[7] Ibid. vi. 42.
[8] Ibid. vi. 94.
[9] Ibid. vii. 5.
[10] Ibid. vi. 43.
[11] Ibid. vii. 5, 9, &c., viii. 67-9, 107, &c.
[12] Ibid. vi. 43.
[13] Pers. Excerpt. §§ 25-6.
[14] Ibid. iv. 43.

THE EIGHTH BOOK

OF THE

HISTORY OF HERODOTUS,

ENTITLED URANIA.

1. THE Greeks engaged in the sea-service were the following. The Athenians furnished a hundred and twenty-seven vessels to the fleet, which were manned in part by the Platæans, who, though unskilled in such matters, were led by their active and daring spirit to undertake this duty; the Corinthians furnished a contingent of forty vessels; the Megarians sent twenty; the Chalcideans also manned twenty, which had been furnished to them by the Athenians;[1] the Eginetans came with eighteen; the Sicyonians with twelve; the Lacedæmonians with ten; the Epidaurians with eight; the Eretrians with seven; the Trœzenians with five; the Styreans with two; and the Cêans[2] with two triremes and two penteconters. Last of all, the Locrians of Opus came in aid with a squadron of seven penteconters.

2. Such were the nations which furnished vessels to

[1] These Chalcideans are beyond a doubt the Athenian cleruchs or colonists, settled on the lands of the Hippobatæ at the time of the second invasion of Cleomenes (supra, v. 77). Their number, 4000, would exactly suffice to man 20 triremes.

[2] Ceos, one of the Cyclades, now *Tzia* or *Zea*, lies off the promontory of Sunium, at the distance of about 12 miles. It is about 12 miles long by 8 broad. Like the other Cyclades it was originally colonised from Athens (infra, ch. 46). Simonides, the lyric poet, and Prodicus, the sophist, both natives of Ceos, have made it more famous than many a larger place.

the fleet now at Artemisium; and in mentioning them I have given the number of ships furnished by each. The total number of the ships thus brought together, without counting the penteconters, was two hundred and seventy-one;[3] and the captain, who had the chief command over the whole fleet, was Eurybiades the son of Eurycleides. He was furnished by Sparta, since the allies had said, that "if a Lacedæmonian did not take the command, they would break up the fleet, for never would they serve under the Athenians."

3. From the first, even earlier than the time when the embassy went to Sicily[4] to solicit alliance, there had been a talk of intrusting the Athenians with the command at sea; but the allies were averse to the plan, wherefore the Athenians did not press it; for there was nothing they had so much at heart as the salvation of Greece, and they knew that, if they quarrelled among themselves about the command, Greece would be brought to ruin.[5] Herein they judged rightly; for internal strife is a thing as much worse than war carried on by a united people, as war itself is worse than peace. The Athenians, therefore, being so persuaded, did not push their claims, but waived them, so long as they were in such great need of aid from the other Greeks. And they afterwards showed their motive; for at the time when the Persians had been driven from Greece, and were now threatened by the

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[3] This number agrees exactly with the statement of the several contingents—an unusual circumstance in our present copies of Herodotus. It is confirmed by Diodorus, who makes the fleet consist of 280 triremes, having evidently counted as such the nine penteconters (xi. 12). We may make a fair estimate of the relative naval strength of the principal Grecian states from this catalogue, combined with the list of the contingents which fought at Salamis. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind, that Egina was nursing her strength (infra, ch. 46).

[4] Supra, vii. 153, et seqq.

[5] Athens prudently waived her claim, as to insist on it might have caused the withdrawal of the Dorian forces, which amounted to 113 triremes, or nearly one half of the fleet. Even with this concession she found it difficult enough to retain them (infra, chs. 4-5, 74-8).

Greeks in their own country, they took occasion of the insolence of Pausanias to deprive the Lacedæmonians of their leadership. This, however, happened afterwards.[6]

4. At the present time the Greeks, on their arrival at Artemisium, when they saw the number of the ships which lay at anchor near Aphetæ, and the abundance of troops everywhere, feeling disappointed that matters had gone with the barbarians so far otherwise than they had expected, and full of alarm at what they saw, began to speak of drawing back from Artemisium towards the inner parts of their country. So when the Eubœans heard what was in debate, they went to Eurybiades, and besought him to wait a few days, while they removed their children and their slaves to a place of safety. But as they found that they prevailed nothing, they left him and went to Themistocles, the Athenian commander, to whom they gave a bribe of thirty talents,[7] on his promise that the fleet should remain and risk a battle in defence of Eubœa.

5. And Themistocles succeeded in detaining the fleet in the way which I will now relate. He made over to Eurybiades five talents out of the thirty paid him, which he gave as if they came from himself; and having in this way gained over the admiral, he addressed himself to Adeimantus, the son of Ocytus, the Corinthian leader, who was the only remonstrant now, and who still threatened to sail away from Artemisium

[6] Probably in B.C. 477 (see Clinton's F. H. vol. ii. App. ch. 6). The circumstances are related at length by Thucydides (i. 95) and Diodorus (xi. 44-6). It appears from the latter, that the contrast offered by the personal character of Aristides to the insolence of Pausanias, was in part the cause of the allies submitting to Athens. Pausanias had not only assumed the state and habits of a Persian satrap, but affected the oriental system of seclusion, and was violent and capricious (Thucyd. i. 130). The change, however, would scarcely have been effected, had not the Ionian element in the alliance obtained a large accession of strength by the addition of the Asiatic Greeks to the confederacy (ib. i. 95).

[7] Plutarch admits this conduct on the part of Themistocles (Vit. Them. c. 7), which is quite in accordance with his general character (vide infra, chs. 111, 112). He gives the name of the Eubœan who brought the money as Pelagon. Thirty talents would be above 7000*l.* of our money.

and not wait for the other captains. Addressing himself to this man, Themistocles said with an oath,—"Thou forsake us? By no means! I will pay thee better for remaining than the Mede would for leaving thy friends"—and straightway he sent on board the ship of Adeimantus a present of three talents of silver. So these two captains were won by gifts,[8] and came over to the views of Themistocles, who was thereby enabled to gratify the wishes of the Eubœans. He likewise made his own gain on the occasion; for he kept the rest of the money, and no one knew of it. The commanders who took the gifts thought that the sums were furnished by Athens, and had been sent to be used in this way.

6. Thus it came to pass that the Greeks stayed at Eubœa and there gave battle to the enemy.

Now the battle was on this wise. The barbarians reached Aphetæ early in the afternoon, and then saw (as they had previously heard reported) that a fleet of Greek ships, weak in number, lay at Artemisium. At once they were eager to engage, fearing that the Greeks would fly, and hoping to capture them before they should get away. They did not however think it wise to make straight for the Greek station, lest the enemy should see them as they bore down, and betake themselves to flight immediately; in which case night might close in before they came up with the fugitives, and so they might get clean off and make their escape from them; whereas the Persians were minded not to let a single soul slip though their hands.[9]

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[8] Phanias of Eresus related, that Architeles, the captain of the Athenian Theoris, was likewise bribed (ap. Plutarch, l. s. c.).

[9] In the original the expression used is—"that not even the *torch-bearer* should escape their hands." In the Spartan armies there was a sacred torch-bearer, whose business it was to preserve alight the holy fire kindled from the altar of Jove at Sparta, which was wanted for the various sacrifices offered during an expedition (Xen. Rep. Lac. xiii. §§ 2, 3). As the fire was considered to be of vital importance, every effort was made to defend the "torch-bearer," and he seldom fell unless the whole army was destroyed. The expression passed into a proverb (Zenob. Cent. v. 34; Schol. ad Eurip. Phœn. 1377; Suidas, ad voc., &c.).

7. They therefore contrived a plan, which was the following:—They detached two hundred of their ships from the rest, and—to prevent the enemy from seeing them start—sent them round outside the island of Sciathos, to make the circuit of Eubœa by Caphareus[10] and Geræstus,[1] and so to reach the Euripus. By this plan they thought to enclose the Greeks on every side; for the ships detached would block up the only way by which they could retreat, while the others would press upon them in front. With these designs therefore they dispatched the two hundred ships, while they themselves waited,—since they did not mean to attack the Greeks upon that day, or until they knew, by signal, of the arrival of the detachment which had been ordered to sail round Eubœa. Meanwhile they made a muster of the other ships at Aphetæ.

8. Now the Persians had with them a man named Scyllias, a native of Sciônê, who was the most expert diver of his day.[2] At the time of the shipwreck off Mount Pelion he had recovered for the Persians a great part of what they lost, and at the same time he had taken care to obtain for himself a good share of the

[10] Caphereus (or Caphareus) was the name of the south-eastern promontory of Eubœa, now called *Capo Doro* (see Plin. H. N. iv. 12; Ptol. Geogr. iii. 15). It was said to have been fatal to many of the Greek ships on their return from the Trojan war (Virg. Æn. xi. 260). In the 12th century, on account of the many shipwrecks of which it was the scene, it bore the name of Xylophagus, "wood," or "ship devourer" (Tzetz. Lycophr. v. 373).

[1] Geræstus was a town and promontory at the extreme southern point of Eubœa, famous for a temple of Neptune (Scylax. Peripl. p. 51; compare Plin. H. N. l. s. c.; Liv. xxxi. 45; Strab. x. p. 651). The promontory is now Cape *Mantelo*, the town *Kastri*.

[2] Pausanias relates (x. xix. § 1) that this Scyllias, whom he calls Scyllis, had a statue erected to him at Delphi by the Amphictyons, which remained to his own day. Scyllis, according to him, assisted by his daughter, who was also a diver, had loosened the anchors of the Persian ships at the time of the storm off Cape Sepias, and had thereby done the common enemy great damage (compare Plin. H. N. xxxv. 11; Athen. vii. p. 296, F.; Anthol. Gr. i. 69, 1).

Col. Leake remarks that some of the Levantine Greeks are to this day famous for their skill in diving—the most celebrated being the sponge-cutters of *Symi* (Demi of Attica, p. 244, note [4]).

treasure. He had for some time been wishing to go over to the Greeks; but no good opportunity had offered till now, when the Persians were making the muster of their ships. In what way he contrived to reach the Greeks I am not able to say for certain: I marvel much if the tale that is commonly told be true. 'Tis said he dived into the sea at Aphetæ, and did not once come to the surface till he reached Artemisium, a distance of nearly eighty furlongs.[3] Now many things are related of this man which are plainly false, but some of the stories seem to be true. My own opinion is that on this occasion he made the passage to Artemisium in a boat.

However this might be, Scyllias no sooner reached Artemisium than he gave the Greek captains a full account of the damage done by the storm, and likewise told them of the ships sent to make the circuit of Eubœa.

9. So the Greeks on receiving these tidings held a council, whereat, after much debate, it was resolved that they should stay quiet for the present where they were, and remain at their moorings, but that after midnight they should put out to sea, and encounter the ships which were on their way round the island. Later in the day, when they found that no one meddled with them, they formed a new plan, which was to wait till near evening, and then sail out against the main body of the barbarians, for the purpose of trying their mode of fight and skill in manœuvring.[4]

10. When the Persian commanders and crews saw the Greeks thus boldly sailing towards them with their few ships, they thought them possessed with madness,[5] and went out to meet them, expecting (as indeed seemed likely enough) that they would take all their

[3] The distance across the strait is about 7 miles, or little more than 60

[4] On the nautical manœuvre of the διέκπλους, see above, vi. 12, note [7].

[5] Vide supra, vi. 112.

vessels with the greatest ease. The Greek ships were so few, and their own so far outnumbered them, and sailed so much better, that they resolved, seeing their advantage, to encompass their foe on every side. And now such of the Ionians as wished well to the Grecian cause and served in the Persian fleet unwillingly, seeing their countrymen surrounded, were sorely distressed; for they felt sure that not one of them would ever make his escape, so poor an opinion had they of the strength of the Greeks. On the other hand, such as saw with pleasure the attack on Greece, now vied eagerly with each other which should be the first to make prize of an Athenian ship, and thereby to secure himself a rich reward from the king. For through both the hosts none were so much accounted of as the Athenians.

11. The Greeks, at a signal, brought the sterns of their ships together into a small compass, and turned their prows on every side towards the barbarians;[6] after which, at a second signal, although inclosed within a narrow space, and closely pressed upon by the foe, yet they fell bravely to work, and captured thirty ships of the barbarians, at the same time taking prisoner Philaon, the son of Chersis, and brother of Gorgus, king of Salamis,[7] a man of much repute in the fleet. The first who made prize of a ship of the enemy was Lycomêdes the son of Æschreas, an Athenian,[8] who was afterwards adjudged the meed of valour. Victory however was still doubtful when night came on, and put a stop to the combat. The Greeks sailed back to Artemisium and the barbarians to Aphetæ, much sur-

[6] Compare the tactics of the Corinthians (Thucyd. ii. 83), who though superior in force adopted this arrangement of their ships in their first engagement with Phormio, through fear of the superiority of the Athenians in manœuvring.

[7] Supra, v. 104.

[8] Plutarch makes Lycomêdes perform this exploit at *Salamis* (Vit. Them. c. 15).

prised at the result, which was far other than they had looked for. In this battle only one of the Greeks who fought on the side of the king deserted and joined his countrymen. This was Antidôrus of Lemnos, whom the Athenians rewarded for his desertion by the present of a piece of land in Salamis.

12. Evening had barely closed in when a heavy rain—it was about midsummer[9]—began to fall, which continued the whole night, with terrible thunderings and lightnings from Mount Pelion: the bodies of the slain and the broken pieces of the damaged ships were drifted in the direction of Aphetæ, and floated about the prows of the vessels there, disturbing the action of the oars. The barbarians, hearing the storm, were greatly dismayed, expecting certainly to perish, as they had fallen into such a multitude of misfortunes. For before they were well recovered from the tempest and the wreck of their vessels off Mount Pelion, they had been surprised by a sea-fight which had taxed all their strength, and now the sea-fight was scarcely over when they were exposed to floods of rain, and the rush of swollen streams into the sea, and violent thunderings.

13. If, however, they who lay at Aphetæ passed a comfortless night, far worse were the sufferings of those who had been sent to make the circuit of Eubœa; in as much as the storm fell on them out at sea, whereby the issue was indeed calamitous. They were sailing along near the Hollows of Eubœa,[10] when the wind

[9] From this passage, and from the fact mentioned above (vii. 206), that the engagements at Thermopylæ and Artemisium coincided with the time of the Olympic games, we may be justified in fixing the battles to the latter part of June or the beginning of July.

[10] It is not quite certain what tract we are to understand by "the Hollows." Strabo (x. p. 648) and his Epitomiser are at variance on the point, the former making it the tract between Geræstus and the Euripus, while the latter says it is the piece of coast between Geræstus and Cape Caphareus. Col. Leake prefers the account of the Epitomiser (Demi of Attica, Appendix, page 247, note [1]), with less, I think, than his usual judgment. It is plain from the whole passage in Strabo that his

began to rise and the rain to pour: overpowered by the force of the gale, and driven they knew not whither, at the last they fell upon rocks,—Heaven so contriving, in order that the Persian fleet might not greatly exceed the Greek, but be brought nearly to its level. This squadron, therefore, was entirely lost about the Hollows of Eubœa.

14. The barbarians at Aphetæ were glad when day dawned, and remained in quiet at their station, content if they might enjoy a little peace after so many sufferings. Meanwhile there came to the aid of the Greeks a reinforcement of fifty-three ships from Attica.[1] Their arrival, and the news which reached Artemisium about the same time of the complete destruction by the storm of the ships sent to sail round Eubœa, greatly cheered the spirits of the Greek sailors. So they waited again till the same hour as the day before, and, once more putting out to sea, attacked the enemy. This time they fell in with some Cilician vessels, which they sank; when night came on, and they withdrew to Artemisium.

15. The third day was now come, and the captains of the barbarians, ashamed that so small a number of ships should harass their fleet, and afraid of the anger of Xerxes, instead of waiting for the others to begin

Epitomiser misrepresented him. And the statements of other writers, as particularly Valerius Maximus and Philostratus, confirm the text of Strabo. Valerius Maximus describes "the Hollows" as lying between Rhamnus (in Attica) and Carystus (I. viii. § 10); and Philostratus speaks of the tract as abounding in promontories (ἀκρωτήρια, Vit. Ap. Tyan. iii. 23), which is true of the region west of Geræstus, but not of that between Geræstus and Cape Caphareus.

"The Hollows" seem to have had at all times a bad name among sailors (see Eurip. Troad. 84; Liv. xxxi. 47, "Est sinus Euboicus, quem Cœla vocant, suspectus nautis").

[1] This seems to have been the whole of the Athenian reserve fleet. The policy of Themistocles had raised their navy to 200 vessels (supra, vii. 144, and note [7]), which were now all brought into active service:—

127 manned by the Athenians and Platæans (ch. 1).
20 manned by the Chalcidean colonists (ib.).
53 arrived after the storm (ch. 14).

Total 200

the battle, weighed anchor themselves, and advanced against the Greeks about the hour of noon, with shouts encouraging one another. Now it happened that these sea-fights took place on the very same days with the combats at Thermopylæ; and as the aim of the struggle was in the one case to maintain the pass, so in the other it was to defend the Euripus. While the Greeks, therefore, exhorted one another not to let the barbarians burst in upon Greece, these latter shouted to their fellows to destroy the Grecian fleet, and get possession of the channel.

16. And now the fleet of Xerxes advanced in good order to the attack, while the Greeks on their side remained quite motionless at Artemisium. The Persians therefore spread themselves, and came forward in a half moon, seeking to encircle the Greeks on all sides, and thereby prevent them from escaping. When they saw this, the Greeks sailed out to meet their assailants; and the battle forthwith began. In this engagement the two fleets contended with no clear advantage to either,—for the armament of Xerxes injured itself by its own greatness, the vessels falling into disorder, and oft-times running foul of one another; yet still they did not give way, but made a stout fight, since the crews felt it would indeed be a disgrace to turn and fly from a fleet so inferior in number. The Greeks therefore suffered much, both in ships and men; but the barbarians experienced a far larger loss of each. So the fleets separated after such a combat as I have described.

17. On the side of Xerxes the Egyptians distinguished themselves above all the combatants;[2] for

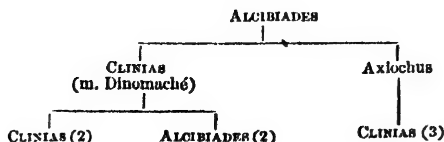
[2] Diodorus says the Sidonians were the most distinguished (xi. 13), in which statement he seems to have followed probability rather than fact (vide supra, vii. 44, 100).

[The Egyptians seem to have had ships and commerce at a very early time. (See notes on Book ii. chaps. 102, 159, 161.) Herodotus asserts that the Egyptian soldiers were made to serve on board the Persian fleet, "because they were sailors" (ix. 32); and

besides performing many other noble deeds, they took five vessels from the Greeks with their crews on board. On the side of the Greeks the Athenians bore off the meed of valour; and among them the most distinguished was Clinias, the son of Alcibiades,[3] who served at his

they were taken from the ships to fight ashore at the battle of Platæa. The notion of the Egyptian prejudice against the sea is repeated without considering that it is mentioned in connexion with their hatred of Typhon; and that it was merely because the sea was considered injurious, as the *Nile* was beneficial to Egypt; which last, according to one interpretation of that fabulous history, was Osiris. But this did not prevent their using the sea for the purposes of conquest and commerce. The Dutch have had a more positive feeling of antagonism against the sea, which in fabulous times would have been made into a similar myth. And whether we believe or reject the common report of Egyptian and Greek times, that colonies went from Egypt to Athens and Argos, it proves that the Egyptians were believed to be in the habit of frequenting the sea. It is, however, more probable that their colonies were merely refugees who fled from Egypt, on the expulsion of some native and even foreign dynasty, than that the Egyptians were a colonising people. The commerce too of those days was in the hands of the Phœnicians, who had the principal carrying trade, even from Egypt, in their hands (Herodot. i. ch. 1); and also surpassed the seafaring Greeks in the extent of their trade. But this would not prevent the Egyptians using the sea; and they were employed with the Phœnicians for the Persian sea service, in transporting provisions for the army (Bk. vii. ch. 25); and on other occasions. Again the fact of their capturing five Greek ships in the present battle, and still more their being able to contend at sea with Tyre and Sidon (ii. 161), prove them to have been excellent sailors. Tamos, an Egyptian, commanded a squadron in the service of Cyrus the younger (Xen. Anab. i.), and mention is made of other expert sailors from Egypt. A sea-fight indeed is represented at Thebes, in the early time of Remeses III., some time before the Trojan war, between 12 and 13 centuries B.C.; and their great practice in rowing on the Nile gave the Egyptians an advantage, at a time when manœuvres depended so much on the oar.—G. W.]

[3] This Clinias was the father of the great Alcibiades, whom he left a mere child at his death, which took place B.C. 447, in the battle of Coronæa (Plat. Alcib. i. p. 112, c.; Isocr. de Big. p. 352, B.). Clinias married Dinomaché, a daughter of Megacles, grandson of the Megacles who married Agarista of Sicyon (Plut. Vit. Alcib. c. 1). Hence the relationship between the great Alcibiades and Pericles, his guardian (Plat. Alcib. p. 118 c.). The family of Clinias may be thus exhibited:—



own charge with two hundred men,[4] on board a vessel which he had himself furnished.[5]

18. The two fleets, on separating, hastened very gladly to their anchorage-grounds. The Greeks, indeed, when the battle was over, became masters of the bodies of the slain and the wrecks of the vessels; but they had been so roughly handled, especially the Athenians, one-half of whose vessels had suffered damage, that they determined to break up from their station, and withdraw to the inner parts of their country.

19. Then Themistocles, who thought that if the Ionian and Carian ships could be detached from the barbarian fleet,[6] the Greeks might be well able to defeat the rest, called the captains together. They met upon the sea-shore, where the Eubœans were now assembling their flocks and herds; and here Themistocles told them he thought that he knew of a plan whereby he could detach from the king those who were of most worth among his allies. This was all that he disclosed to them of his plan at that time. Meanwhile, looking to the circumstances in which they were, he advised them to slaughter as many of the Eubœan cattle as they liked—

[4] This was the ordinary crew of a trireme, as appears from many passages. The number is assumed (supra, vii. 184) as the basis of a calculation, and may be confirmed from various places in Thucydides and other authors. *E.g.* The Attic sailor received a drachma a-day (Thucyd. iii. 17), and the regular pay for a trireme was a talent a month (Ibid. vi. 8). Now the talent contained 6000 drachmas, and the month was reckoned at 30 days: but 6000 ÷ 30 = 200. Of these 200, it is calculated that 170 were rowers, while 30 were sailors and officers (Boeckh's *Urkunden über das Seewesen des Att. Staates*, p. 119). The Epibatæ, or marines, seem to have been additional (supra, vii. 184). They varied in number from 40 (supra, vi. 15) to 7 (Thucyd. vi. 43; cf. infra, viii. 83, note [1]).

[5] The state usually furnished the vessel and its equipment, the trierarch being bound to keep the whole in repair. Trierarchs often went to the expense of equipping their vessels at their own cost (Thucyd. vi. 31; Demosth. c. Polycl.), but it was a rare thing for them to furnish the vessel itself. Still they did so in some instances (see Dem. c. Meid. p. 566-8).

It is probable that the Trierarchy of individuals had by this time superseded the old arrangement of the Naucraries (Cf. Hermann's Pol. Ant. § 161).

[6] As the Carians had twice before resisted Persia in arms (supra, i. 174; v. 103, 118-121), Themistocles might think it worth while to try to detach them now.

for it was better (he said) that their own troops should enjoy them than the enemy—and to give orders to their men to kindle the fires as usual. With regard to the retreat, he said that he would take upon himself to watch the proper moment, and would manage matters so that they should return to Greece without loss. These words pleased the captains; so they had the fires lighted, and began the slaughter of the cattle.

20. The Eubœans, until now, had made light of the oracle of Bacis,[7] as though it had been void of all significancy, and had neither removed their goods from the island, nor yet taken them into their strong places; as they would most certainly have done if they had believed that war was approaching. By this neglect they had brought their affairs into the very greatest danger. Now the oracle of which I speak ran as follows:—

> "When o'er the main shall be thrown a byblus yoke by a stranger,
> Be thou ware, and drive from Eubœa the goats' loud-bleating."

So, as the Eubœans had paid no regard to this oracle when the evils approached and impended, now that they had arrived, the worst was likely to befall them.

21. While the Greeks were employed in the way described above,[8] the scout who had been on the watch at Trachis arrived at Artemisium. For the Greeks had employed two watchers:—Polyas, a native of Anticyra, had been stationed off Artemisium, with a row-boat at his command ready to sail at any moment,

[7] There are said to have been three prophets of this name—an Arcadian, an Athenian, and a Bœotian (Schol. ad Aristoph. Pac. 1071, Eq. 123); but the last, who is called the most ancient, was also by far the most celebrated. His oracles are quoted, infra, chs. 77, 96, and ix. 43. They are ridiculed by Aristophanes (Av. 899-916; Pac. 1009-1015, Ed. Bothe), but spoken of with great respect by Cicero (Div. i. 18) and Pausanias (IV. xxvii. § 2; X. xiv. § 3, &c.). The Bœotians seem to have paid regard to them down to the time when Pausanias wrote (IX. xvii. § 4). They were all written, apparently, in hexameter verse.

[8] Supra, ch. 19, end.

his orders being that, if an engagement took place by sea, he should convey the news at once to the Greeks at Thermopylæ; and in like manner Abrônychus, the son of Lysicles, an Athenian, had been stationed with a triaconter near Leonidas, to be ready, in case of disaster befalling the land force, to carry tidings of it to Artemisium. It was this Abrônychus who now arrived with news of what had befallen Leonidas and those who were with him. When the Greeks heard the tidings they no longer delayed to retreat, but withdrew in the order wherein they had been stationed, the Corinthians leading, and the Athenians sailing last of all.

22. And now Themistocles chose out the swiftest sailers from among the Athenian vessels, and, proceeding to the various watering-places along the coast, cut inscriptions on the rocks, which were read by the Ionians the day following, on their arrival at Artemisium. The inscriptions ran thus:—"Men of Ionia, ye do wrong to fight against your own fathers, and to give your help to enslave Greece. We beseech you therefore to come over, if possible, to our side: if you cannot do this, then, we pray you, stand aloof from the contest yourselves, and persuade the Carians to do the like. If neither of these things be possible, and you are hindered, by a force too strong to resist, from venturing upon desertion, at least when we come to blows fight backwardly, remembering that you are sprung from us, and that it was through you we first provoked the hatred of the barbarian."[9] Themistocles, in putting up these inscriptions, looked, I believe, to two chances—either Xerxes would not discover them, in which case they might bring over the Ionians to the side of the Greeks; or they would be reported to him and made a ground of accusation against the Ionians, who would

[9] Alluding to the assistance given by Athens to the Ionians in the great revolt (supra, v. 99, and compare v. 105; vi. 94; vii. 8, § 2, &c.).

thereupon be distrusted, and would not be allowed to take part in the sea-fights.

23. Shortly after the cutting of the inscriptions, a man of Histiæa went in a merchant-ship to Aphetæ, and told the Persians that the Greeks had fled from Artemisium. Disbelieving his report, the Persians kept the man a prisoner, while they sent some of their fastest vessels to see what had happened. These brought back word how matters stood; whereupon at sunrise the whole fleet advanced together in a body, and sailed to Artemisium, where they remained till midday; after which they went on to Histiæa.[1] The city fell into their hands immediately; and they shortly overran the various villages upon the coast in the district of Hellopia,[2] which was part of the Histiæan territory.

24. It was while they were at this station that a herald reached them from Xerxes, whom he had sent after making the following dispositions with respect to the bodies of those who fell at Thermopylæ. Of the

[1] Histiæa, afterwards called Oreus (Strab. x. p. 649; Steph. Byz. ad voc.), was the most important town of northern Eubœa, and gave name to a considerable tract, which has been already mentioned as Histiæotis (supra, vii. 175). It lay about midway in the northern coast of the island (Liv. xxviii. 5), at the western extremity of a broad plain, and by the side of a small river called the Callas (Strab. l. s. c.). Its remains are found in this position (Leake's Demi of Attica, p. 241, note [4]), and still bear the name of *Oreos.* We learn from Theopompus (Fr. 164), that when Pericles conquered Eubœa and expelled the Histiæans (Thucyd. i. 114), while they sought a refuge in Macedonia, 2000 Athenian citizens took their place, and colonised Oreus, which had before been a township of Histiæa. The name Histiæa, however, still continued in use (Scylax. Peripl. p. 50), and does not seem to have been superseded altogether by that of Oreus till after the time of the Antonines (Pausan. VII. vii. § 4; xvii. § 2, ad fin.).

[2] The Hellopians, one of the early Pelasgic tribes, seem to have been the original inhabitants of Eubœa, which anciently bore the name of Hellopia (Philoch. Fr. 187; Strab. x. p. 649; Steph. Byz. ad voc.). They are found in various parts of Greece (Steph. Byz.), especially near Dodona, where they are called also Helli, and Selli (Strab. vii. p. 475). Perhaps the name may be connected with the more famous term, "Hellene." The Hellopians of Eubœa had in historical times been driven to the north of the island, where they occupied the mountain tract called Telethrium (Strab. x. p. 649), which is the line of hills running east and west between *Xirokhóri* and *Gorgovitsa*. Herodotus seems to mean the whole peninsula west of Histiæa by Hellopia.

twenty thousand who had been slain on the Persian side, he left one thousand upon the field while he buried the rest in trenches; and these he carefully filled up with earth, and hid with foliage, that the sailors might not see any signs of them. The herald, on reaching Histiæa, caused the whole force to be collected together, and spake thus to them:

"Comrades, King Xerxes gives permission to all who please, to quit their posts, and see how he fights with the senseless men who think to overthrow his armies."

25. No sooner had these words been uttered, than it became difficult to get a boat, so great was the number of those who desired to see the sight. Such as went crossed the strait, and passing among the heaps of dead, in this way viewed the spectacle. Many helots were included in the slain,[3] but every one imagined that the bodies were all either Lacedæmonians or Thespians. However no one was deceived by what Xerxes had done with his own dead. It was indeed most truly a laughable device—on the one side a thousand men were seen lying about the field, on the other four thousand crowded together into one spot.[4] This day then was

[3] Herodotus had not directly mentioned these Helots before. If they bore the proportion, found elsewhere (infra, ix. 10, 28), of seven to each Spartan, they must have amounted to 2100 men. The entire number of Greeks who fought at Thermopylæ would thus be raised to above 9000, viz.—

Spartans	300
Lacedæmonians	1000*
Helots	2100
Other Peloponnesians	2800
Phocians	1000
Locrians	1000†
Thespians	700
Thebans	400
	9300

* (Diod. Sic. Isocrates says 700.)
† (Diod. Sic. Pausanias says 6000.)

And the number at the final struggle would be—

Spartans	300
Lacedæmonians	1000
Helots	2100
Mycenæans	80*
Thespians	700
Thebans	400
	4580

* (Pausan.)

Deducting the Thebans, who surrendered, there would thus be about 4000 slain. (Perhaps, however, Herodotus takes this number from the inscription, which he misconceived, supra, vii. 228.)

[4] Thirlwall (Hist. of Greece, ii. p. 290) denies that Xerxes used any "artifice" on this occasion; but if he had the graves where he had buried his dead carefully concealed (supra, ch. 24), and left a thousand of them scattered about and unburied, when with his vast numbers he might so

given up to sight-seeing; on the next the seamen embarked on board their ships and sailed back to Histiæa, while Xerxes and his army proceeded upon their march.

26. There came now a few deserters from Arcadia[5] to join the Persians—poor men who had nothing to live on, and were in want of employment. The Persians brought them into the king's presence, and there inquired of them, by a man who acted as their spokesman, "what the Greeks were doing?" The Arcadians answered—"They are holding the Olympic games, seeing the athletic sports and the chariot races." "And what," said the man, "is the prize for which they contend?" "An olive-wreath," returned the others, "which is given to the man who wins." On hearing this, Tritantæchmes, the son of Artabanus,[6] uttered a speech which was in truth most noble, but which caused him to be taxed with cowardice by king Xerxes. Hearing the men say that the prize was not money but a wreath of olive, he could not forbear from exclaiming before them all: "Good heavens, Mardonius, what manner of men are these against whom thou hast brought us to fight—men who contend with one another, not for money, but for honour!"

27. A little before this, and just after the blow had been struck at Thermopylæ, a herald was sent into Phocis by the Thessalians, who had always been on bad terms with the Phocians,[7] and especially since their

easily have interred them all, it is manifest that a cheat was intended.

[5] It is conjectured (Bähr ad loc., Larcher, &c.) that these were the Caryatæ, or inhabitants of Caryæ, who are said to have been severely punished by the Greeks for joining the Persians in this war, and whose women are represented in the Caryatides (Vitruv. I. i. § 5). There were two cities called Caryæ, both originally Arcadian (Pausan. VIII. xiii. § 5, and xlv. § 1).

[6] Supra, vii. 82; and compare Appendix to Book vii., note B, No. 54.

[7] The Phocian wall, built to defend Phocis from the Thessalians (supra, vii. 176), is a clear proof of this long-established hostility. One or two of the outrages committed in the course of it have been preserved by ancient writers (see Æschin. de F. L. p. 46, and Plut. de Virt. Mul. vol. ii. p. 244, B.)

last overthrow. For it was not many years previous to this invasion of Greece by the king, that the Thessalians, with their allies, entered Phocis in full force, but were defeated by the Phocians in an engagement wherein they were very roughly handled. The Phocians, who had with them as soothsayer Tellias of Elis,[8] were blocked up in the mountain of Parnassus, when the following stratagem was contrived for them by their Elean ally. He took six hundred of their bravest men, and whitened their bodies and their arms with chalk; then instructing them to slay every one whom they should meet that was not whitened like themselves, he made a night attack upon the Thessalians. No sooner did the Thessalian sentries, who were the first to see them, behold this strange sight, than imagining it to be a prodigy, they were all filled with affright. From the sentries the alarm spread to the army, which was seized with such a panic that the Phocians killed four thousand of them, and became masters of their dead bodies and shields. Of the shields one-half were sent as an offering to the temple at Abæ,[9] the other half were deposited at Delphi; while from the tenth part of the booty gained in the battle, were made the gigantic figures which stand round the tripod in front of the Delphic shrine, and likewise the figures of the same size and character at Abæ.

28. Besides this slaughter of the Thessalian foot, when it was blockading them, the Phocians had dealt a blow to their horse, upon its invading their territory,

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[8] The great number of Elean soothsayers who are mentioned about this time, has been already noticed (supra, iii. 132, note [5]).

[9] For the great celebrity of this temple, see above, i. 46, note [8]. It lay at a little distance from the city (Diodor. xvi. 58), which was in the north-eastern angle of Phocis, somewhat to the left of the main road leading from Orchomenus to Opus (Pausan. X. xxxiv. § 1). Colonel Leake believed that he discovered some remains of the temple on a small eminence about half-way between *Exarkhó* and *Vogdháni*, the ancient Hyampolis (Northern Greece, vol. ii. p. 165). But the description which Pausanias gives (l. s. c. § 2) of its extremely ruinous state in his day, makes the identification more than doubtful (vide infra, ch. 33).

from which they had never recovered. There is a pass near the city of Hyampolis,[1] where the Phocians, having dug a broad trench, filled up the void with empty wine-jars, after which they covered the place with mould, so that the ground all looked alike, and then awaited the coming of the Thessalians. These, thinking to destroy the Phocians at one sweep, rushed rapidly forward, and became entangled in the wine-jars, which broke the legs of their horses.

29. The Thessalians had therefore a double cause of quarrel with the Phocians, when they dispatched the herald above mentioned, who thus delivered his message:—

"At length acknowledge, ye men of Phôcis, that ye may not think to match with us. In times past, when it pleased us to hold with the Greeks, we had always the vantage over you; and now our influence is such with the Barbarian, that, if we choose it, you will lose your country, and (what is even worse) you will be sold as slaves. However, though we can now do with you exactly as we like, we are willing to forget our wrongs. Quit them with a payment of fifty talents of silver,[2] and we undertake to ward off the evils which threaten your country."

30. Such was the message which the Thessalians sent. The Phocians were the only people in these parts who had not espoused the cause of the Medes; and it is my deliberate opinion that the motive which swayed them was none other—neither more nor less—than their hatred of the Thessalians: for had the Thessalians declared in favour of the Greeks, I believe that

[1] Hyampolis lay very near to Abæ (Pausan. l. c. § 4), a little north of the modern *Vogdháni*. The line of the walls may still be completely traced (Leake, ii. p. 168; Gell, p. 223). It occupied the entrance of a narrow valley leading into Phocis and Bœotia, from the country of the Epicnemidian Locrians. This position caused it to suffer on many occasions (infra, ch. 33; Xen. Hell. vi., iv. § 27; Diod. Sic. xvi. 56; Pausan. l. c., &c.).

[2] Rather more than 12,000*l.* of our money.

the men of Phôcis would have joined the Median side. As it was, when the message arrived, the Phocians made answer, that "they would not pay anything—it was open to them equally with the Thessalians, to make common cause with the Medes, if they only chose so to do—but they would never of their own free will become traitors to Greece."

31. On the return of this answer, the Thessalians, full of wrath against the Phocians, offered themselves as guides to the barbarian army, and led them forth from Trachinia into Dôris. In this place there is a narrow tongue of Dorian territory, not more than thirty furlongs across, interposed between Malis and Phôcis; it is the tract in ancient times called Dryopis; and the land, of which it is a part, is the mother-country of the Dorians in the Peloponnese.[3] This territory the barbarians did not plunder, for the inhabitants had espoused their side; and besides, the Thessalians wished that they should be spared.

32. From Dôris they marched forward into Phôcis, but here the inhabitants did not fall into their power; for some of them had taken refuge in the high grounds of Parnassus—one summit of which, called Tithorea,[4] standing quite by itself, not far from the city of Neon,[5]

[3] Supra, i. 56. The region in question seems to have consisted of the upper valleys of the Cephissus and its main tributary, the Pindus (*Apostolía*). See Müller's Dorians, i. p. 42, E. T. Anciently Dryopis had extended further both ways, having reached from the Sperchius to Mount Lycorea (Pherecyd. Fr. 23; Pausan. iv. xxxiv. § 6). The tongue of land whereof Herodotus speaks, seems to have stretched along the flank of Mount Anopæa, or Callidromus. (See Kiepert's Atlas von Hellas, Blatt xii.)

[4] There is some doubt whether the summit intended is the rocky peak which rises immediately behind the modern *Velítza*, or the great summit of Parnassus beyond that peak. The latter supposition is adopted by Müller (Dorians, Map prefixed to vol. i.). Plutarch, however, clearly supposed the lower rocky peak to have been the place of refuge on this occasion (Vit. Syll. c. 15), and the words of Herodotus may, I think, be so understood.

[5] Neon afterwards received the name of Tithorea, which had previously been applied not merely to the peak, but to the circumjacent region (Pausan. x. xxxii. § 6). Hence we are enabled to fix its site, for an inscription built into the church of *Velítza* shows that place to occupy the ground where Tithorea stood

is well fitted to give shelter to a large body of men, and had now received a number of the Phocians with their moveables; while the greater portion had fled to the country of the Ozolian Locrians,[6] and placed their goods in the city called Amphissa, which lies above the Crissæan plain. The land of Phôcis, however, was entirely overrun, for the Thessalians led the Persian army through the whole of it; and wherever they went, the country was wasted with fire and sword, the cities and even the temples being wilfully set alight by the troops.

33. The march of the army lay along the valley of the Cephissus;[7] and here they ravaged far and wide, burning the towns of Drymus, Charadra, Erôchus, Tethrônium, Amphicæa, Neon, Pedieis, Triteis, Êlateia, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, and Abæ.[8] At the last-named

(Leake, ii. p. 78; Gell, p. 214). There are considerable remains of the ancient walls and towers.

[6] The Ozolian Locrians dwelt on the shores of the Corinthian Gulf, from the straits to Cirrha. Their country extended inland to the range of Parnassus, where it bordered on Doris (Cf. Thucyd. iii. 95; Scylax. Peripl. p. 32; Strab. ix. p. 619). Amphissa seems to have been their principal town (Pausan. x. xxxviii. § 2, μεγίστη καὶ ὀνομαστοτάτη πόλις τῶν Λοκρῶν. Compare Thucyd. iii. 101). It lay in a valley running from the north-west into the Crissæan plain, and is identified, by means of an inscription in one of the churches, with *Salona*. A few Hellenic towers and foundations of walls still appear (Leake, ii. p. 588).

[7] The Cephissus rises from the base of Parnassus, near the *Paleókastro*, which marks the site of Lilæa. Here are copious sources, forming the true head of the river, as the modern name for them, *Kefálovrýsei*, indicates (see Leake, ii. pp. 71, 84; Gell, p. 207). It runs at first in a north-easterly direction, but after receiving the *Apostolía*, or Pindus, which comes down from Mount Œta, it takes the course of that stream, and flows on towards the south-east, to the Cephissis, or Lake *Topolias*. Phocis seems to have extended along the valley of the Cephissus, from the defile near *Dhadhí* to that immediately above Chæronea (*Kápurna*).

[8] Of these cities, Pedieis and Tritæa, or Triteis, are mentioned by no other author. From their position in the list of Herodotus, and from the name of the former, we may place them in the plain lying between Elateia (*Lefta*) and Neon (*Velítza*). Erôchus is mentioned, but not described, by Pausanias (x. iii. § 1). It must have lain in the upper portion of the valley, near *Dhadhí*, where Drymus, Charadra, Tethronium, and Amphicæa also stood. Colonel Leake has shown grounds for placing these cities, which are mentioned by several writers, at *Klunista*, *Suvála*, *Mulki*, and *Dhadhí* respectively (Northern Greece, ii. pp. 86-7). Elatea, the most important of all the Phocian cities in after times (Strab. ix. p. 605; Pausan. x. xxxiv. § 1; Steph. Byz. ad voc. &c.) is identified by an inscription, as well as by its name

place there was a temple of Apollo,[9] very rich, and adorned with a vast number of treasures and offerings. There was likewise an oracle there in those days, as indeed there is at present. This temple the Persians plundered and burnt; and here they captured a number of the Phocians before they could reach the hills,[1] and caused the death of some of their women by ill-usage.

34. After passing Parapotamii, the barbarians marched to Panopeis;[2] and now the army separated into two bodies, whereof one, which was the more numerous and the stronger of the two, marched, under Xerxes himself, towards Athens, entering Bœotia by the country of the Orchomenians.[3] The Bœotians had one and all embraced the cause of the Medes; and their towns were in the possession of Macedonian garrisons, whom Alexander had sent there, to make it manifest

and situation, with *Lefta* (Leake, ib. p. 82). Parapotamii is said never to have been rebuilt after its destruction in the sacred war, and Pausanias failed to discover any traces of it (x. xxxiii. § 4); but moderns seem to have been more fortunate, and point out its ruins as occupying an elevation on the left bank of the Cephissus, a little above the defile which separated Phocis from Bœotia, near the modern village of *Bélissi* (Leake, ii. p. 191; Gell, p. 220). Strabo (ix. p. 614), Theopompus (Fr. 264), and Plutarch (Vit. Syll. c. 16), confirm this view. The sites of Abæ, Hyampolis, and Neon, have been already mentioned.

[9] Supra, i. 46, note [8].

[1] The Abæans, dwelling at some distance (five miles) from the valley of the Cephissus, and in a strong position upon the hills, might have expected the Persians to sweep on without touching them. The Persians were determined, however, in true iconoclastic spirit, to destroy, if possible, all the principal Greek fanes. (Vide supra, v. 102, note [4], and compare Cic. de Leg. ii. 10.)

[2] Panopeis, Panopeus, or Panopé (Steph. Byz.), which was afterwards called Phanoteus (Strab. ix. p. 614), was the frontier town of Phocis towards Bœotia, in the valley of the Cephissus (Pausan. x. iv. § 1). It lay beyond the defile which formed the natural boundary between the two countries, and within about two miles of the Bœotian city of Chæronea. Colonel Leake has described its remains (Northern Greece, ii. pp. 109-112), which are situated on a rocky eminence above the village of *Aio Vlasi*, on the right bank of the Cephissus, a little below its junction with the *Mavronéri* (compare Gell, p. 201).

[3] Orchomenus, the most famous of the Bœotian cities next to Thebes (Pausan. ix. xxxiv. § 5), was situated by the Cephissus, near the point where it entered the great marshes (Cephissis), which form the western portion of Lake Copaïs (*Topolias*). See Pausanias (ix. xxxviii. § 5.) It occupied the hill above the monastery of *Skripú*, as inscriptions, and the accordance of the remains with the description of Pausanias, sufficiently prove (see Leake, ii. pp. 142-151). In the inscriptions, and upon the coins of the place, the town is called Erchomenus.

to Xerxes that the Bœotians were on the Median side. Such then was the road followed by one division of the barbarians.

35. The other division took guides, and proceeded towards the temple of Delphi, keeping Mount Parnassus on their right hand.[4] They too laid waste such parts of Phôcis as they passed through, burning the city of the Panopeans, together with those of the Daulians and of the Æolidæ. This body had been detached from the rest of the army and made to march in this direction, for the purpose of plundering the Delphian temple and conveying to King Xerxes the riches which were there laid up. For Xerxes, as I am informed, was better acquainted with what there was worthy of note at Delphi, than even with what he had left in his own house; so many of those about him were continually describing the treasures—more especially the offerings made by Crœsus the son of Alyattes.[5]

36. Now when the Delphians heard what danger they were in, great fear fell on them. In their terror they consulted the oracle concerning the holy treasures, and inquired if they should bury them in the ground,

[4] This division must have crossed the *Platania*, the stream which runs between Panopeus (*Aio Vlasi*) and Daulis (*Dhavlia*), and proceeded by Daulis over the hills to the σχιστὴ ὁδὸς, which was the traditional scene of the death of Laïus (Pausan. x. v. § 2). Hence there was a straight road to Delphi, over the ridge or *col* connecting Mount Parnassus with Mount Cirphis. This is the modern route from *Davlia*, by *Panies*, to *Kastri* (Gell, pp. 172-8, 180-4).

Dhavlia answers to Daulis in everything but the distance from *Aio Vlasi* (Panopeus), which is said in Pausanias (x. iv. § 5) to be no more than seven stades. This is probably an error for twenty-seven (Leake, ii. p. 110). The site is certainly identified by a long inscription on the spot. The modern village is overhung by an eminence on which the walls of the ancient town may be clearly traced. It was very strong (Liv. xxxii. 18; Gell, p. 172). The "forest of oaks" which now covers the ground justifies the old name, derived by the ancients from δαυλός, an equivalent of δάσκιος (Strab. ix. p. 613; Pausan. l. s. c.; and compare Æsch. Suppl. 87, ed. Scholefield).

Panies, where there are ruins of ancient walls in the polygonal style of architecture (Gell, p. 180), and which lay upon the route taken by the Persians, is probably the site of the "city of the Æolidæ." The conjecture of Gell, which places it at *Santa Luca* (p. 176), is inadmissible. There are no grounds for thinking that the Persians wandered so far from the direct route.

[5] Supra, i. 50-1.

or carry them away to some other country. The god, in reply, bade them leave the treasures untouched—"He was able," he said, "without help to protect his own." So the Delphians, when they received this answer, began to think about saving themselves. And first of all they sent their women and children across the gulf into Achæa; after which the greater number of them climbed up into the tops of Parnassus,[6] and placed their goods for safety in the Corycian cave;[7] while some

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[6] The two peaks rising immediately above Delphi (*Kastri*) which render its site conspicuous at a distance, but which are of far lower elevation than the real summit, are probably intended. One of these, the eastern, was the Hyampeia mentioned below (ch. 39); the other, which is separated from it by a ravine, was called Nauplia (Plut. de Ser. Num. Vind. ii. p. 557, B). From these peaks Parnassus obtained its epithet of "biceps" (Pers. Prol. 2; compare Soph. Ant. 1107; Eurip. Phœn. 234, &c.).

[7] The Corycian cave, sacred to Pan and the Nymphs (Pausan. x. xxii. §. 5), is clearly identified by its position, its size, and an inscription at its entrance. It is in the side of a conical hill rising out of the basin on which the traveller comes after mounting the heights immediately behind Delphi, from which it is distant about seven miles in a direction nearly due north (Gell, p. 191; Leake, ii. pp. 580-1).

[The entrance is about 19 feet broad; the cave then increases to 33 and 88 in the broadest part; the length is 184 feet, to the part where it curves, and is half closed by stalactites; and beyond that it extends about the same distance; so that in former times it appeared much longer than at present. (Pausan. x. 6, and 32.)—G. W.]



Mouth of the Corycian Cave.

effected their escape to Amphissa in Locris.[8] In this way all the Delphians quitted the city, except sixty men, and the Prophet.

37. When the barbarian assailants drew near and were in sight of the place,[9] the Prophet, who was named



Interior of the Corycian Cave.

[8] Whither the other Phocians had already fled (supra, ch. 32).

[9] Delphi stood on the side of a rocky hill, in the form of a theatre, as Strabo says (ix. p. 606); to which a succession of terraces gave it a still greater resemblance. The Temple of Apollo was about the centre of the curve, and that of Minerva Pronaia towards the Eastern extremity, near to the Castalian fountain, and not far from the church of the Panagia, which may mark its site, or that of the Gymnasium, which was just below it. At the Western extremity is the church of St. Elias, which has succeeded to an older building, and farther inward is the stadium, its Eastern end hewn in the rock, high above the town, and about 658 feet in length. Beyond the Eastern and Western extremities are tombs. (Of the old Lycoreia, see Strabo, l. s. c., and Pausan. x. 6.) Pausanias thus describes the position of the temple of Minerva Pronaia (x. 8): "If on leaving the gymnasium you turn to the left, and go down about three stadia, you find the river Plistus, which runs to the sea at Cirrha, the port of Delphi; but if instead of going down you ascend toward the temple of Minerva, you will see on your right the fountain of Castalia." (See also Paus. x. 7, 32 and Diod. xi. 14.) Pausanias places the statue of Apollo in the large space quite at the top of the town (c. 8), showing that the



Delphi, from the East.



Delphi, from the West.

Acêratus, beheld, in front of the temple, a portion of the sacred armour, which it was not lawful for any mortal hand to touch, lying upon the ground, removed from the inner shrine where it was wont to hang. Then went he and told the prodigy to the Delphians who had remained behind. Meanwhile the enemy pressed forward briskly, and had reached the shrine of Minerva Pronaia,[1] when they were overtaken by other prodigies still more wonderful than the first. Truly it was marvel enough, when warlike harness was seen lying outside the temple, removed there by no power but its own; what followed, however, exceeded in strangeness all prodigies that had ever been seen before. The barbarians had just reached in their advance the



Mount Parnassus and the hill above Delphi, with the village of Chryso and the port (Scala) below.

latter was below the modern village, which occupies the site of the temple and its vicinity. The point to which the Persians arrived, when near enough to see the temple of Apollo, was under the rocks in the middle of the view on page 280.—[G. W.]

[1] See the above note. It is doubtful whether any remains of this temple can be traced (Leake, ii. p. 562).

chapel of Minerva Pronaia, when a storm of thunder burst suddenly over their heads—at the same time two crags split off from Mount Parnassus, and rolled down upon them with a loud noise, crushing vast numbers beneath their weight—while from the temple of Minerva there went up the war-cry and the shout of victory.

38. All these things together struck terror into the barbarians, who forthwith turned and fled. The Delphians, seeing this, came down from their hiding-places, and smote them with a great slaughter, from which such as escaped fled straight into Bœotia. These men, on their return, declared (as I am told) that besides the marvels mentioned above, they witnessed also other supernatural sights. Two armed warriors, they said, of a stature more than human, pursued after their flying ranks, pressing them close and slaying them.

39. These men, the Delphians maintain, were two Heroes belonging to the place—by name Phylacus and Autonoüs—each of whom has a sacred precinct near the temple; one, that of Phylacus, hard by the road which runs above the temple of Pronaia;[2] the other, that of Autonoüs, near the Castalian spring,[3] at the foot of the peak called Hyampeia. The blocks of stone which fell from Parnassus might still be seen in my day;[4] they lay in the precinct of Pronaia, where they

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[2] Pausanias mentions the precinct of Phylacus as existing in the same position in his day (x. viii. § 4). The temple has, apparently, disappeared.

[3] The Castalian spring may be distinctly recognised, from this passage and the description of Pausanias (x. viii. § 5), in the modern fountain of *Aio Jánni*. It lies at the base of the precipices of Parnassus, on the right of the road by which alone Delphi can be approached from the east, at the mouth of a ravine which separates the two great Delphian peaks. The rock has been excavated, steps made to lead down into the pool, and niches cut in the stone over it (Leake, ii. pp. 556-7). [The rocks are a silicious limestone, resting on an argillaceous base. The water is collected in a square tank, above which is one of oblong form, in a recess cut in the rock, and above it is a niche in the centre. The water, as Pausanias says, is "excellent;" it is now principally used by washerwomen; and a stream runs from the fountain between the site of the town and the gymnasium, and falls into the river.—G. W.]

[4] The ground at the foot of the precipices is strewn with "numerous fragments" which have fallen or been precipitated from the rocks above (Leake, p. 560).



Castalian Spring.

stopped, after rolling through the host of the barbarians. Thus was this body of men forced to retire from the temple.[5]

40. Meanwhile, the Grecian fleet, which had left Artemisium, proceeded to Salamis, at the request of the Athenians, and there cast anchor. The Athenians had begged them to take up this position, in order that they might convey their women and children out of Attica, and further might deliberate upon the course which it now behoved them to follow. Disappointed in the hopes which they had previously entertained, they were about to hold a council concerning the present posture of their affairs. For they had looked to see the Peloponnesians drawn up in full force to resist the enemy in Bœotia, but found nothing of what they had expected; nay, they learnt that the Greeks of those parts, only concerning themselves about their own safety, were building a wall across the Isthmus, and intended to guard the Peloponnese, and let the rest of Greece take its chance. These tidings caused them to make the request whereof I spoke, that the combined fleet should anchor at Salamis.

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[5] It is difficult to say how much of this account is so far as the facts go, true—how much is exaggeration. We may, however, readily conceive that the priests arranged a plan of defence both on this occasion, and on the subsequent attack of the Gauls, B.C. 279 (see Pausan. x. xxiii.), in which they aimed at inspiring their assailants with superstitious fear, and their own side with religious trust and confidence. The fragments of rock may have been carefully prepared beforehand, and have been precipitated by the hands of those who are said to have taken refuge in the peaks—a mode of defence constantly practised by the inhabitants of mountainous countries. The sound which they made in falling may have been taken for thunder. The prodigy of the armour would require nothing but the hands of a single priest, and would be intended to indicate that the god was going out to the battle (see Xen. Hell. VI. iv. § 7). The war-cry from Minerva's temple might be the voice of another priest, and would have been at once the signal and encouragement of an attack. Even the heroes may have been personated by two men of unusual stature, though if this portion of the tale originated with the Persians, it may have been a mere excuse offered to Xerxes, which the Delphic priests turned to their own advantage (see the remarks of Thirlwall, vol. ii. p. 293).

It is curious that Plutarch should say (Vit. Num. c. 9) that the Delphian temple was actually burnt by the Medes.

41. So while the rest of the fleet lay to off this island, the Athenians cast anchor along their own coast. Immediately upon their arrival, proclamation was made, that every Athenian should save his children and household as he best could;[6] whereupon some sent their families to Egina, some to Salamis, but the greater number to Trœzen.[7] This removal was made with all possible haste, partly from a desire to obey the advice of the oracle,[8] but still more for another reason. The Athenians say that they have in their acropolis a huge serpent,[9] which lives in the temple, and is the guardian of the whole place. Nor do they only say this, but, as if the serpent really dwelt there, every month they lay out its food,[10] which consists of a honey-cake. Up to this time the honey-cake had always been consumed; but now it remained untouched. So the priestess told the people what had happened; whereupon they left Athens the more readily, since they believed that the goddess had already abandoned the citadel.[1] As soon as all was removed, the Athenians sailed back to their station.

42. And now, the remainder of the Grecian sea-force, hearing that the fleet which had been at Artemisium, was come to Salamis, joined it at that island from Trœzen—orders having been issued previously that

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[6] The Athenian who, without such proclamation, left his country at a time of danger, was considered guilty of a capital offence (Lycurg. adv. Leocr. p 468-9; see the note of Larcher).

[7] The Trœzenians received them with much kindness, and voted them sustenance-money at the rate of two obols (3¼d.) *per diem* for each person (Plut. Them. c. 10). Trœzen, for her size, took an energetic part in the war. She engaged in it both by land and sea, sending five triremes to Artemisium (supra, ch. 1) and Salamis (infra, ch. 43), and a thousand heavy-armed to Platæa (infra, ix. 28).

[8] Supra, vii. 141.

[9] Cf. Aristoph. Lysistr. 709-710, ed. Bothe):—

ἀλλ' οὐ δύναμαι 'γωγ' οὐδὲ κοιμᾶσθαι ἐν πόλει
ἐξ οὗ τὸν ὄφιν εἶδον τὸν οἰκουρόν ποτε.

Later writers multiplied the one serpent into two (see Phot. Lex. Synag. ad voc. οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν; Hesych. sub voc. &c.). The temple in which it was considered to dwell was that of Minerva Polias (Photius, l. s. c.), which has been already described (supra, v. 82, note [illegible]).

[10] Compare the custom of the Babylonians, as recorded in the apocryphal portion of the book of Daniel (xiv. 2-5).

[1] On the belief in such abandonment of a doomed city, cf. Liv. v. 21; Virg. Æn. ii. 351-2; Tacit. Hist. v. 13; Joseph. B. Jud. iv. 5; Eurip. Troad. 23; Plin H. N. xxviii. 2; Macrob. Sat. iii. 9; &c.

the ships should muster at Pôgon, the port of the Trœzenians.[2] The vessels collected were many more in number than those which had fought at Artemisium, and were furnished by more cities.[3] The admiral was the same who had commanded before, to wit, Eurybiades, the son of Eurycleides, who was a Spartan, but not of the family of the kings: the city, however, which sent by far the greatest number of ships, and the best sailers, was Athens.

43. Now these were the nations who composed the Grecian fleet. From the Peloponnese, the following—the Lacedæmonians with sixteen ships; the Corinthians with the same number as at Artemisium; the Sicyonians with fifteen; the Epidaurians with ten; the Trœzenians with five; and the Hermionians with three. These were Dorians and Macednians[4] all of them (except those from Hermioné),[5] and had emigrated last from Erineus, Pindus,[6] and Dryopis. The Hermionians were Dryopes,[7] of the race which Hercules and the Malians drove out of the land now called Dôris. Such were the Peloponnesian nations.

[2] The harbour called Pogon lay east of the peninsula of Methana, opposite to the small island of Calauria (Strab. viii. p. 542). It is now very shallow, especially towards the site of Trœzen (Chandler, vol. ii. p. 241).

[3] According to Herodotus' totals, the number of ships at Salamis was greater by 54 than the number at the grand battle of Artemisium. The cities which now for the first time sent ships were Hermioné, Ambracia, Leucas, Naxos, Cythnus, Seriphus, Siphnus, Melos, and Crotona. The only defection from the Greek cause was that of the Opuntian Locrians.

[4] Supra, i. 56. Compare Appendix to Book v. Essay i. p. 330.

[5] That Hermioné was at all times an independent state has been already noticed (supra, iii. 59, note [4]). It lay west of Trœzen, occupying the promontory opposite to the islands of *Hydra* and *Spezzia* (Scylax, Peripl. p. 45; Strab. viii. pp. 541-2). The city was situated on the point of land which projects in front of the modern village of *Kastri*. Considerable remains of the walls and temples are still to be seen (Gell's Morea, p. 199; Leake's Morea, ii. p. 462).

[6] Erineus and Pindus were two of the cities constituting the old Doric Tetrapolis (Scym. Ch. 592; Strab. ix. p. 620; Plin. H. N. iv. 7). The latter was called also Acyphas (Strab. cf. Steph. Byz.). Both towns seem to have lain on the banks of the river Pindus or Acyphas, which is the modern *Apostolia*. The latter was nearest to its source. The exact sites have not been yet identified.

[7] According to Aristotle, they sprang from Dryops *the Arcadian*, who brought them into the Peloponnese from the banks of the Spercheius (Fr. 94). The Dryopian origin of the Hermionians is again asserted, infra, ch. 73.

44. From the mainland of Greece beyond the Peloponnese, came the Athenians with a hundred and eighty ships, a greater number than that furnished by any other people; and these were now manned wholly by themselves; for the Platæans did not serve aboard the Athenian ships at Salamis,[8] owing to the following reason. When the Greeks, on their withdrawal from Artemisium, arrived off Chalcis, the Platæans disembarked upon the opposite shore of Bœotia, and set to work to remove their households, whereby it happened that they were left behind. (The Athenians, when the region which is now called Greece was held by the Pelasgi, were Pelasgians, and bore the name of Cranaans; but under their king Cecrops, they were called Cecropidæ; when Erechtheus got the sovereignty, they changed their name to Athenians; and when Ion, the son of Xuthus, became their general, they were named after him Ionians.[9])

45. The Megarians served with the same number of ships as at Artemisium; the Ambraciots[10] came with seven; the Leucadians[11] (who were Dorians from Corinth) with three.

46. Of the islanders, the Eginetans furnished thirty ships—they had a larger number equipped, but some were kept back to guard their own coasts, and only

[8] As they did at Artemisium (supra, ch. 1).

[9] These traditions, belonging to a period long anterior to all authentic history, cannot be considered to have any great value. That the Athenians were Ionians and Pelasgi had been previously declared (supra, i. 56).

[10] Ambracia was a colony from Corinth, founded in the reign of Cypselus about B.C. 635 (Scym. Ch. 454; Strab. vii. p. 471, and x. p. 659). Col. Leake has shown abundant grounds for believing that Ambracia stood exactly on the site of the modern *Arta* (Northern Greece, vol. i. pp. 207-9).

[11] Leucas was founded by the Corinthians at the same time with Ambracia (Strab. l. s. c.). It lay on the eastern side of the peninsula of the same name (which is the modern *Santa Maura*, or *Lefkádha*), at the edge of the high ground overlooking the marshy lagoon (half land, half water) which connects Leucadia with the continent. Its remains, which are considerable, form the *Paleókastro* of *Kaligóni*, a mile and a half to the south-east of *Amaxikhi*, the modern capital of the peninsula (Leake's Northern Greece, vol. iii. pp. 14-18).

thirty, which however were their best sailers, took part in the fight at Salamis. (The Eginetans are Dorians from Epidaurus;[1] their island was called formerly Œnônê). The Chalcideans came next in order; they furnished the twenty ships with which they had served at Artemisium. The Eretrians likewise furnished their seven. These races are Ionian. Cêos gave its old number[2]—the Ceans are Ionians from Attica. Naxos furnished four:[3] this detachment, like those from the other islands, had been sent by the citizens at home to join the Medes; but they made light of the orders given them, and joined the Greeks, at the instigation of Democritus,[4] a citizen of good report, who was at that time captain of a trireme. The Naxians are Ionians, of the Athenian stock. The Styreans served with the same ships as before; the Cythnians[5] contributed one, and likewise a penteconter—these two nations are Dryopians: the Seriphians, Siphnians, and Melians, also served;[6] they were the only islanders who had not given earth and water to the Barbarian.

47. All these nations dwelt inside the river Acheron and the country inhabited by the Thesprotians;[7] for that people borders on the Ambraciots and Leucadians,

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[1] Supra, v. 83.

[2] Two triremes and two penteconters (supra, ch. 1).

[3] Hellanicus made the number of the Naxian ships six, Ephorus five. Plutarch seems to have found *three* in his copy of Herodotus (De Malign. Herod. ii. p. 869).

[4] Plutarch, in his criticism upon this statement, against which he has nothing to allege but the silence of Hellanicus and Ephorus, has fortunately preserved some lines written by Simonides upon the Democritus here mentioned. From these we learn that with his small squadron he destroyed five of the enemy's ships, and recovered from them a Dorian vessel that had been captured.

[5] Concerning Cythnus, vide supra, vii. 90, note[8].

[6] Seriphus, Siphnus, and Melos—the *Serpho*, *Siphanto*, and *Milo* of the present day—form, together with Ceos and Cythnus, the western Cyclades, which were now especially threatened by the advance of the Persian fleet. Their remoteness from Asia had emboldened them to refuse submission; their danger now induced them to appear in arms.

[7] According to Strabo (vii. p. 469), Thesprotia extended from the Acroceraunian mountains to the gulf of Ambracia (*Arta*). The river Acheron is clearly identified, by the descriptions of Thucydides (i. 46), Livy (viii. 24), and other writers, with the *Sulióтico*, or *Fanaritiko*, of the present day (Leake, vol. i. p. 232).

who are the most remote of all those by whom the fleet was furnished. From the countries beyond, there was only one people which gave help to the Greeks in their danger. This was the people of Crotona,[8] who contributed a single ship, under the command of Phayllus, a man who had thrice carried off the prize at the Pythian games.[9] The Crotoniats are, by descent, Achæans.[1]

48. Most of the allies came with triremes; but the Melians, Siphnians, and Seriphians, brought penteconters. The Melians, who draw their race from Lacedæmon,[2] furnished two; the Siphnians and Seriphians, who are Ionians of the Athenian stock, one each. The whole number of the ships, without counting the penteconters, was three hundred and seventy-eight.[3]

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[8] Supra, iii. 126.

[9] A statue was erected to Phayllus at Delphi, which Pausanias saw (x. ix. § 1). His victories, according to this author, were twice the pentathlon and once the stadium. The ship which he commanded was not furnished by the state, but by Phayllus himself, who manned it with such of his countrymen as happened to be at the time in Greece. It is probable that the Phayllus who is twice mentioned by Aristophanes as a fast runner was a different person (cf. Schol. ad Aristoph. Acharn. 210).

[1] According to Strabo, Achæans settled on the coast about Crotona on their return from the Trojan war (vi. p. 376). Afterwards (about B.C. 734, or later according to some), Myscellus, an Achæan from Rhypes (ib. viii. p. 561), led out a colony to Crotona itself, which was in the possession of the Iapygians (Eph. Fr. 48). Ovid indeed makes Myscellus an Argive (Metaph. xv. 19-20); and this may indicate a Dorian admixture in the colony; but Crotona was always reckoned an Achæan town (Antioch. ap. Strab. vi. p. 377; Scymn. Ch. 322; Polyb. ii. xxxix. § 6, &c.).

[2] So Thucydides, v. 84. The colonisation was supposed to have taken place within one hundred years of the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese (ib. v. 112; Conon. Narr. 36). The colonists were chiefly Minyæ under Spartan leaders, the remnant apparently left in Lacedæmon after the colonisation of Thera (supra, iv. 148; compare Conon. l. s. c.; Plut. de Virt. Mul. ii. p. 247, D.).

[3] The number produced by adding the several contingents together is not 378, but 366. Some suppose that twelve Eginetan ships, employed in guarding Egina, are included by Herodotus in his total (Leake's Demi, p. 251, note; Bähr ad loc. &c.), but this is a very forced explanation of the difficulty. Herodotus is giving an account of the ships actually mustered, and would have no more reason for including the vessels in reserve at Egina than those retained by other states—Corinth, for instance, which must have had a naval force of above forty triremes. Again the reserve at Egina consisted, it is likely, of forty ships rather than twelve (supra, vi. 92, note [4]). Disagreement in numbers meets us at every turn in Herodotus (supra, v. 54; cf. Dahlmann's Life, p. 74, E. T.). Whether it proceeds

49. When the captains from these various nations were come together at Salamis, a council of war was summoned; and Eurybiades proposed that any one who liked to advise, should say which place seemed to him the fittest, among those still in the possession of the Greeks, to be the scene of a naval combat. Attica, he said, was not to be thought of now; but he desired their counsel as to the remainder. The speakers mostly advised, that the fleet should sail away to the Isthmus, and there give battle in defence of the Peloponnese; and they urged as a reason for this, that if they were worsted in a sea-fight at Salamis, they would be shut up in an island, where they could get no help; but if they were beaten near the Isthmus, they could escape to their homes.

50. As the captains from the Peloponnese were thus advising, there came an Athenian to the camp, who brought word that the barbarians had entered Attica, and were ravaging and burning everything. For the division of the army under Xerxes was just arrived at Athens from its march through Bœotia, where it had burnt Thespiæ[4] and Platæa—both which cities were forsaken by their inhabitants, who had fled to the Peloponnese—and now it was laying waste all the possessions of the Athenians. Thespiæ and Platæa had been burnt by the Persians, because they knew from the

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from his own carelessness or from the corruption of the MSS., must be left to the judgment of the reader.

The actual number of the Greek ships *engaged* is variously stated. Æschylus, who was one of the combatants (Pausan. I. xiv. § 4), makes them 300, or 310 (Pers. 341-2, and cf. Blomfield's note); Thucydides, 400, or, according to some MSS., 300 (i. 74); Ctesias, 700 (Exc. Pers. § 26); Demosthenes, 300 (De Cor. p. 306, 23); and Tzetzes, 271 (ad Lycophr. 1432). Altogether the preponderance of authority is in favour of a smaller number than either of those in the text; but we must remember that Herodotus is speaking of the original *muster*, and it is not unlikely that between that and the battle many ships were withdrawn.

[4] Inscriptions and coins seem to prove that Thespiæ stood at the sources of the *Kanavári*, in the plain south of *Rimokastro* (Leake, ii. pp. 479-481; Gell, p. 119); otherwise we might have expected to find it nearer to the skirts of Helicon (cf. Pausan. IX. xxvi. § 4; Philiad. ap. Steph. Byz. ad voc.). The remains are very extensive.

Thebans that neither of those cities had espoused their side.

51. Since the passage of the Hellespont and the commencement of the march upon Greece, a space of four months had gone by; one while the army made the crossing, and delayed about the region of the Hellespont; and three while they proceeded thence to Attica, which they entered in the archonship of Calliades. They found the city forsaken; a few people only remained in the temple,[5] either keepers of the treasures,[6] or men of the poorer sort. These persons having fortified the citadel[7] with planks and boards, held out against the enemy. It was in some measure their poverty which had prevented them from seeking shelter in Salamis; but there was likewise another reason which in part induced them to remain. They imagined themselves to have discovered the true meaning of the oracle uttered by the Pythoness, which promised that "the wooden wall should never be taken"[8]—the wooden wall, they thought, did not mean the ships, but the place where they had taken refuge.

52. The Persians encamped upon the hill over against the citadel, which is called Mars' hill by the Athenians,[9] and began the siege of the place, attacking

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[5] The temple of Minerva Polias in the Acropolis, to which allusion has been frequently made (supra, v. 72, 82, viii. 41; compare viii. 53).

[6] The keepers of the sacred treasures of Minerva were ten in number, chosen annually from among the Pentacosiomedimni. Their remaining in the temple would show that it had been found impossible to remove all the treasures.

[7] The Athenian citadel, or Acropolis, is almost too well known to need description. It is an oblong craggy hill, rising abruptly from the plain on three sides, and on the fourth, which is towards the west, sloping steeply down to the base of a second hill (that of Areopagus), which is one of a group of rocky elevations lying west and south-west of the citadel, in the line between it and the Piræus. The summit of the Acropolis is said to be 400 feet above the level of the plain. It is a platform, about 1000 feet long by 500 broad. The only practicable access was at the western extremity. It was here that the few Athenians who remained in the town had hastily raised their wooden defences.

[8] Supra, vii. 141.

[9] Mars' Hill, the seat of the celebrated court of the Areopagus, made still more famous by the preaching of St. Paul (Acts xvii. 22), is one of the

the Greeks with arrows whereto pieces of lighted tow were attached, which they shot at the barricade. And now those who were within the citadel found themselves in a most woeful case, for their wooden rampart betrayed them; still, however, they continued to resist. It was in vain that the Pisistratidæ came to them and offered terms of surrender—they stoutly refused all parley, and among their other modes of defence, rolled down huge masses of stone upon the barbarians as they were mounting up to the gates: so that Xerxes was for a long time very greatly perplexed, and could not contrive any way to take them.

53. At last, however, in the midst of these many difficulties, the barbarians made discovery of an access. For verily the oracle had spoken truth; and it was fated that the whole mainland of Attica[1] should fall beneath the sway of the Persians. Right in front of the citadel, but behind the gates and the common ascent —where no watch was kept, and no one would have thought it possible that any foot of man could climb— a few soldiers mounted from the sanctuary of Aglaurus, Cecrops' daughter,[2] notwithstanding the steepness of

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features of Athenian topography which cannot be mistaken. It is the only hill that approaches near to the Acropolis, from the western extremity of which it is separated by a hollow of but a few yards in width (Leake's Athens, p. 165). Here the Amazons were fabled to have taken up their position when they attacked the fortress of Theseus (Æschyl. Eum. 655-9, ed. Scholefield).

Various accounts were given of the origin of the name (Pausan. l. s. c.; Steph. Byz. ad voc. &c.). The most probable is that Mars was worshipped there from very early times (Æschyl. l. s. c.). A temple of Mars stood to a late date on the southern side of the hill (Pausan. I. viii. § 5; cf. Leake, p. 242).

[1] A distinction is intended between the mainland and the islands, Salamis, Psyttaleia, &c. Both answers of the oracle declared the complete devastation of Attica (supra, vii. 140-1).

[2] Aglaurus, the daughter of Cecrops, was said to have thrown herself over the precipices of the Acropolis. Different reasons were assigned for the deed (compare Pausan. I. xviii. § 2, with Philoch. Fr. 14). Her sanctuary was near the Cave of Pan (Eurip. Ion. 493; vide supra, vi. 105), and seems rightly placed by Leake on the northern side of the Acropolis, which Herodotus terms its front, as most persons, both natives and strangers, are still said to do (Leake's Athens, pp. 262-7). Here the rocks are quite as precipitous, *generally*, as at the east end, while there is a place, near the probable site of the Aglaurium, which is not very

the precipice. As soon as the Athenians saw them upon the summit, some threw themselves headlong from the wall, and so perished; while others fled for refuge to the inner part of the temple. The Persians rushed to the gates and opened them, after which they massacred the suppliants. When all were slain, they plundered the temple, and fired every part of the citadel.[3]

54. Xerxes, thus completely master of Athens, dispatched a horseman to Susa, with a message to Artabanus, informing him of his success hitherto. The day after, he collected together all the Athenian exiles who had come into Greece in his train, and bade them go up into the citadel, and there offer sacrifice after their own fashion. I know not whether he had had a dream which made him give this order, or whether he felt some remorse on account of having set the temple on fire. However this may have been, the exiles were not slow to obey the command given them.

55. I will now explain why I have made mention of this circumstance: there is a temple of Erechtheus, the Earth-born as he is called, in this citadel, containing within it an olive-tree[4] and a sea.[5] The tale goes among the Athenians, that they were placed there as witnesses by Neptune and Minerva, when they had their contention about the country.[6] Now this olive-

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difficult of access. For the exact site see Col. Leake's plan. The main authorities on the subject are Pausanias (l. s. c.), Euripides (Ion. *passim*), and Ulpian (ad Demosth. F. L. p. 438, ed. Reiske).

[3] The traces of this destruction may still be seen though the structures have been rebuilt. In the wall on the North side are the drums of columns, and other blocks belonging to the old temples, which prove the truth of what Thucydides says (i. 93), that the Athenians while detaining the delegates from Sparta, according to the instructions of Themistocles, "rebuilt the walls of the Acropolis in great haste, as the masonry shows to this day."—[G. W.]

[4] See above, v. 82, note [9].

[5] Pausanias (I. xxvi. § 6) tells us that this "sea" was a well of salt water (ὕδωρ θαλάσσιον ἐν φρέατι). He believed it to communicate with the Ægean (VIII. x. § 3), the roar of which it conveyed to the ear, when the wind blew from the south. No trace of any such well can be now found.

[6] The myth is given more fully by

tree had been burnt with the rest of the temple when the barbarians took the place. But when the Athenians, whom the king had commanded to offer sacrifice, went up into the temple for the purpose, they found a fresh shoot, as much as a cubit in length, thrown out from the old trunk. Such at least was the account which these persons gave.[7]

56. Meanwhile, at Salamis, the Greeks no sooner heard what had befallen the Athenian citadel, than they fell into such alarm that some of the captains did not even wait for the council to come to a vote, but embarked hastily on board their vessels, and hoisted sail as though they would take to flight immediately. The rest, who stayed at the council board, came to a vote that the fleet should give battle at the Isthmus. Night now drew on, and the captains, dispersing from the meeting, proceeded on board their respective ships.

57. Themistocles, as he entered his own vessel, was met by Mnesiphilus,[8] an Athenian, who asked him what

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Apollodorus than by any other writer. "The gods," he says, "were minded to choose themselves cities where they should be specially worshipped. Neptune was the first to reach Attica, where he smote with his trident, and made a sea spring up in the midst of the Acropolis, where it remains to this day, and is called the Sea of Erechtheus. Minerva (Athené) followed, and calling Cecrops to be witness that she took the land in possession, planted the olive which still grows in the temple of Pandrosus. Then a strife arose concerning the country: so Jupiter, to reconcile the rivals, appointed judges, who were not Cecrops and Cranaus, as some say, nor yet Erechtheus, but the twelve deities. Their decision adjudged the land to Athené, upon the witness of Cecrops; and so Athens gained its name, being called after the goddess" (III. xiv. § 1).

[7] The story improved with time. Pausanias makes the shoot *two* cubits in length, on the *very day* of the burning (I. xxvii. § 2). Sophocles probably alludes to the failure of Xerxes' attempt to destroy the sacred olive, when he calls it—

> φύτευμ' ἀχείρωτον, αὐτόποιον,
> ἐγχέων φόβημα δαΐων,
> . . . .
> τὸ μέν τις οὔτε νέος, οὔτε γήρᾳ
> σημαίνων ἁλιώσει χερὶ πέρσας.
> Œd. Col. 698-703.

[8] According to Plutarch, Mnesiphilus belonged to the school of Solon, and laboured in the same field of practical and political wisdom. He was rather the teacher than the friend of Themistocles, who attended his instructions about the time of his first entry on political life. They both belonged to the same deme, that of Phrearrhi in the tribe Leontis (Plut. Them. c. 2).

the council had resolved to do. On learning that the resolve was to stand away for the Isthmus, and there give battle on behalf of the Peloponnese, Mnesiphilus exclaimed—

"If these men sail away from Salamis, thou wilt have no fight at all for the one fatherland; for they will all scatter themselves to their own homes; and neither Eurybiades nor any one else will be able to hinder them, or to stop the breaking up of the armament. Thus will Greece be brought to ruin through evil counsels. But haste thee now; and, if there be any possible way, seek to unsettle these resolves—mayhap thou mightest persuade Eurybiades to change his mind, and continue here."

58. The suggestion greatly pleased Themistocles; and without answering a word, he went straight to the vessel of Eurybiades. Arrived there, he let him know that he wanted to speak with him on a matter touching the public service. So Eurybiades bade him come on board, and say whatever he wished. Then Themistocles, seating himself at his side, went over all the arguments which he had heard from Mnesiphilus, pretending as if they were his own, and added to them many new ones besides; until at last he persuaded Eurybiades, by his importunity, to quit his ship and again collect the captains to council.

59. As soon as they were come, and before Eurybiades had opened to them his purpose in assembling them together, Themistocles, as men are wont to do when they are very anxious, spoke much to divers of them; whereupon the Corinthian captain, Adeimantus, the son of Ocytus, observed—"Themistocles, at the games they who start too soon are scourged." "True," rejoined the other in his excuse, "but they who wait too late are not crowned."[9]

[9] Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles (c. 11) tells the same story, but ascribes the part taken by Adeimantus to Eurybiades. He adds that Eury-

60. Thus he gave the Corinthian at this time a mild answer;[10] and towards Eurybiades himself he did not now use any of those arguments which he had urged before, or say aught of the allies betaking themselves to flight if once they broke up from Salamis; it would have been ungraceful for him, when the confederates were present, to make accusation against any: but he had recourse to quite a new sort of reasoning, and addressed him as follows:—

"With thee it rests, O! Eurybiades, to save Greece, if thou wilt only hearken unto me, and give the enemy battle here, rather than yield to the advice of those among us, who would have the fleet withdrawn to the Isthmus. Hear now, I beseech thee, and judge between the two courses. At the Isthmus thou wilt fight in an open sea, which is greatly to our disadvantage, since our ships are heavier and fewer in number than the enemy's; and further, thou wilt in any case lose Salamis, Megara, and Egina, even if all the rest goes well with us. The land and sea force of the Persians will advance together; and thy retreat will but draw them towards the Peloponnese, and so bring all Greece into peril. If, on the other hand, thou doest as I advise, these are the advantages which thou wilt so secure: in the first place, as we shall fight in a narrow sea with few ships against many, if the war follows the common course, we shall gain a great victory; for to fight in a narrow space is favourable to us—in an open sea, to them. Again, Salamis will in this case be preserved, where we have placed our wives and children. Nay, that very point by which ye set most store,

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biades, angry at the reply which Themistocles made, raised his staff in a threatening manner, whereupon Themistocles made the famous exclamation, "Strike, but hear me." Mr. Grote has well shown the want of internal consistency and probability in Plutarch's narrative (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 165, note). He has not, however, remarked that Plutarch elsewhere (Apophth. ii. p. 185) tells the story of Adeimantus.

[10] The contrast intended is between the mildness of this reply and the "bitter things" of which we have mention in ch. 61.

is secured as much by this course as by the other; for whether we fight here or at the Isthmus, we shall equally give battle in defence of the Peloponnese. Assuredly ye will not do wisely to draw the Persians upon that region. For if things turn out as I anticipate, and we beat them by sea, then we shall have kept your Isthmus free from the barbarians, and they will have advanced no further than Attica, but from thence have fled back in disorder; and we shall, moreover, have saved Megara, Egina, and Salamis itself, where an oracle has said that we are to overcome our enemies.[1] When men counsel reasonably, reasonable success ensues; but when in their counsels they reject reason, God does not choose to follow the wanderings of human fancies."

61. When Themistocles had thus spoken, Adeimantus the Corinthian again attacked him, and bade him be silent, since he was a man without a city; at the same time, he called on Eurybiades not to put the question at the instance of one who had no country, and urged that Themistocles should show of what state he was envoy, before he gave his voice with the rest. This reproach he made, because the city of Athens had been taken, and was in the hands of the barbarians. Hereupon Themistocles spake many bitter things against Adeimantus and the Corinthians generally; and for proof that he had a country, reminded the captains, that with two hundred ships at his command, all fully manned for battle, he had both city and territory as good as theirs; since there was no Grecian state which could resist his men if they were to make a descent.[2]

62. After this declaration, he turned to Eurybiades, and addressing him with greater warmth and earnestness—"If thou wilt stay here," he said, "and behave

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[1] Suprà, vii. 141, ad fin.

[2] Two hundred ships would imply at least 40,000 men, a force greater (probably) than that which any Greek state, except Sparta, could have brought into the field.

like a brave man, all will be well—if not, thou wilt bring Greece to ruin. For the whole fortune of the war depends on our ships. Be thou persuaded by my words. If not, we will take our families on board, and go, just as we are, to Siris[3] in Italy, which is ours from of old, and which the prophecies declare we are to colonise some day or other. You then, when you have lost allies like us, will hereafter call to mind what I have now said."

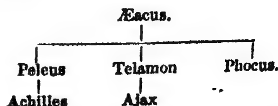
63. At these words of Themistocles, Eurybiades changed his determination; principally, as I believe, because he feared that if he withdrew the fleet to the Isthmus, the Athenians would sail away, and knew that without the Athenians, the rest of their ships could be no match for the fleet of the enemy. He therefore decided to remain, and give battle at Salamis.

64. And now, the different chiefs, notwithstanding their skirmish of words, on learning the decision of Eurybiades, at once made ready for the fight. Morning broke, and, just as the sun rose, the shock of an earthquake was felt both on shore and at sea: whereupon the Greeks resolved to approach the gods with prayer, and likewise to send and invite the Æacids to their aid. And this they did, with as much speed as they had resolved on it. Prayers were offered to all the gods; and Telamon and Ajax were invoked at once from Salamis, while a ship was sent to Egina to fetch Æacus himself, and the other Æacids.[4]

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[3] Concerning the position and history of Siris, vide supra, vi. 127, note [1]. There seems to have been no particular reason why Athens should have claimed it as hers, except that it was Ionian. Herodotus probably has in his mind claims which were made and prophecies which were adduced on occasion of the founding of Thurii, at a little distance from Siris.

[4] I have spoken above (v. 80, note [1]) of the superstitious regard paid by the Greeks to these and other images. To the instances there collected from Herodotus may be added Strab. viii. p. 558. The mythical genealogy of the family of Æacus is given by Apollodorus (III. xii. § 6, &c.) as follows:—



Telamon and Ajax are the presiding

65. The following is a tale which was told by Dicæus, the son of Theocydes, an Athenian, who was at this time an exile, and had gained a good report among the Medes. He declared, that after the army of Xerxes had, in the absence of the Athenians, wasted Attica,[5] he chanced to be with Demaratus the Lacedæmonian in the Thriasian plain,[6] and that while there, he saw a cloud of dust advancing from Eleusis,[7] such as a host of thirty thousand men might raise. As he and his companion were wondering who the men, from whom the dust came, could possibly be, a sound of voices reached his ear, and he thought that he recognised the mystic hymn to Bacchus.[8] Now Demaratus was unacquainted with the rites of Eleusis, and so he inquired of Dicæus what the voices were saying. Dicæus made answer—"Oh! Demaratus, beyond a doubt some mighty calamity is about to befall the king's army! For it is manifest, inasmuch as Attica is deserted by its inhabitants, that the sound which we have heard is an unearthly one, and is now upon its way from Eleusis to aid the Athenians and their confederates. If it descends upon the Peloponnese, danger will threaten the king himself and his land army—if it

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heroes of Salamis. Peleus and Phocus are probably the Eginetan Æacids.

[5] Plutarch (vit. Themistoc.) says this happened during the battle. (See note on ch. 90.)—[G. W.]

[6] The Thriasian plain was so named from the town of Thria, a place of some consequence in the immediate neighbourhood of Eleusis (Strab. ix. pp. 572-3). The exact position of Thria is unknown. Colonel Leake inclines to place it at a height called *Magúla*, on the left bank of the *Sarandáforo*, or Eleusinian Cephissus, rather more than two miles from the sea (Demi of Attica, p. 150). The plain extends along shore a distance of seven or eight miles, from Mount Pæcilum (*Dhafni*) to Mount Kerata (*Kandili*), and reaches inland about five miles to the foot of Mount *Ageládha*. It is now, and was probably in ancient times, very marshy during the greater part of the year (Leake, p. 149; compare Apollodor. III. xiv. § 1). Herodotus mentions it again, infra, ix. 7.

[7] Supra, v. 74, note [4].

[8] The chief details concerning the greater Eleusinia, of which the mystic hymn to Bacchus was a part, are carefully collected in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities (ad voc. ELEUSINIA), to which the reader is referred for information. The writer supposes that a procession of 30,000 persons along the sacred road which led from Athens to Eleusis was "nothing uncommon" on the great day of the festival.

moves towards the ships at Salamis, 'twill go hard but the king's fleet there suffers destruction. Every year the Athenians celebrate this feast to the Mother and the Daughter;[9] and all who wish, whether they be Athenians or any other Greeks, are initiated. The sound thou hearest is the Bacchic song, which is wont to be sung at the festival." "Hush now," rejoined the other, "and see thou tell no man of this matter. For if thy words be brought to the king's ear, thou wilt assuredly lose thy head because of them; neither I nor any man living can then save thee. Hold thy peace therefore. The gods will see to the king's army." Thus Demaratus counselled him; and they looked and saw the dust, from which the sound arose, become a cloud, and the cloud rise up into the air and sail away to Salamis, making for the station of the Grecian fleet. Then they knew that it was the fleet of Xerxes which would suffer destruction. Such was the tale told by Dicæus the son of Theocydes; and he appealed for its truth to Demaratus and other eye-witnesses.

66. The men belonging to the fleet of Xerxes, after they had seen the Spartan dead at Thermopylæ,[1] and crossed the channel from Trachis to Histiæa, waited there by the space of three days, and then sailing down through the Euripus,[2] in three more came to Phalê-

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[9] Ceres and Proserpine (Cf. And. de Myst. 15; Apollod. I. v. § 1).

[1] Supra, ch. 25.

[2] The name Euripus applies, strictly speaking, only to the very narrowest part of the channel between Eubœa and the mainland (Thucyd. vii. 29; Strab. ix. p. 585), which is opposite to the modern town of *Egripo*, where the bridge now stands. The channel seems to have been left in its natural state until after the revolt of Eubœa from Athens in B.C. 411 (Thucyd. viii. 95), when moles were thrown out from either side, and a bridge was for the first time thrown across from shore to shore (Diod. Sic. xiii. 47). This structure has continued, with some interruptions and renovations, ever since. It is greatly facilitated by the existence of a rock almost midway in the channel, upon which a tower has been raised, connected by a stone bridge, 70 feet in length, with the continent, and by a moveable wooden one, about half as long, with the

rum.[3] In my judgment, the Persian forces both by land and sea when they invaded Attica, were not less numerous than they had been on their arrival at Sêpias and Thermopylæ.[4] For against the Persian loss in the storm and at Thermopylæ, and again in the sea-fights off Artemisium, I set the various nations which had since joined the king—as the Malians, the Dorians, the Locrians, and the Bœotians—each serving in full force in his army except the last, who did not number in their ranks either the Thespians or the Platæans; and together with these, the Carystians, the Andrians, the Tenians, and the other people of the islands, who all fought on this side except the five states already mentioned.[5] For as the Persians penetrated further into Greece, they were joined continually by fresh nations.

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island and the town of Egripo. The broader or western channel is very shallow; the eastern one, through which vessels pass, has always a depth of 8 or 9 feet. A strong current sets through the channel, and its tides have always been matter of study to the curious. (See Leake's Northern Greece, ii. pp. 256-261.)

[3] Although Themistocles, during his archonship (B.C. 493), had begun his works at the Piræus (Thucyd. i. 92), yet Phalêrum still continued to be the principal port of Athens (vide infra, ch. 91).

[4] Colonel Leake (Demi of Attica, p. 250) and Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 159), with reason, question this statement. With respect to the fleet, the former remarks, "It is scarcely possible to believe that from a few cities bordering on the canal of Eubœa, and from some of the smaller islands of the Ægean, not one of which had furnished the Greeks with more than four triremes, Xerxes could have supplied the loss of half a fleet which had taken him seven years to collect from all Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor." The fleet, it must be remembered, is declared to have lost considerably above 650 vessels out of 1327, viz. 400 off Cape Sepias (vii. 190), 200 on the coast of Eubœa (viii. 7, 13, 14), 30 in the first battle at Artemisium (viii. 11), a certain number in the second (viii. 14), and a very large number in the third (viii. 16). It is difficult to suppose that the reinforcements received from Eubœa and the western Cyclades can have amounted to more than some 30 or 40 vessels. Thus either the losses must have been greatly exaggerated, or the number of Persian ships at Salamis very much overrated by the Greeks generally. The common estimate accorded with the view of Herodotus. Æschylus (as I understand him) gives 1207, the exact number of the muster at Doriscus (Pers. 348); Plato (Leg. iii. 14) and Ctesias (Exc. c. 26), above 1000; Cornelius Nepos, 1200 (Themist. c. 2); and Isocrates, 1200 (Paneg. 27, 33) or 1300 (Panath. 17). But if from 600 to 700 were lost between Sepias and Salamis, the number at the latter place can scarcely have exceeded 700. With regard to the land forces the fact may be as Herodotus states.

[5] Naxos, Cythnus, Seriphus, Siphnus, and Melos (vide supra, ch. 46).

67. Reinforced by the contingents of all these various states, except Paros, the barbarians reached Athens. As for the Parians, they tarried at Cythnus, waiting to see how the war would go. The rest of the sea forces came safe to Phalêrum; where they were visited by Xerxes, who had conceived a desire to go aboard and learn the wishes of the fleet. So he came and sate in a seat of honour; and the sovereigns of the nations, and the captains of the ships, were sent for to appear before him, and as they arrived took their seats according to the rank assigned them by the king. In the first seat sate the king of Sidon; after him, the king of Tyre;[6] then the rest in their order. When the whole had taken their places, one after another, and were set down in orderly array, Xerxes, to try them, sent Mardonius and questioned each, whether a sea-fight should be risked or no.

68. Mardonius accordingly went round the entire assemblage, beginning with the Sidonian monarch, and asked this question; to which all gave the same answer, advising to engage the Greeks, except only Artemisia, who spake as follows:—

"Say to the king, Mardonius, that these are my words to him: I was not the least brave of those who fought at Eubœa, nor were my achievements there among the meanest; it is my right, therefore, O my lord, to tell thee plainly, what I think to be most for thy advantage now. This then is my advice. Spare thy ships, and do not risk a battle; for these people are as much superior to thy people in seamanship, as men to women. What so great need is there for thee to incur hazard at sea? Art thou not master of Athens, for which thou didst undertake thy expedition?[7] Is not Greece subject to thee? Not a soul now resists thy advance. They who once resisted, were handled

[6] Compare vii. 98.

[7] Supra, vii. 8, § 2.

even as they deserved. (§ 2.) Now learn how I expect that affairs will go with thy adversaries. If thou art not over-hasty to engage with them by sea, but wilt keep thy fleet near the land, then whether thou abidest as thou art, or marchest forward towards the Peloponnese, thou wilt easily accomplish all for which thou art come hither. The Greeks cannot hold out against thee very long; thou wilt soon part them asunder, and scatter them to their several homes. In the island where they lie, I hear they have no food in store; nor is it likely, if thy land force begins its march towards the Peloponnese, that they will remain quietly where they are—at least such as come from that region. Of a surety *they* will not greatly trouble themselves to give battle on behalf of the Athenians. (§ 3.) On the other hand, if thou art hasty to fight, I tremble lest the defeat of thy sea force bring harm likewise to thy land army. This, too, thou shouldst remember, O king; good masters are apt to have bad servants, and bad masters good ones. Now, as thou art the best of men, thy servants must needs be a sorry set. These Egyptians, Cyprians, Cilicians, and Pamphylians, who are counted in the number of thy subject-allies, of how little service are they to thee!"

69. As Artemisia spake,[8] they who wished her well were greatly troubled concerning her words, thinking that she would suffer some hurt at the king's hands, because she exhorted him not to risk a battle; they, on the other hand, who disliked and envied her, favoured as she was by the king above all the rest of the allies, rejoiced at her declaration, expecting that her life

[8] The desire of Herodotus to do honour to Artemisia, the queen of his native city, has been already noticed (supra, vii. 99, note [9]). Here he has ascribed to her a boldness of speech on which it is difficult to believe that she would have ventured. She may have dissuaded Xerxes from bringing on a battle, but she would scarcely have spoken with contempt of the confederates before their face (see Grote, v. p. 160), more especially after the gallant conduct of the Egyptians at Artemisium (supra, ch. 17).

would be the forfeit. But Xerxes, when the words of the several speakers were reported to him, was pleased beyond all others with the reply of Artemisia; and whereas, even before this, he had always esteemed her much, he now praised her more than ever. Nevertheless, he gave orders that the advice of the greater number should be followed; for he thought that at Eubœa the fleet had not done its best, because he himself was not there to see—whereas this time he resolved that he would be an eye-witness of the combat.

70. Orders were now given to stand out to sea; and the ships proceeded towards Salamis, and took up the stations to which they were directed, without let or hindrance from the enemy. The day, however, was too far spent for them to begin the battle, since night already approached: so they prepared to engage upon the morrow. The Greeks, meanwhile, were in great distress and alarm, more especially those of the Peloponnese; who were troubled that they had been kept at Salamis to fight on behalf of the Athenian territory; and feared that, if they should suffer defeat, they would be pent up and besieged in an island, while their own country was left unprotected.

71. The same night the land army of the barbarians began its march towards the Peloponnese, where, however, all that was possible had been done to prevent the enemy from forcing an entrance by land. As soon as ever news reached the Peloponnese, of the death of Leonidas and his companions at Thermopylæ, the inhabitants flocked together from the various cities, and encamped at the Isthmus, under the command of Cleombrotus,[9] son of Anaxandridas, and brother of Leonidas. Here their first care was to block up the Scironian way;[1] after which it was determined in

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[9] Supra, v. 41. Cleombrotus was not king, but regent for Plistarchus, the infant son of Leonidas. He died before the spring of the next year (infra, ix. 10).

[1] The Scironian way led from Me-

council to build a wall across the Isthmus.[2] As the number assembled amounted to many tens of thousands, and there was not one who did not give himself to the work, it was soon finished. Stones, bricks, timber, baskets filled full of sand, were used in the building; and not a moment was lost by those who gave their aid, for they laboured without ceasing either by night or day.

72. Now the nations who gave their aid, and who had flocked in full force to the Isthmus, were the following: the Lacedæmonians, all the tribes of the Arcadians, the Eleans, the Corinthians, the Sicyonians, the Epidaurians, the Phliasians, the Trœzenians, and the Hermionians. These all gave their aid, being greatly alarmed at the danger which threatened Greece. But the other inhabitants of the Peloponnese took no part in the matter; though the Olympic and Carneian festivals were now over.[3]

73. Seven nations inhabit the Peloponnese.[4] Two

gara to Corinth, along the eastern shore of the isthmus. At a short distance from Megara it passed along the Scironian rocks, a long range of precipices overhanging the sea, forming the extremity of a spur which descends from Mount Geranium (Strab. ix. p. 568). This portion of the road is now known as the *Kaki Scala*, and is passed with some difficulty (Gell, p. 5). The way seems to have been no more than a footpath until the time of Adrian, who made a good carriage-road throughout the whole distance (Pausan. I. xliv. § 10). There is but one other route by which the isthmus can be traversed. It runs inland, and passes over a higher portion of Mount Geranium, presenting to the traveller equal or greater difficulties (Gell, p. 8-9).

The mythic Sciron, who forced strangers over the rocks into the sea, where they were devoured by a turtle, was said to have given name both to the rocks and the road over them (Pausan. ib. § 12; Strab. l. s. c.). His evil deeds were punished by Theseus.

[2] The isthmus is about four miles across at its narrowest point, and nearly five where the wall was built (Diod. Sic. xv. 16). Traces of the wall are still found (Gell's Greece, pp. 1 and 10). After the Persian war it was allowed to fall into decay, but was renewed again upon the Gallic invasion (B.C. 279), when the Peloponnesians took no part in the stand made at Thermopylæ (Pausan. VII. vi. § 4). The Venetians in the fifteenth century restored it once more, and in the seventeenth it formed for some time the boundary between their dominions and those of the Turks.

[3] Supra, vii. 206.

[4] A five-fold division of the Peloponnese was more usually adopted (Thucyd. i. 10; Pausan. v. i. § 1). This consisted of Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, Arcadia (including Elis),

of them are aboriginal, and still continue in the regions where they dwelt at the first—to wit, the Arcadians[5] and the Cynurians.[6] A third, that of the Achæans, has never left the Peloponnese, but has been dislodged from its own proper country, and inhabits a district which once belonged to others.[7] The remaining nations, four out of the seven, are all immigrants—namely, the Dorians, the Ætolians, the Dryopians, and the Lemnians. To the Dorians belong several very famous cities;[8] to the Ætolians[9] one only, that is, Elis;[10] to the Dryopians, Hermioné and that Asiné[1]

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and Achæa. It was not ethnical but geographical. Herodotus makes an ethnical division.

[5] That the Arcadians were aboriginal inhabitants of the Peloponnese was the unanimous tradition of antiquity (Thucyd. i. 2; Hellanic. Fr. 77; Xen. Hell. VII. i. § 22; Dem. de F. L. p. 425, 1; Strab. viii. p. 562; Pausan. l. s. c. &c.). Hence they were called προσέληνοι (Schol. ad Arist. Nub. 397; Apoll. Rhod. iv. 264-5, &c.). Their country was the original Pelasgis (Plin. H. N. iv. 6), and Pelasgus was their especial king (Pausan. v. i. § 2; Apollod. III. viii. § 1). Secure in their mountain fastnesses they maintained their independence at the time of the Dorian conquest, and were not even forced, like the Achæans, to shift their abodes (supra, ii. 171).

[6] Cynuria, or Cynosuria, as it is called by Thucydides (iv. 56, and v. 41), was the border territory between Sparta and Argos upon the coast. It was a small tract consisting of a single valley (that of *Luku*) and of the adjoining hills; but it was of great importance, as commanding the passes which formed the natural communication between the two countries. Hence it was for so long a time an object of contention between them (supra, i. 82; Pausan. III. ii. § 3; Thucyd. ut supra, &c.). Rome finally adjudged it to Argolis (Pausan. II. xxxviii. § 5).

That the Cynurians were not Dorians, but one of the old Peloponnesian races, is implied in the narrative of Pausanias (III. ii.).

[7] Supra, vii. 94; compare i. 145; and see Pausan. VII. i. § 2-3.

[8] Sparta, Argos, Mycenæ, Trœzen, Epidaurus, Corinth, and Sicyon.

[9] Tradition said that when the Dorians were about to invade the Peloponnese, the Ætolians, under Oxylus, conveyed them across the strait from Antirrhium to Rhium; and afterwards assisted them in their wars. For these services they received as their reward the country thenceforth known as Elis (Pausan. v. iii. § 5; Apollod. II. viii. § 3; compare above, vol. iii. pp. 331, 332). The expelled inhabitants (Pylians) fled to Athens (supra, v. 65).

[10] When Strabo says (viii. p. 490) that Elis did not exist at the time of the Persian war, he evidently overstates the fact. Elis increased greatly in importance by a συνοίκισις shortly after this time (Diod. Sic. xi. 54), but it had been a city from the time of Homer (Il. ii. 615).

[1] Hermioné and Asiné are mentioned together very frequently by ancient writers (Hom. Il. ii. 560; Strab. viii. p. 541; Pausan. II. xxxv. and xxxvi.), and are always regarded as Dryopian settlements (supra, ch. 43; Arist. ap. Strab. viii. p. 542; Etym. Mag. ad voc. Ἀσινεῖς, &c.). The general tradition represented the Dryopians as expelled from their original abodes near Mount Œta (supra, ch. 31, note [8]) by Hercules and the Do-

which lies over against Cardamylé in Laconia;[2] to the Lemnians, all the towns of the Paroreats.[3] The aboriginal Cynurians alone seem to be Ionians; even they, however, have, in course of time, grown to be Dorians, under the government of the Argives, whose Orneats and vassals they were.[4] All the cities of these seven nations, except those mentioned above, stood aloof from the war; and by so doing, if I may speak freely, they in fact took part with the Medes.

74. So the Greeks at the Isthmus toiled unceasingly as though in the greatest peril; since they never imagined that any great success would be gained by the fleet. The Greeks at Salamis, on the other hand, when they heard what the rest were about, felt greatly

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rians, and as thence taking refuge in the Peloponnese (Strab. l. s. c.; Apollod. II. vii. § 7; Pausan. IV. xxxiv. § 6; Diod. Sic. iv. 37, &c.), where the tract about Hermioné was assigned to them. Here they occupied three cities—Hermioné, Asiné, and Halicé. After a time the inhabitants of Asiné were expelled from their city by the Argives, and had recourse to the Spartans, who gave them a site in Messenia, where they built the Asiné here intended by Herodotus (see Pausan. IV. xxxiv. § 6). It lay on the west coast of the Messenian or Coronæan Gulf (*Gulf of Koroni*), not far north of the great headland of Acritas (*Capo Gallo*). See the accurate description of Strabo (viii. p. 521), and compare Scylax (Peripl. p. 37) and Ptolemy (iii. 16). The modern village of *Saratza* seems to occupy the site, but does not exhibit any Hellenic remains (Leake's Morea, vol. i. p. 443).

[2] Cardamylé was on the opposite side of the Coronæan Gulf to Asiné (Strab. viii. p. 522). It was an old Achæan settlement, and important enough to be mentioned by Homer (Il. ix. 150). Strabo describes it as built on a rocky height of great natural strength (ἐπὶ πέτρας ἐρυμνῆς), and Pausanias mentions that it was about a mile from the shore (III. xxvi. § 5). The modern name is *Cardamoula* or *Scardamoula* (Walpole's Turkey, p. 55; Gell's Morea, p. 238), a corruption which had begun before the time of Stephen (see Steph. Byz. ad voc. παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων Σκαρδαμυλίτης λέγεται). On a rock behind the modern village, which evidently formed the ancient acropolis, a few Hellenic foundations may be traced (Handbook of Greece and Turkey, p. 107).

[3] Supra, iv. 148.

[4] The Orneats proper were the inhabitants of Orneæ, a small town on the frontiers of Argolis, towards Phlius and Sicyon (Pausan. II. x. § 5; Strab. viii. p. 554). They seem to have been a remnant of the old population of the Peloponnese, and to have long resisted the Dorian immigrants (Pausan. x. xviii. § 4). At length they were reduced by the Argives (about B.C. 580), and became their Periœci, or free vassals. From them the whole class of Periœci at Argos grew to have the name of Orneats; and the Cynurians, who had belonged to Argolis until the battle of Thyrea (supra, i. 84), and had been in this condition, are therefore included under the name (see Müller's Dorians, vol. i. pp. 96, 182, vol. ii. p. 56, E. T.).

alarmed; but their fear was not so much for themselves, as for the Peloponnese. At first they conversed together in low tones, each man with his fellow, secretly, and marvelled at the folly shown by Eurybiades; but presently the smothered feeling broke out, and another assembly was held; whereat the old subjects provoked much talk from the speakers, one side maintaining that it was best to sail to the Peloponnese and risk battle for that, instead of abiding at Salamis and fighting for a land already taken by the enemy; while the other, which consisted of the Athenians, Eginetans, and Megarians, was urgent to remain and have the battle fought where they were.

75. Then Themistocles, when he saw that the Peloponnesians would carry the vote against him, went out secretly from the council, and instructing a certain man what he should say, sent him on board a merchant ship to the fleet of the Medes. The man's name was Sicinnus;[5] he was one of Themistocles' household slaves, and acted as tutor to his sons;[6] in after times, when the Thespians were admitting persons to citizenship, Themistocles made him a Thespian, and a rich man to boot. The ship brought Sicinnus to the Persian fleet, and there he delivered his message to the leaders in these words:—

"The Athenian commander has sent me to you privily, without the knowledge of the other Greeks. He is a well-wisher to the king's cause, and would rather success should attend on you than on his countrymen;

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[5] Plutarch (Them. c. 12) says that Sicinnus was a Persian captive. Æschylus distinctly declares him to have been a Greek (Pers. 361). Mr. Grote, to reconcile the statements, suggests that he may have been "an *Asiatic* Greek" (Hist. of Greece, vol, v. p. 170). The fact of the stratagem is witnessed by Thucydides (i. 137) as well as Æschylus.

[6] Themistocles is said to have had five sons—Neocles, Diocles, Archeptolis, Polyeuctus, and Cleophantus. Neocles died when still a boy, from the bite of a horse. Diocles was adopted by his maternal grandfather, Lysander. Cleophantus was an excellent rider, and a generally accomplished man (Plut. Them. c. 32; Plat. Men. 93, D.).

wherefore he bids me tell you, that fear has seized the Greeks and they are meditating a hasty flight. Now then it is open to you to achieve the best work that ever ye wrought, if only ye will hinder their escaping. They no longer agree among themselves, so that they will not now make any resistance—nay, 'tis likely ye may see a fight already begun between such as favour and such as oppose your cause." The messenger, when he had thus expressed himself, departed and was seen no more.

76. Then the captains, believing all that the messenger had said, proceeded to land a large body of Persian troops[7] on the islet of Psyttaleia,[8] which lies between Salamis and the mainland; after which, about the hour of midnight, they advanced their western wing towards Salamis, so as to inclose the Greeks.[9] At the same time the force stationed about Ceos and Cynosura moved forward, and filled the whole strait as far as Munychia with their ships.[10] This advance was

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[7] Pausanias says (I. xxxvi. § 2) that the number landed was only 400; but this scarcely accords either with the "large body of Persians" (πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων) of our author, or with the importance assigned to the incident by Æschylus (Pers. 453-470).

[8] The well-known description of Æschylus (νῆσός τις ἐστὶ πρόσθε Σαλαμῖνος τόπων, βαιά, δύσορμος ναυσίν, Pers. l. s. c.), and the clear topography in Strabo (ix. p. 575), make it certain that Psyttaleia is the small island now called *Lipsokutáli*, which lies between the Piræus and the eastern extremity of Salamis. It is "*low*, and unprovided even with such narrow creeks as afforded safety to the small vessels of the ancients" (Leake, Demi of Attica, p. 267). The ground is rocky (πετρῶδες, Strab.), but covered with shrubs. The island is about a mile long, and two or three hundred yards broad (Leake, ut supra). Its position fully accounts for its being called by some—what Ægina was more commonly considered to be—the *eyesore* of the Piræus (λήμη τοῦ Πειραιέως, Strab. l. s. c.).

[9] Æschylus describes this movement very graphically—

ἐπεὶ δὲ φέγγος ἡλίου κατέφθιτο,
καὶ νὺξ ἐπῄει, πᾶς ἀνὴρ κώπης ἄναξ
ἐς ναῦν ἐχώρει, πᾶς θ' ὅπλων ἐπιστάτης·
τάξις δὲ τάξιν παρεκάλει νεὼς μακρᾶς,
πλέουσι δ' ὡς ἕκαστος ἦν τεταγμένος.

[10] Upon the whole the view taken by Colonel Leake (Demi of Attica, pp. 258-261) of the arrangements here described, seems to me preferable to that adopted by Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, v. pp. 171-3). They differ chiefly as to the movements of the Persian left wing, and as to the position of Ceos and Cynosura. Mr. Grote regards these positions as certain unknown points on the south-western coast of Attica, between Phalerum and Sunium. Colonel Leake, with Barthélemy, Kruse, Bähr, Thirlwall, and Kiepert, places them in the island of Salamis. Mr. Grote brings

made to prevent the Greeks from escaping by flight, and to block them up in Salamis, where it was thought that vengeance might be taken upon them for the battles fought near Artemisium. The Persian troops were landed on the islet of Psyttaleia, because, as soon as the battle began, the men and wrecks were likely to be drifted thither, as the isle lay in the very path of the coming fight,—and they would thus be able to save their own men and destroy those of the enemy. All these movements were made in silence, that the Greeks might have no knowledge of them; and they occupied the whole night, so that the men had no time to get their sleep.

77. I cannot say that there is no truth in prophecies,

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the Persian fleet from their anchorage along the Attic coast, by a *single* movement, to a position opposite the Greek fleet in front of Salamis. Col. Leake truly remarks that the Persians made a *double* movement. In the afternoon of the day before the battle their fleet advanced to the mouth of the strait between Salamis and the main, and there took up their station (supra, ch. 70), resting in part on the island, in part on the Attic shore. At nightfall a fresh advance took place. The right wing, which had probably rested on the Piræus, moved along the Attic shore through the channel which separates Salamis from the mainland, and having passed the Greek fleet, blocked up the channel at its north-western extremity towards Eleusis; while the left wing, which had been stationed about Psyttaleia and the promontory of *Aghia* [illegible] (which is Cynosura on this theory), filled the channel at its south-eastern end towards Phalêrum and Munychia. Col. Leake justly refers to the words of the oracle (infra, ch. 77), as indicating that both "the sacred strand of Diana" and likewise "marine Cynosura" were on the Salaminian coast. The former he connects, reasonably enough, with the position of the "temple of Diana" mentioned by Pausanias as standing in this part of Salamis (I. xxxvi. § 1). The latter may well have been a name of the Salaminian promontory which stretches out towards Psyttaleia (see the next note but one). This passage, and the *nexus* of ch. 70 with ch. 76, are the strong points of Col. Leake's theory.

With regard to the detachment by the Persians of a squadron which sailed south of Salamis, and blocked up the Megaric strait at the north-western extremity of the island, though it rests mainly on the authority of Diodorus (xi. 17), it is not perhaps to be altogether rejected. According to Æschylus Xerxes sent a detachment "to enclose the whole island of Ajax"—

ἄλλας δὲ κύκλῳ νῆσον Αἴαντος πέριξ.
(Pers. 374.)

This can scarcely be accepted literally. The real movement may have been that which Diodorus describes. He is probably wrong in making the *whole* Egyptian squadron go on this service (infra, ch. 100). The movement would not have been (as Mr. Grote thinks) "unnecessary," if a portion of the Greek fleet had broken through the Persian line and fled westward.

or feel inclined to call in question those which speak with clearness, when I think of the following—

"When they shall bridge with their ships to the sacred strand of Diana[1]
Girt with the golden falchion, and eke to marine Cynosura,[2]
Mad hope swelling their hearts at the downfall of beautiful Athens[3]—
Then shall godlike Right extinguish haughty Presumption,
Insult's furious offspring, who thinketh to overthrow all things.
Brass with brass shall mingle, and Mars with blood shall empurple
Ocean's waves. Then—then shall the day of Grecia's freedom
Come from Victory fair, and Saturn's son all-seeing."

When I look to this, and perceive how clearly Bacis[4] spoke, I neither venture myself to say anything against prophecies, nor do I approve of others impugning them.

78. Meanwhile, among the captains at Salamis, the strife of words grew fierce. As yet they did not know that they were encompassed, but imagined that the barbarians remained in the same places where they had seen them the day before.

79. In the midst of their contention, Aristides, the

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[1] Col. Leake supposes the temple of Diana, which hallowed this shore, to have stood on the western coast of the bay of *Ambelákia*, beyond the island of *Arpathóni* (Demi of Attica, p. 171 and p. 261); but the notice in Pausanias (I. xxxvi. § 2) does not show more than that the temple was on this side the island, near the town and the strait.

[2] Cynosura, according to Hesychius (ad voc.), was a common name for a peninsula. It could, however, from its signification (dog's tail), only be applied to such as were particularly long and thin. This is the especial character of the Marathonian promontory of the name, and it belongs sufficiently to the promontory of *Aghia Varvara*. It would be difficult to find a point on the western Attic coast to which the same description would apply. Compare the Cyprian promontory of Boösura (ox-tail), which was mentioned above, Book v. ch. 108, note [1]. Mr. Blakesley has revived the theory of Larcher, that Ceos and Cynosura are the well-known island, and the Marathonian promontory itself (vol. ii. pp. 414-7). He supposes the fleet to have been moved in detachments; and that on the determination to block in the Greeks at Salamis, the squadrons at Ceos and Marathon were "signaled to close up." He finds the "sacred strand of Diana" on the Eubœan coast near Eretria, where there was a temple to Diana Amarusia. He is obliged however to suppose that Herodotus was quite ignorant of the distance of the two places from Athens (vol. ii. p. 358, note 154).

[3] "Brilliant" or "fruitful Athens" would be a closer translation. The epithet λιπαραὶ is a favourite one in this connexion (Pind. Isth. ii. 30; Arist. Eq. 1229; Acharn. 605; Eurip. Alc. 435, &c.). There is perhaps an allusion in it to the olive.

[4] Supra, ch. 20.

son of Lysimachus, who had crossed from Egina, arrived in Salamis. He was an Athenian, and had been ostracised by the commonalty;[5] yet I believe, from what I have heard concerning his character, that there was not in all Athens a man so worthy or so just as he.[6] He now came to the council, and standing outside, called for Themistocles. Now Themistocles was not his friend, but his most determined enemy. However, under the pressure of the great dangers impending, Aristides forgot their feud, and called Themistocles out of the council, since he wished to confer with him. He had heard before his arrival of the impatience of the Peloponnesians to withdraw the fleet to the Isthmus. As soon therefore as Themistocles came forth, Aristides addressed him in these words:—

"Our rivalry at all times, and especially at the present season, ought to be a struggle, which of us shall most advantage our country. Let me then say to thee, that so far as regards the departure of the Peloponnesians from this place, much talk and little will be found precisely alike. I have seen with my own eyes that which I now report; that, however much the Corinthians or Eurybiades himself may wish it, they cannot now retreat; for we are enclosed on every side by the enemy. Go in to them, and make this known."

80. "Thy advice is excellent," answered the other,

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[5] After a long struggle, Aristides had been ostracised through the influence of Themistocles, three years earlier, B.C. 483 (Plut. Aristid. c. 8). When Xerxes was in Thessaly, all exiles whose banishment was only for a term of years, were recalled, Themistocles himself moving the decree for this purpose (Plut. Them. c. 11). Aristides apparently had not till now availed himself of the permission to return. The stories told in connexion with his ostracism are well known, and will be found in Plutarch.

The general subject of ostracism has been judiciously handled by Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, iv. pp. 206-216), excepting that he has regarded the proceeding too much in the light of a precaution against tyranny, and too little in that of an arrangement for leaving the hands of the δημαγωγὸς free and unfettered (see a paper in the Oxford and Cambridge Review, vol. iv. pp. 1-13).

[6] Further testimonies to the high character of Aristides will be found (Timocr. ap. Plut. Them. c. 21; Plat. Gorg. 526, B; Polyb. xxxii. 8; Diod. Sic. xi. 46-7; Cic. de Off. iii. 4; Plut. Aristid. *passim*; Corn. Nep. Aristid. c. 1.

"and thy tidings are also good. That which I earnestly desired to happen, thine eyes have beheld accomplished. Know that what the Medes have now done was at my instance; for it was necessary, as our men would not fight here of their own free will, to make them fight whether they would or no. But come now, as thou hast brought the good news, go in and tell it. For if I speak to them, they will think it a feigned tale, and will not believe that the barbarians have inclosed us around. Therefore do thou go to them, and inform them how matters stand. If they believe thee, 'twill be for the best; but if otherwise, it will not harm. For it is impossible that they should now flee away, if we are indeed shut in on all sides, as thou sayest."

81. Then Aristides entered the assembly, and spoke to the captains: he had come, he told them, from Egina, and had but barely escaped the blockading vessels—the Greek fleet was entirely inclosed by the ships of Xerxes—and he advised them to get themselves in readiness to resist the foe. Having said so much, he withdrew. And now another contest arose, for the greater part of the captains would not believe the tidings.

82. But while they still doubted, a Tenian trireme,[7] commanded by Panætius the son of Sôsimenes, deserted from the Persians and joined the Greeks, bringing full intelligence. For this reason the Tenians were inscribed upon the tripod at Delphi[8] among those who

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[7] Plutarch says "a *Tenedian* trireme" (Them. c. 12), which is probably a mere inaccuracy. Diodorus makes intelligence come from the Samians in the Persian fleet, who at the same time promise to desert to the Greeks in the battle (xi. 17). Herodotus, on the contrary, speaks highly of the valour shown by the Samians (infra, ch. 85).

[8] The tripod here mentioned was dedicated from the tithe of the spoil taken at Platæa (infra, ix. 81), and, like the colossal statue of Jupiter, presented to Olympia on the same occasion, had inscribed upon it the names, not only of the Greeks who fought in that battle (as Pausanias mistakenly observes of the statue, v. xxiii. § 1), but of all who lent any effective aid to the Greek side during the war. Pausanias, who gives the list upon the pedestal of the statue, mentions (besides the Tenians) the Ceans, Melians, Naxians, and Cythnians, who all furnished ships at Salamis (supra, ch. 46),

overthrew the barbarians. With this ship, which deserted to their side at Salamis, and the Lemnian vessel which came over before at Artemisium,[9] the Greek fleet was brought to the full number of 380 ships; otherwise it fell short by two of that amount.

83. The Greeks now, not doubting what the Tenians told them, made ready for the coming fight. At the dawn of day, all the men-at-arms[1] were assembled together, and speeches were made to them, of which the best was that of Themistocles; who throughout contrasted what was noble with what was base, and bade them, in all that came within the range of man's nature and constitution, *always* to make choice of the nobler part. Having thus wound up his discourse, he told them to go at once on board their ships, which they accordingly did; and about this time the trireme, that had been sent to Egina for the Æacidæ,[2] returned; whereupon the Greeks put to sea with all their fleet.

84. The fleet had scarce left the land when they

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but sent no contingents to Platæa (infra, ix. 28). These names have all been decyphered on the serpent which formed the pedestal of the tripod, as has that of the Thespians, who were probably inscribed on account of their conduct at Thermopylæ. Contributors however of a single vessel do not seem to have been generally deemed worthy of commemoration. The Lemnians, Crotoniats, and Seriphians, who each gave one vessel to the combined Grecian fleet, were omitted from the inscriptions. Probably the Tenians owed the insertion of their name to the peculiar timeliness of their arrival, and the importance of the news which they brought. The Siphnians however are inscribed on the tripod, though we do not know that they were at all distinguished.

It had long been known that the stand of the tripod, after the golden bowl had been removed by the Phocians (Pausan. x. xiii. § 5), was taken to Constantinople, and there placed in the Hippodrome (see Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. ii. p. 16; Spon and Wheeler's Voyage en Greece, tom. i. p. 178). Recently the stand has been uncovered to its base, and the inscription deciphered (vide infra, Book ix. ch. 81, note ad loc.).

[9] Supra, ch. 11. The calculation here made confirms the *total* in ch. 48, ad fin.

[1] The Epibatæ, or armed portion of the crew of a trireme, corresponding to our marines, varied in amount at different periods of Greek history. The greatest number ever found is forty (supra, vi. 15). During the Peloponnesian war the complement of an Athenian trireme was ten (Thucyd. iii. 91, 95; ii. 92, 102; iv. 76, 101). Plutarch says (Them. c. 14) that at Salamis it was eighteen. I scarcely think there are sufficient grounds for doubting this statement, as Col. Leake does (Demi, p. 262, note [1]).

[2] Supra, ch. 64.

were attacked by the barbarians. At once most of the Greeks began to back water, and were about touching the shore, when Ameinias of Pallené,[3] one of the Athenian captains, darted forth in front of the line, and charged a ship of the enemy. The two vessels became entangled, and could not separate, whereupon the rest of the fleet came up to help Ameinias, and engaged with the Persians. Such is the account which the Athenians give of the way in which the battle began; but the Eginetans maintain that the vessel which had been to Egina for the Æacidæ, was the one that brought on the fight. It is also reported, that a phantom in the form of a woman appeared to the Greeks, and, in a voice that was heard from end to end of the fleet, cheered them on to the fight; first, however, rebuking them, and saying—"Strange men, how long are ye going to back water?"[4]

85. Against the Athenians, who held the western extremity of the line towards Eleusis, were placed the Phœnicians; against the Lacedæmonians, whose station was eastward towards the Piræus,[5] the Ionians. Of these last a few only followed the advice of Themistocles, to fight backwardly; the greater number did far otherwise. I could mention here the names of many trierarchs who took vessels from the Greeks, but I shall

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[3] Pallené was one of the most famous of the Athenian provincial towns (Leake's Demi, p. 44). For its site, vide supra, i. 62, note [4]. According to Plutarch (Them. c. 14), Ameinias belonged not to Pallené, but to Decelea. He was, if we may believe Diodorus (xi. 27), a brother of Æschylus, whose other brother, Cynægirus, had equally distinguished himself at Marathon (supra, vi. 114, note [5]). If this is true, it lends a peculiar interest to the beautiful simplicity of the words in which Æschylus notices his brother's action—ἦρξε δ' ἐμβολῆς Ἑλληνικὴ ναῦς, κἀποθραύει πάντα Φοινίσσης νέως κόρυμβ' (Pers. 415-7).

[4] Compare with this story the tales told concerning the battles of Marathon (supra, vi. 117), and Delphi (viii. 38-9).

[5] The Piræus was not at this time a mere "natural harbour," wholly "unimproved by art," as Mr. Grote supposes (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 172). Themistocles had commenced his great works to improve its natural condition when he was archon, thirteen years earlier, B.C. 493 (see Thucyd. i. 93). They remained however in a very unfinished state.

pass over all excepting Theomêstor the son of Androdamas, and Phylacus the son of Histiæus, both Samians. I show this preference to them, inasmuch as for this service Theomêstor was made tyrant of Samos by the Persians,[6] while Phylacus was enrolled among the king's benefactors,[7] and presented with a large estate in land. In the Persian tongue the king's benefactors are called *Orosangs*.[8]

86. Far the greater number of the Persian ships engaged in this battle were disabled—either by the Athenians or by the Eginetans. For as the Greeks fought in order and kept their line, while the barbarians were in confusion and had no plan in anything that they did, the issue of the battle could scarce be other than it was. Yet the Persians fought far more bravely here than at Eubœa, and indeed surpassed themselves;

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[6] As Coës was made king of the Mytilenæans for his services in the Scythian expedition (supra, v. 11). Theomestor appears to have received his reward immediately (infra, ix. 90).

[7] A trace of the formal use of the expression, "king's benefactor," seems to occur (supra, iii. 140) in the case of Syloson; there are also instances in Diodorus (xvii. 14) and Ælian (Hist. Var. 40). The practice of inscribing the names of the royal benefactors in a register, which appears again at the end of ch. 90, is twice alluded to in the Book of Esther in reference to Mordecai (ii. 23, vi. 1). It is likewise mentioned by Josephus in his Antiquities (xi. 6).

[8] As Herodotus assigns this vernacular title to those who had done good service to the king (οἱ εὐεργέται τοῦ βασιλέος) in connexion with the story of Phylacus, whose name was inscribed for such service among the honoured list, it is natural to infer that the term itself must involve some allusion to the custom of thus registering the names of those who had deserved well of their country. The most reasonable explanation of the title therefore would seem to be "worthy of being recorded," from *khur* (خور) worthy, and *sansa* (कांस) "to say or praise," which becomes *thaka* in old Persian, and *sañgha* in Zend. It would be more conformable perhaps to the genius of the Persian to reverse the collocation of the two elements (as in the modern term فراخور, *farakhur*, &c.), but still I think the etymology here proposed preferable either to the *hvarĕzagho* of Benfey, or the उरुशांस, *urúsansa* of Oppert. "Recording the name" is repeatedly spoken of in the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia as the highest object of man's ambition, and the right to permit such a record seems to have been very jealously guarded by the king, as a matter of prerogative. Examples also of this usage in Persia are not wanting either in profane or sacred history.—Compare Esther, vi. 1, &c.; and Thucydid. i. 129.—[H. C. R.]

each did his utmost through fear of Xerxes, for each thought that the king's eye was upon himself.[9]

87. What part the several nations, whether Greek or barbarian, took in the combat, I am not able to say for certain; Artemisia, however, I know, distinguished herself in such a way as raised her even higher than she stood before in the esteem of the king. For after confusion had spread throughout the whole of the king's fleet, and her ship was closely pursued by an Athenian trireme, she, having no way to fly, since in front of her were a number of friendly vessels, and she was nearest of all the Persians to the enemy, resolved on a measure which in fact proved her safety. Pressed by the Athenian pursuer, she bore straight against one of the ships of her own party, a Calyndian,[1] which had Damasithymus, the Calyndian king, himself on board. I cannot say whether she had had any quarrel with the man while the fleet was at the Hellespont, or no—neither can I decide whether she of set purpose attacked his vessel, or whether it merely chanced that the Calyndian ship came in her way—but certain it is that she bore down upon his vessel and sank it, and that thereby she had the good fortune to procure herself a double advantage. For the commander of the Athenian trireme, when he saw her bear down on one of the enemy's fleet, thought immediately that her vessel was a Greek, or else had deserted from the Persians, and was now fight-

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[9] Supra, ch. 69, and infra, ch. 90. The anger of Xerxes, as we see in the latter passage, led to very serious consequences.

[1] Calynda was, according to Herodotus (vii. 98, compared with this passage), a Carian town. For its probable site, vide supra, i. 172, note [9]. Plutarch (de Malign. Herod. vol. ii. p. 883) quarrels with Herodotus for telling this story at such length. No doubt he does it in part from pride in his countrywoman (see above, vii. 99, note [9]; viii. 68, note [1]); but we have rather to regret that his information was not so copious about others.

I do not see why Mr. Grote should question the sequel of the story (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 18[illegible], note)—the notice taken by Xerxes of the act of Artemisia, and his mistake of its nature. Had the truth been known to him she would certainly have fallen into disgrace, instead of being entrusted with the mission recorded, infra, ch. 103.

ing on the Greek side; he therefore gave up the chase, and turned away to attack others.

88. Thus in the first place she saved her life by the action, and was enabled to get clear off from the battle; while further, it fell out that in the very act of doing the king an injury she raised herself to a greater height than ever in his esteem. For as Xerxes beheld the fight, he remarked (it is said) the destruction of the vessel, whereupon the bystanders observed to him—"Seest thou, master, how well Artemisia fights, and how she has just sunk a ship of the enemy?" Then Xerxes asked if it were really Artemisia's doing; and they answered, "Certainly; for they knew her ensign:"[2] while all made sure that the sunken vessel belonged to the opposite side. Every thing, it is said, conspired to prosper the queen—it was especially fortunate for her, that not one of those on board the Calyndian ship survived to become her accuser. Xerxes, they say, in reply to the remarks made to him, observed—"My men have behaved like women, my women like men!"

89. There fell in this combat Ariabignes, one of the chief commanders of the fleet,[3] who was son of Darius and brother of Xerxes, and with him perished a vast number of men of high repute, Persians, Medes, and allies.[4]

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[2] Polyænus pretends (Strateg. VIII. liii. § 1) that Artemisia varied her ensigns, sometimes showing Greek, sometimes Persian colours. This however is the refinement of a later age. In Artemisia's time ensigns of the kind which Polyænus intends were not in use. The only ensign was the figure-head, an image or picture placed on the prow of the vessel, which could not be changed at pleasure (cf. iii. 59; and see Ruhnken's Opuscula, p. 414, &c.).

[3] Supra, vii. 97. Ariabignes (the Ariamenes of Plutarch, Them. c. 14) commanded the Ionian and Carian contingents. Æschylus does not seem to be aware of his death, unless he confounds him with Ariomardus, whom he bewails more than once (Pers. 326, 959). Plutarch and Diodorus (xi. 27) represent him as the commander of the vessel first charged by Ameinias.

[4] Æschylus professes to mention some twenty of the number (Pers. 307-331); but his names so rarely accord with those of Herodotus, and have for the most part so fictitious an air about them, that they can scarcely be regarded as illustrating history (see the remark of Bishop Blomfield, Pref. ad Æsch. Pers. p. xiv. ad fin.).

Of the Greeks there died only a few; for as they were able to swim, all those that were not slain outright by the enemy escaped from the sinking vessels and swam across to Salamis. But on the side of the Barbarians more perished by drowning than in any other way, since they did not know how to swim. The great destruction took place when the ships which had been first engaged began to fly; for they who were stationed in the rear, anxious to display their valour before the eyes of the king, made every effort to force their way to the front, and thus became entangled with such of their own vessels as were retreating.

90. In this confusion the following event occurred: certain Phœnicians belonging to the ships which had thus perished made their appearance before the king, and laid the blame of their loss on the Ionians, declaring that they were traitors, and had wilfully destroyed the vessels. But the upshot of this complaint was, that the Ionian captains escaped the death which threatened them, while their Phœnician accusers received death as their reward. For it happened that, exactly as they spoke, a Samothracian vessel bore down on an Athenian and sank it, but was attacked and crippled immediately by one of the Eginetan squadron. Now the Samothracians were expert with the javelin, and aimed their weapons so well, that they cleared the deck of the vessel which had disabled their own, after which they sprang on board, and took it. This saved the Ionians. Xerxes, when he saw the exploit, turned fiercely on the Phœnicians—(he was ready, in his extreme vexation, to find fault with any one)—and ordered their heads to be cut off, to prevent them, he said, from casting the blame of their own misconduct upon braver men. During the whole time of the battle Xerxes sate at the base of the

Syennesis, the Cilician prince, is almost the only name out of the twenty which can be distinctly recognised as historical.

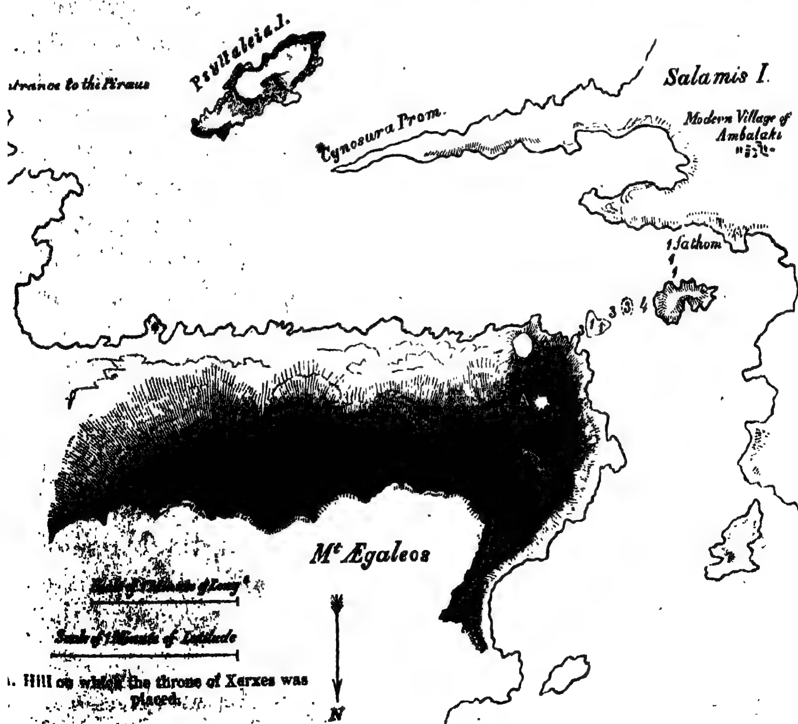
hill called Ægaleôs,[5] over against Salamis;[6] and whenever he saw any of his own captains perform any worthy

[5] The name Ægaleôs is applied to the entire mountain-range between the pass of *Dhafni* and the coast, by which the Eleusinian and Athenian plains are separated (cf. Thucyd. ii. 19; Schol. ad Soph. Œd. Col. 1114). The seat of Xerxes was said by Phanodemus (ap. Plut. Them. c. 13) to have been placed a little above the temple of Hercules, which is known to have stood on this shore (Ctes. Pers. Exc. § 26; Diod. Sic. xi. 18). Col. Leake believed that he had discovered the ruins of this temple near Port Phoron (Demi of Attica, p. 32-3), but the position of Xerxes must have been considerably more to the west.

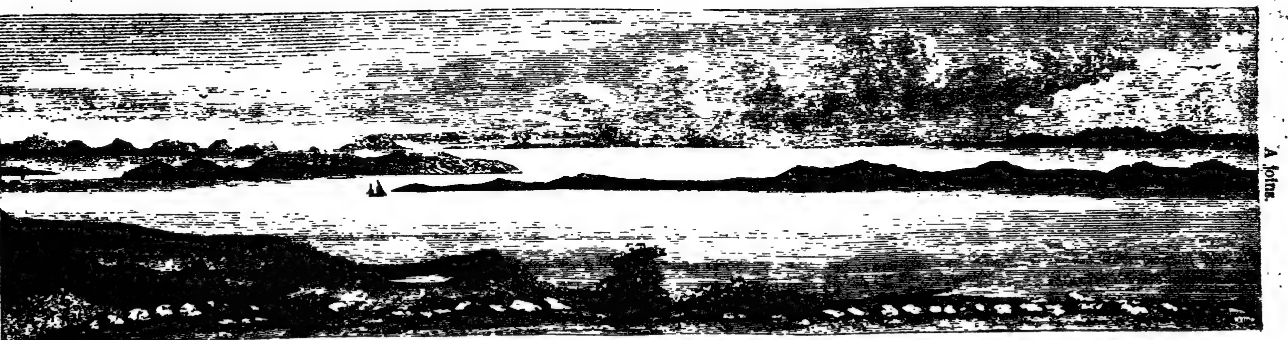
Acestodorus absurdly declared that Xerxes viewed the battle from Mount Kerata, on the borders of the Megarid, which is *eight* or *nine* miles from the scene of the action! (Plutarch, l. s. c.).

The throne of Xerxes, which had silver feet, was preserved for many years in the Acropolis at Athens, having been left behind on his retreat (Harpocrat. and Suidas, ad voc. ἀργυρόποους; Dem. in Timocrat. 741, 7). The gilded parasol (Plut. Them. c. 16) which sheltered him from the sun seems not to have been captured. For a representation of the throne of a Persian king, vide supra, vii. 16.

[6] [The exact position of Xerxes' seat was satisfactorily ascertained by Captain (now Admiral) Sir James Stirling and myself in 1843. It was on a small eminence attached to, and "beneath" its N. W. extremity; and that it was at this extreme point is



1. Hill on which the throne of Xerxes was placed.





View from the site of Xerxes' Seat, which is marked by the Stones at its edge, in the foreground.

exploit he inquired concerning him; and the man's name was taken down by his scribes,[7] together with the names of his father and his city. Ariaramnes too, a Persian,[8] who was a friend of the Ionians, and present at the time whereof I speak, had a share in bringing about the punishment of the Phœnicians.[9]

91. When the rout of the Barbarians began, and they sought to make their escape to Phalêrum, the Eginetans, awaiting them in the channel,[10] performed exploits worthy to be recorded. Through the whole of the confused struggle the Athenians employed themselves in destroying such ships as either made resistance or fled to shore, while the Eginetans dealt with those which endeavoured to escape down the straits; so that the Persian vessels were no sooner clear of the Athenians than straightway they fell into the hands of the Eginetan squadron.

92. It chanced here that there was a meeting between the ship of Themistocles, which was hasting in

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shown by its being the very part exactly "opposite Salamis." Having sought for its site along the whole of that part of the hill to this point, we there perceived that the stones had been purposely cleared away on its summit, and ranged round it so as to form a margin to its levelled area (at A in the plan), which could scarcely have been done for any other object than that of witnessing the battle; and the place for opposing the vast fleet of the Persians could not have been better chosen by the Greeks than below this point, which is the narrowest part of the bay. It agrees with the account given in Plutarch's life of Themistocles, of the site of the battle, in the part "where the channel which separates the coast of Attica from the island of Salamis is the narrowest."—G. W.]

[7] Supra, vii. 100.

[8] He was probably one of the royal house, since the royal names, of which Ariaramnes was one (supra, vii. 11), do not seem to have been assumed by other Persians.

[9] This is the ordinary translation of Gaisford's *conjectural* reading, προσελάβετο. Mr. Blakesley (note ad loc.) suggests that the true sense is, "shared the punishment;" but he adduces no example of this use of the word.

[10] Müller (Æginet. p. 124) suggests that while the battle proceeded within the straits, a fresh Eginetan squadron arrived from Egina, and occupied the channel at its eastern extremity; but if this had been the case, it is likely that we should have had some distinct notice of it. Probably Herodotus only means that the Eginetan contingent already mentioned (ch. 46), which seems to have been posted with the Spartans on the extreme right (cf. Diod. Sic. xi. 18), took up a position across the mouth of the channel as soon as the rout began, and thus intercepted the flying ships of the Persian centre and right wing.

pursuit of the enemy, and that of Polycritus, son of Crius the Eginetan,[1] which had just charged a Sidonian trireme. The Sidonian vessel was the same that captured the Eginetan guard-ship off Sciathus,[2] which had Pytheas, the son of Ischenoüs, on board—that Pytheas, I mean, who fell covered with wounds, and whom the Sidonians kept on board their ship, from admiration of his gallantry. This man afterwards returned in safety to Egina, for when the Sidonian vessel with its Persian crew fell into the hands of the Greeks, he was still found on board. Polycritus no sooner saw the Athenian trireme, than knowing at once whose vessel it was, as he observed that it bore the ensign of the admiral, he shouted to Themistocles jeeringly, and asked him, in a tone of reproach, if the Eginetans did not show themselves rare friends to the Medes.[3] At the same time, while he thus reproached Themistocles, Polycritus bore straight down on the Sidonian. Such of the barbarian vessels as escaped from the battle fled to Phalêrum, and there sheltered themselves under the protection of the land army.

93. The Greeks who gained the greatest glory of all in the sea-fight of Salamis were the Eginetans,[4] and after them the Athenians. The individuals of most distinction were Polycritus the Eginetan, and two Athenians, Eumenes of Anagyrus,[5] and Ameinias of

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[1] Crius had been mentioned as one of the chief men in Egina (supra, vi. 73).

[2] Supra, vii. 181.

[3] Polycritus undoubtedly spoke with special reference to the charge of Medism brought against his father (supra, vi. 50). Possibly Themistocles had been among those who induced the Athenians to retain his father in custody, despite the solicitations of Leotychides. The plea alleged on the occasion (vi. 85) savours of his cleverness and unscrupulousness.

[4] Plutarch (de Malign. Herod. vol. ii. p. 871, D) carps at this statement, but it is confirmed by Ephorus (Fr. 112), Diodorus (xi. 27), and Ælian (Var. H. xii. 10). Diodorus ascribes it to the jealousy of the Spartans that Egina was preferred above Athens. His account appears to be independent of that of our author.

Pindar has a fine allusion to the glory gained by the Eginetans in the battle (Isthm. iv. 48-50, ed. Dissen).

[5] Anagyrus was one of the maritime demes between the Piræus and Sunium (Strab. ix. p. 578). It seems to have lain near Cape Zôster, the

Pallenê;[6] the latter of whom had pressed Artemisia so hard. And assuredly, if he had known that the vessel carried Artemisia on board, he would never have given over the chase till he had either succeeded in taking her, or else been taken himself. For the Athenian captains had received special orders touching the queen, and moreover a reward of ten thousand drachmas[7] had been proclaimed for any one who should make her prisoner; since there was great indignation felt that a woman should appear in arms against Athens. However, as I said before, she escaped; and so did some others whose ships survived the engagement; and these were all now assembled at the port of Phalêrum.

94. The Athenians say that Adeimantus, the Corinthian commander, at the moment when the two fleets joined battle, was seized with fear, and being beyond measure alarmed, spread his sails, and hasted to fly away; on which the other Corinthians, seeing their leader's ship in full flight, sailed off likewise. They had reached in their flight that part of the coast of Salamis where stands the temple of Minerva Sciras,[8] when they met a light bark, a very strange apparition: it was never discovered that any one had sent it to them, and till it appeared they were altogether ignorant how the battle was going. That there was something beyond nature in the matter they judged from this—that when the men in the bark drew near to their

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modern *Lumbardha* (Pausan. I. xxxi. § 1). The exact site has been determined to the neighbourhood of *Vari* by an inscription which is given in Chandler (Travels, vol. ii. ch. xxxi. p. 166). Eumenes of Anagyrus is not elsewhere noticed.

[6] Supra, ch. 84, note [3].

[7] Ten thousand drachmas would be equal to 406*l.* of our money.

[8] I cannot pretend to fix the site of this temple, which is mentioned, I believe, by no other author. Kiepert (Blatt x.) and Colonel Leake (Demi, p. 172) are at variance on the subject. That the Athenians worshipped Minerva under the name of Sciras is well known. The Scira or Sciro-phoria, from which the Attic month received its name, were in her honour. There was also a temple of Minerva Sciras at Phalêrum (Pausan. I. i. § 4, xxxvi. § 3). The origin of the name was to the Greeks themselves uncertain (Schol. Aristoph. Eccl. 18; Harpocrat. ad voc. Σκίρον; Etym. Magn. ad voc. Σκιροφοριών).

ships they addressed them, saying—"Adeimantus, while thou playest the traitor's part, by withdrawing all these ships, and flying away from the fight, the Greeks whom thou hast deserted are defeating their foes as completely as they ever wished in their prayers." Adeimantus, however, would not believe what the men said; whereupon they told him, "he might take them with him as hostages, and put them to death if he did not find the Greeks winning." Then Adeimantus put about, both he and those who were with him; and they rejoined the fleet when the victory was already gained. Such is the tale which the Athenians tell concerning them of Corinth; these latter however do not allow its truth.[9] On the contrary, they declare that they were among those who distinguished themselves most in the fight. And the rest of Greece bears witness in their favour.[1]

95. In the midst of the confusion Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, the Athenian, of whom I lately spoke as a man of the greatest excellence, performed the following service. He took a number of the Athenian heavy-armed troops, who had previously been stationed along the shore of Salamis, and landing with them on

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[9] There can be no doubt that the tale was altogether false—one of those calumnies which, under feelings strongly excited, men circulate against their enemies. From the year B.C. 433, when the Athenians took part with the Corcyræans against Corinth (Thucyd. i. 44-51), a deadly feud sprang up between them and the Corinthians. The Corinthian attack upon Potidæa (ib. 56-65) aggravated the breach. In this Aristeus, *the son of Adeimantus*, took a prominent part. We can well understand how, under such circumstances, new calumnies were invented, or old ones raked up, blackening the character of the countrymen and the father of Aristeus.

Plutarch's witnesses (de Malign. Herod. vol. ii. p. 870) are not needed to destroy the credit of the story. Herodotus plainly disbelieved it. He recorded it probably more on account of its poetic character than from ill will towards Corinth, which he elsewhere shows no disposition to treat with unfairness (see v. 75 and 92, ix. 105). Dio Chrysostom's tale against Herodotus (Orat. xxxvii. p. 456, C.; supra, vol. i. p. 81) is not worthy of a moment's attention.

[1] Even the Athenians bore a silent testimony to the brave conduct of the Corinthians on the occasion, by allowing the following inscription on those who fell to remain at Salamis:—

Ὦ ξένε, εὔυδρόν ποτ' ἐναίομεν ἄστυ Κορίνθου,
Νῦν δὲ ἀνάματος νῆσος ἔχει Σαλαμίς·
Ἐνθάδε Φοινίσσας νῆας καὶ Πέρσας ἑλόντες,
Καὶ Μήδους, ἱερὰν Ἑλλάδα ῥυόμεθα.

(Plut., de Malign. Herod. l. s. c.)

the islet of Psyttaleia, slew all the Persians by whom it was occupied.[2]

96. As soon as the sea-fight was ended,[3] the Greeks

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[2] Whatever the number of the Persian troops in Psyttaleia (supra, ch. 76, note [7]), their destruction appears to have been regarded as one of the chief calamities of the battle. Æschylus represents Xerxes as tearing his garments and shrieking aloud when he beheld the slaughter (Pers. 474). The slain, according to him, consisted of men of the first rank, the best and bravest of the native Persians, the principal dependance of the Great King (ἀκμαῖοι φύσιν, ψυχήν τ' ἄριστοι, κεὐγένειαν ἐκπρεπεῖς, αὐτῷ τ' ἄνακτι πίστιν ἐν πρώτοις ἀεί. Pers. 447-9). This harmonises with a tradition, which I do not think we should be justified in rejecting wholly, that among them were three nephews of Xerxes, the sons of his sister Sandacé, who were taken prisoners, and brought to Themistocles (Plut. Them. c. 13; Aristid. c. 9). Whether these youths were sacrificed or not, is a further question, which one is glad to resolve in the negative, on the ground mentioned by Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 177, note). Æschylus agrees with Herodotus in placing the attack on the Persians in Psyttaleia towards the close of the action. He represents it, however, as made by the actual crews of the ships engaged, who armed themselves for the purpose (Pers. 460-3).

[3] The description of the battle of Salamis in Æschylus (Pers. 359-438), as the account of an eye-witness and combatant, must always hold a primary place among the records of the time. It does not appear to have been known to Herodotus, yet it confirms his account in all the principal features; for instance, in the following:—1. The message sent to Xerxes, informing him that the Greeks were about to disperse. 2. His night-movement to enclose them. 3. The bold advance of the Greeks to meet their foes. 4. The commencement of the engagement by a charge on the part of a single Greek ship. 5. The crush and confusion among the Persians. 6. The arrangement of their fleet in more than a single line (Æschylus says, "in three lines"). 7. The great loss of Persians of high rank. And, 8. The prolonged resistance and final disorderly flight of the Persians. Æschylus goes into no detail with regard to names or nations, except that he gives a list of the grandees who fell upon the Persian side, which turns out on examination to be worthless. He adds little to the information which Herodotus supplies —only, I think, these facts:—1. That the Persian fleet was drawn up in *three* lines (l. 372). 2. That on both sides the fleets advanced with loud cries and shouts. 3. That the Greek *right* wing advanced first (l. 405). And 4. That the Greeks executed against the Persians the manœuvre of the περίπλοος (l. 423-4).

These remarks were written before the publication of Mr. Blakesley's edition of Herodotus. A careful consideration of his Excursus on Book viii. (vol. ii. pp. 400-419) has failed to convince me that there is any essential opposition between the accounts of Æschylus and Herodotus. Mr. Blakesley thinks that the description of the battle in Æschylus is "quite incompatible" with the arrangement of the Persian fleet *in line along* the Attic coast, and that it implies on the contrary that the fleet (or the part of it first engaged) was drawn up *across* the channel which separates Salamis from the mainland. His reasons seem to be chiefly the following:—1. If the position had been such as Herodotus describes, the Persians could not have been attacked unexpectedly; 2. The right wing of the Greeks could not have been first seen leading the onset; 3. The Persian fleet would not have presented the appearance of a *stream* of ships (ῥεῦμα, l. 414); 4. They would not have run foul of one another; 5. They could not have been *surrounded*.

drew together to Salamis all the wrecks that were to be found in that quarter,[4] and prepared themselves for another engagement, supposing that the king would renew the fight with the vessels which still remained to him. Many of the wrecks had been carried away by a westerly wind to the coast of Attica, where they were thrown upon the strip of shore called Côlias.[5] Thus not only were the prophecies of Bacis and Musæus[6] concerning this battle fulfilled completely, but likewise, by the place to which the wrecks were drifted, the

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by the Greeks; and 6. They would not, when defeated, have escaped into the *open* sea (πελαγίαν ἅλα, l. 429). In reply to these objections let it be remarked, 1. Æschylus does not speak of any *surprise* further than this, that when the Persians expected no resistance, they found the Greeks sailing out to meet them; 2. The right wing of the Greeks is not said to have been first *seen*; on the contrary, they were all *seen* at once (θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἦσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν, l. 400), but the right wing led (τὸ δεξιὸν . . . . ἡγεῖτο, 401-2); 3. The term ῥεῦμα is applied by Æschylus and the other tragedians to any great host, in the sense of "flood" rather than of "stream" (cf. Æsch. Pers. 90; Soph. Ant. 129; Eurip. Iph. T. 1437); 4. Herodotus clearly explains the cause of the confusion in ch. 89—it arose from the pressure towards the front of the second and third lines; 5. The Persian fleet is not *surrounded* in the description of Æschylus; but after the rout has begun, the περίπλοος is practised upon various knots of vessels (note the *imperfect* tense, ἔθεινον); and 6. While it may be granted that the bulk of the Persian fleet made at once for the Attic shore, a part may well have fled into the open sea—in panic, or as the readiest course, or because the coast (where it could be used) was occupied (see Herod. ch. 91). The pursuit of these would continue, when the others were safe ashore; and hence Æschylus winds up his account with their destruction. Mr. Blakesley's further objection that the wrecks would not have been thrown so far down the coast as Cape Colias, if the battle had taken place in the strait (p. 414), depends for its force on his assumption that the ordinary land and sea breezes alone blew on the day of the battle; but Herodotus speaks of a westerly breeze (ch. 96) having sprung up, which seems to have been a casual wind, and not the ordinary sea-breeze.

[4] According to Diodorus, the Greeks had 40 ships destroyed, the Persians 200. The Persians had also several ships captured (xi. 19).

[5] Strabo seems to have mistaken the site of Côlias, which he places (ix. p. 578) near Anaphlystus, i.e. not far from Sunium. Pausanias tells us (I. i. § 4) that it was a promontory little more than two miles from Phalêrum; and this is confirmed by Stephen (ad voc.), and to a certain extent by Aristophanes (Lysist. 2), who indicates that it was in the neighbourhood of Athens. There can be little doubt that it is the modern Cape of *Trispyrgi*, where the remains of a temple, probably that of Venus Colias, have been discovered. Colonel Leake remarks, that "this is precisely the part of the coast upon which vessels would be thrown by such a wind as appears from Herodotus and Plutarch to have blown on the day of Salamis" (Demi of Attica, pp. 51-2).

[6] Concerning these poets, see above, vii. 6, note [4], and viii. 20, note [7].

prediction of Lysistratus, an Athenian soothsayer, uttered many years before these events, and quite forgotten at the time by all the Greeks, was fully accomplished. The words were—

"Then shall the sight of the oars fill Colian dames with amazement."

Now this must have happened as soon as the king was departed.[7]

97. Xerxes, when he saw the extent of his loss, began to be afraid lest the Greeks might be counselled by the Ionians, or without their advice might determine, to sail straight to the Hellespont and break down the bridges there; in which case he would be blocked up in Europe, and run great risk of perishing. He therefore made up his mind to fly; but as he wished to hide his purpose alike from the Greeks and from his own people, he set to work to carry a mound across the channel to Salamis,[8] and at the same time began fastening a number of Phœnician merchant ships together, to serve at once for a bridge and a wall. He likewise made many warlike preparations, as if he were about to engage the Greeks once more at sea. Now, when these things were seen, all grew fully persuaded that the king was bent on remaining, and intended to push the war in good earnest. Mardonius, however, was in no respect deceived; for long acquaintance enabled him to read all the king's thoughts. Meanwhile, Xerxes, though engaged in this way, sent off a messenger to carry intelligence of his misfortune to Persia.[9]

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[7] When the inhabitants of Attica returned on the departure of Xerxes, the Colian women would find their shore covered with the oars and wrecks.

[8] In this way Alexander afterwards succeeded in reducing Tyre, though the Tyrians were masters of the sea (Arrian, ii. 18). The island Tyre, however, lay within half-a-mile of the mainland (Scylax. Peripl. p. 101; Q. Curt. iv. 8); while Salamis is nearly a mile from the shore. Also, the channel in the former case was at most three fathoms in depth, while at Salamis the depth of the strait reaches four fathoms at the point where it is shallowest. (See the Chart, supra, p. 335.)

Ctesias (Pers. Exc. § 26) and Strabo (ix. p. 573) represent the mound as begun before the battle.

[9] According to Herodotus, this was the *second* special messenger de-

98. Nothing mortal travels so fast as these Persian messengers. The entire plan is a Persian invention; and this is the method of it. Along the whole line of road there are men (they say) stationed with horses, in number equal to the number of days which the journey takes, allowing a man and horse to each day; and these men will not be hindered from accomplishing at their best speed the distance which they have to go, either by snow, or rain, or heat, or by the darkness of night. The first rider delivers his despatch to the second, and the second passes it to the third; and so it is borne from hand to hand along the whole line, like the light in the torch-race, which the Greeks celebrate to Vulcan.[10] The Persians give the riding post in this manner, the name of "Angarum."[1]

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spatched (supra, ch. 54). Æschylus makes him the *first*, or at least the first to *arrive* (cf. Persæ, 14, 15, *κοὔτε τις ἄγγελος οὔτε τις ἱππεὺς ἄστυ τὸ Περσικὸν ἀφικνεῖται*).

[10] The torch-race was not peculiar to Vulcan. Herodotus has already informed us that it formed at Athens a part of the worship of Pan (vi. 105). From other sources we learn that it was celebrated to Minerva, to Prometheus (Schol. ad Arist. Ran. 133; Harpocrat. ad voc. *λαμπάς*), and in later times to Bendis (Plat. Rep. p. 328, A).

The nature of the contest has been fully considered by Dr. Liddell, in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, Article *Λαμπαδηφορία*, to which the reader is referred.

[1] The explanation of this term is rendered peculiarly difficult by the evidence we possess of the arbitrary application of names to the Eastern Post-office, and by our consequent uncertainty as to the direction in which we are to search for an etymology. Under the Caliphs the postal service of the Empire was designated by the name of *Berid*, a title which was long the despair of Arab etymologers, but which we now know to have been derived from the accident of *dock-tailed* mules (Persian *burídeh*, "cut or docked") being employed to carry the expresses; and it is thus quite possible that *angár* may represent some kindred epithet (such as "painted," for instance, from *angariden*, "to paint," or "registered" from *angárch*, "an account book") applied to post-horses or camels in the earlier period. My own idea is, however, that *ἄγγαρον* is a corruption of *hurkáreh* (هرکاره), or according to the vulgar pronunciation, *hakkáreh*, which literally signifies "a man fit for every sort of work," but which is specifically applied to express-messengers, whether travelling on foot, on horseback, or on dromedaries. It is probable that in the time of Herodotus swift camels were employed in the postal service of the Persian Empire, as in the instance mentioned by Strabo (p. 724), where the news of the death of Philotas and orders for the execution of his father Parmenio were thus conveyed from the vicinity of Herat to Ecbatana or Hamadan, a distance of 850 miles in 11 days; and it is interesting, therefore, to observe that the dromedaries used for such pur-

99. At Susa, on the arrival of the first message, which said that Xerxes was master of Athens, such was the delight of the Persians who had remained behind, that they forthwith strewed all the streets with myrtle boughs,[2] and burnt incense, and fell to feasting and merriment. In like manner, when the second message reached them, so sore was their dismay, that they all with one accord rent their garments, and cried aloud, and wept and wailed without stint. They laid the blame of the disaster on Mardonius; and their grief on the occasion was less on account of the damage done to their ships, than owing to the alarm which they felt about the safety of the king. Hence their trouble did not cease till Xerxes himself, by his arrival, put an end to their fears.[3]

100. And now Mardonius, perceiving that Xerxes took the defeat of his fleet greatly to heart, and suspecting that he had made up his mind to leave Athens and fly away, began to think of the likelihood of his being visited with punishment for having persuaded the king to undertake the war. He therefore considered that it would be the best thing for him to adventure further, and either become the conqueror of Greece—which was the result he rather expected—or else die gloriously after aspiring to a noble achievement. So with these thoughts in his mind, he said one day to the king—

"Do not grieve, master, or take so greatly to heart

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poses, are still known by no other name than *karhâreh* throughout both India and Persia.—[H. C. R.]

[2] Supra, vii. 54.

[3] The representation of Herodotus is more *Oriental*, and therefore probably more truthful than that of Æschylus. The latter exhibits but little acquaintance with the Oriental feelings or customs. Instead of representing the safety of the king as the first thought of the Persians, his messenger is on the stage for half a scene before the point is touched. It is then certainly put forward with some prominency, but it is not dwelt upon. And the grief and wailing continue unabated, not only till Xerxes makes his appearance, but to the end of the play. The poet's motive is obvious. It would not have pleased the Greeks to imagine that the Persians cared but little for their losses.

thy late loss. Our hopes hang not altogether on the fate of a few planks, but on our brave steeds and horsemen. These fellows, whom thou imaginest to have quite conquered us, will not venture—no, not one of them—to come ashore and contend with our land army—nor will the Greeks who are upon the mainland fight our troops; such as did so, have received their punishment. If thou so pleasest, we may at once attack the Peloponnese; if thou wouldst rather wait awhile, that too is in our power. Only be not disheartened. For it is not possible that the Greeks can avoid being brought to account, alike for this and for their former injuries; nor can they any how escape being thy slaves. Thou shouldst therefore do as I have said. If, however, thy mind is made up, and thou art resolved to retreat and lead away thy army, listen to the counsel which, in that case, I have to offer. Make not the Persians, O king, a laughing-stock to the Greeks. If thy affairs have succeeded ill, it has not been by their fault; thou canst not say that thy Persians have ever shown themselves cowards. What matters it if Phœnicians and Egyptians, Cyprians and Cilicians have misbehaved? their misconduct touches not us. Since then thy Persians are without fault, be advised by me. Depart home, if thou art so minded, and take with thee the bulk of thy army; but first let me choose out 300,000 troops, and let it be my task to bring Greece beneath thy sway."

101. Xerxes, when he heard these words, felt a sense of joy and delight, like a man who is relieved from care. Answering Mardonius, therefore, "that he would consider his counsel, and let him know which course he might prefer," Xerxes proceeded to consult with the chief men among the Persians; and because Artemisia on the former occasion had shown herself the only person who knew what was best to be done, he was pleased to summon her to advise him now. As soon

as she arrived, he put forth all the rest, both councillors and body-guards, and said to her :—

"Mardonius wishes me to stay and attack the Peloponnese. My Persians, he says, and my other land forces, are not to blame for the disasters which have befallen our arms; and of this he declares they would very gladly give me the proof. He therefore exhorts me, either to stay and act as I have said, or to let him choose out 300,000 of my troops—wherewith he undertakes to reduce Greece beneath my sway—while I myself retire with the rest of my forces, and withdraw into my own country. Do thou, therefore, as thou didst counsel me so wisely to decline the sea-fight,—now also advise me in this matter, and say, which course of the twain I ought to take for my own good."

102. Thus did the king ask Artemisia's counsel, and the following are the words wherewith she answered him :—

"'Tis a hard thing, O king, to give the best possible advice to one who asks our counsel. Nevertheless, as thy affairs now stand, it seemeth to me that thou wilt do right to return home. As for Mardonius, if he prefers to remain, and undertakes to do as he has said, leave him behind by all means, with the troops which he desires. If his design succeeds and he subdues the Greeks, as he promises, thine is the conquest, master, for thy slaves will have accomplished it. If, on the other hand, affairs run counter to his wishes, we can suffer no great loss, so long as thou art safe, and thy house is in no danger. The Greeks, too, while thou livest, and thy house flourishes, must be prepared to fight full many a battle for their freedom; whereas if Mardonius fall, it matters nothing—they will have gained but a poor triumph—a victory over one of thy slaves! Remember also, thou goest home having gained the purpose of thy expedition;[4] for thou hast burnt Athens!"

[4] Vide supra, ch. 68, § 1.

103. The advice of Artemisia pleased Xerxes well; for she had exactly uttered his own thoughts. I, for my part, do not believe that he would have remained, had all his counsellors, both men and women, united to urge his stay, so great was the alarm that he felt. As it was, he gave praise to Artemisia, and entrusted certain of his children to her care, ordering her to convey them to Ephesus; for he had been accompanied on the expedition by some of his natural sons.

104. He likewise sent away at this time one of the principal of his eunuchs,[5] a man named Hermotimus, a Pedasian, who was bidden to take charge of these sons. Now the Pedasians inhabit the region above Halicarnassus;[6] and it is related of them, that in their country the following circumstance happens. When a mischance is about to befall any of their neighbours within a certain time, the priestess of Minerva in their city grows a long beard. This has already taken place on two occasions.

105. The Hermotimus of whom I spoke above was, as I said, a Pedasian; and he, of all men whom we know, took the most cruel vengeance on the person who had done him an injury. He had been made a prisoner of war, and when his captors sold him, he was bought by a certain Panionius, a native of Chios, who made his living by a most nefarious traffic. Whenever

[5] We have here the first instance in authentic Persian history of the influence of the eunuchs, which afterwards became so great an evil. Ctesias indeed represents almost every Persian king as under the influence of one or more eunuchs. Pesitacas and Bagapates have great weight with Cyrus (Pers. Exc. § 5 and § 9), Ixabates and Aspadates with Cambyses (ibid.); Labyzus rules the pseudo-Smerdis (§ 11), Natacas, Xerxes (§ 20), &c. But the influence of the seraglio seems really to have first developed itself in the reign of this last king.

[6] For the situation of Pedasus, vide supra, i. 175, note [7]. It is curious that Herodotus should have given the story of the beard in two places; but I see no sufficient grounds for questioning the genuineness of either passage. "Aliquando bonus dormitat." The discrepancy as to the number of times that the phenomenon had occurred—twice, as here, or thrice, as related before (l. s. c.)—is more like the inaccuracy of an original writer than the error of a forger or a copyist.

he could get any boys of unusual beauty, he made them eunuchs, and carrying them to Sardis or Ephesus, sold them for large sums of money. For the barbarians value eunuchs more than others, since they regard them as more trustworthy. Many were the slaves that Panionius, who made his living by the practice, had thus treated; and among them was this Hermotimus of whom I have here made mention. However he was not without his share of good fortune; for after a while he was sent from Sardis, together with other gifts, as a present to the king. Nor was it long before he came to be esteemed by Xerxes more highly than all his eunuchs.

106. When the king was on his way to Athens with the Persian army, and abode for a time at Sardis, Hermotimus happened to make a journey upon business into Mysia; and there, in a district which is called Atarneus, but belongs to Chios,[7] he chanced to fall in with Panionius. Recognising him at once, he entered into a long and friendly talk with him, wherein he counted up the numerous blessings he enjoyed through his means, and promised him all manner of favours in return, if he would bring his household to Sardis and live there. Panionius was overjoyed, and accepting the offer made him, came presently, and brought with him his wife and children. Then Hermotimus, when he had got Panionius and all his family into his power, addressed him in these words:—

"Thou man, who gettest a living by viler deeds than any one else in the whole world, what wrong to thee or thine had I or any of mine done, that thou shouldst have made me the *nothing* that I now am? Ah! surely thou thoughtest that the gods took no note of thy crimes. But they in their justice have delivered thee, the doer of unrighteousness, into my hands; and now thou canst not complain of the vengeance which I am resolved to take on thee."

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[7] Vide supra, i. 160; vi. 28, 29.

After these reproaches, Hermotimus commanded the four sons of Panionius to be brought, and forced the father to make them eunuchs with his own hand. Unable to resist, he did as Hermotimus required; and then his sons were made to treat him in the self-same way. So in this way there came to Panionius requital at the hands of Hermotimus.

107. Xerxes, after charging Artemisia to convey his sons safe to Ephesus,[8] sent for Mardonius, and bade him choose from all his army such men as he wished, and see that he made his achievements answer to his promises. During this day he did no more; but no sooner was night come, than he issued his orders, and at once the captains of the ships left Phalêrum, and bore away for the Hellespont, each making all the speed he could, and hasting to guard the bridges against the king's return. On their way, as they sailed by Zôster, where certain narrow points of land project into the sea,[9] they took the cliffs for vessels, and fled far away in alarm. Discovering their mistake, however, after a time, they joined company once more, and proceeded upon their voyage.

108. Next day the Greeks, seeing the land force of the barbarians encamped in the same place, thought that their ships must still be lying at Phalêrum; and expecting another attack from that quarter, made preparations to defend themselves. Soon however news came that the ships were all departed and gone away; whereupon it was instantly resolved to make sail in pursuit. They went as far as Andros;[10] but seeing

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[8] Supra, ch. 103.

[9] Cape Zôster is undoubtedly the modern Cape *Lumbardha*. It has the island Phaura (now *Fleva*) in its front (cf. Strab. ix. p. 578). The promontory is a "peninsula, terminating in three capes" (Leake's Demi, p. 55), but it is not very likely that they could have been mistaken by the Persians for ships.

[10] The Persian fleet not being in sight off the Eubœan coast when the Greeks had passed Andros, and could have a full view to the north, they would know that pursuit was vain. This may account for their going so far and no further.

nothing of the Persian fleet, they stopped at that place, and held a council of war. At this council Themistocles advised that the Greeks should follow on through the islands, still pressing the pursuit, and making all haste to the Hellespont, there to break down the bridges. Eurybiades, however, delivered a contrary opinion. "If," he said, "the Greeks should break down the bridges, it would be the worst thing that could possibly happen for Greece. The Persian, supposing that his retreat were cut off, and he were compelled to remain in Europe, would be sure never to give them any peace. Inaction on his part would ruin all his affairs, and leave him no chance of ever getting back to Asia—nay, would even cause his army to perish by famine: whereas, if he bestirred himself, and acted vigorously, it was likely that the whole of Europe would in course of time become subject to him; since, by degrees, the various towns and tribes would either fall before his arms, or else agree to terms of submission; and in this way, his troops would find food sufficient for them, since each year the Greek harvest would be theirs. As it was, the Persian, because he had lost the sea-fight, intended evidently to remain no longer in Europe. The Greeks ought to let him depart; and when he was gone from among them, and had returned into his own country, then would be the time for them to contend with him for the possession of *that*."

The other captains of the Peloponnesians declared themselves of the same mind.

109. Whereupon Themistocles, finding that the majority was against him, and that he could not persuade them to push on to the Hellespont, changed round,[2] and addressing himself to the Athenians, who of all the allies were the most nettled at the enemy's

[2] Plutarch (Them. c. 16) attributes Themistocles' change of mind to a conference which he held with Aristides, but there is no reason to doubt the narrative of Herodotus.

escape, and who eagerly desired, if the other Greeks would not stir, to sail on by themselves to the Hellespont and break the bridges, spake as follows:—

"I have often myself witnessed occasions, and I have heard of many more from others, where men who had been conquered by an enemy, having been driven quite to desperation, have renewed the fight, and retrieved their former disasters. We have now had the great good luck to save both ourselves and all Greece by the repulse of this vast cloud of men; let us then be content and not press them too hard, now that they have begun to fly. Be sure we have not done this by our own might. It is the work of gods and heroes, who were jealous[3] that one man should be king at once of Europe and of Asia—more especially a man like this, unholy and presumptuous—a man who esteems alike things sacred and things profane; who has cast down and burnt the very images of the gods themselves;[4] who even caused the sea to be scourged with rods and commanded fetters to be thrown into it.[5] At present all is well with us—let us then abide in Greece, and look to ourselves and to our families. The barbarian is clean gone—we have

[3] Supra, vii. 10, § 5.

[4] Æschylus describes the conduct of the Persians towards the Greek temples and altars in terms even stronger than these:—*οὐ θεῶν βρέτη ᾐδοῦντο συλᾶν, οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεώς· βωμοὶ δ' ἄϊστοι, δαιμόνων θ' ἱδρύματα πρόῤῥιζα φύρδην ἐξανέστραπται βάθρων* (Pers. 805-8); and Cicero relates (De Leg. ii. 10, ad fin.) that an iconoclastic spirit was at work, the ground of the destruction being that the Greeks shut up their gods within walls, whereas the whole world is the true temple of the Supreme. Mr. Blakesley (note ad loc. and Excursus to Book iii. vol. i. p. 435) denies that the Persian religion can at this time have been iconoclastic, and instances "the Magian hero-worship at Ilium, and the scrupulous reverence for Delos exhibited by Datis" as conclusive on the subject. But Datis was a Mede, not a Persian, and would therefore of course be free from the spirit; and the sacrifices at the Hellespont may easily have been misunderstood by the Greeks (see note[8] on Book vii. ch. 43). From the Persian inscriptions there is every reason to believe that the Court Religion was still pure in the reign of Xerxes.

Many remains of the temples burnt at this time continued to the days of Pausanias (I. i. § 4; x. xxxiv. § 2), who believed the Greeks to have passed a decree against restoring them. (Cf. Lycurg. c. Leocrat. 81, p. 158.) But there can be no doubt that great numbers were restored (see Leake's Athens, p. 12).

[5] Supra, vii. 35.

driven him off—let each now repair his own house, and sow his land diligently. In the spring we will take ship and sail to the Hellespont and to Ionia!"

All this Themistocles said in the hope of establishing a claim upon the king; for he wanted to have a safe retreat in case any mischance should befall him at Athens[6]—which indeed came to pass afterwards.[7]

110. At present, however, he dissembled; and the Athenians were persuaded by his words. For they were ready now to do whatever he advised; since they had always esteemed him a wise man, and he had lately proved himself most truly wise and well-judging. Accordingly, they came in to his views; whereupon he lost no time in sending messengers, on board a light bark, to the king, choosing for this purpose men whom he could trust to keep his instructions secret, even although they should be put to every kind of torture. Among them was the house-slave Sicinnus, the same whom he had made use of previously.[8] When the men reached Attica, all the others stayed with the boat; but Sicinnus went up to the king, and spake to him as follows:—

"I am sent to thee by Themistocles, the son of Neocles, who is the leader of the Athenians, and the wisest and bravest man of all the allies, to bear thee this message: 'Themistocles the Athenian, anxious to render thee a service, has restrained the Greeks, who

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[6] According to Thucydides (i. 137), Themistocles did actually claim credit with the Persians for preventing the destruction of the bridge; but it is difficult to imagine him looking forward at this time to such a contingency as exile. Still, as Mr. Grote observes, "long-sighted cunning" was one of the leading traits of his character, and "a clever man, tainted with such constant guilt, might naturally calculate on being one day detected and punished" (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. pp. 188-9).

[7] Cf. Thucyd. l. s. c., where the circumstances by which Themistocles became involved in the fall of Pausanias are fully given. See also Plutarch, Them. c. 23-8.

[8] Supra, ch. 75. Plutarch (Them. c. 16) makes a certain Arnaces, one of the royal eunuchs who had been taken prisoner in the recent battle, the chief messenger on this occasion. In this he is followed by Polyænus (Strat. I. xxx. § 3). But Diodorus (xi. 19) and Justin (ii. 13) confirm Herodotus.

were impatient to pursue thy ships, and to break up the bridges at the Hellespont. Now, therefore, return home at thy leisure.'"

The messengers, when they had performed their errand, sailed back to the fleet.

111. And the Greeks, having resolved that they would neither proceed further in pursuit of the barbarians, nor push forward to the Hellespont and destroy the passage, laid siege to Andros, intending to take the town by storm.[9] For Themistocles had required the Andrians to pay down a sum of money; and they had refused, being the first of all the islanders who did so. To his declaration, "that the money must needs be paid, as the Athenians had brought with them two mighty gods—Persuasion and Necessity," they made reply, that "Athens might well be a great and glorious city, since she was blest with such excellent gods; but *they* were wretchedly poor, stinted for land, and cursed with two unprofitable gods, who always dwelt with them and would never quit their island—to wit, Poverty and Helplessness.[1] These were the gods of the Andrians, and therefore they would not pay the money. For the power of Athens could not possibly be stronger than their inability." This reply, coupled with the refusal to pay the sum required, caused their city to be besieged by the Greeks.

112. Meanwhile Themistocles, who never ceased his

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[9] The Cyclades, with few exceptions, contained each a single town, bearing the same name as the island (cf. Scylax, Peripl. pp. 48-50; Ptolem. Geogr. iii. 15). The town of Andros is proved, by inscriptions and ruins, to have lain on the lower coast, a few miles west of the modern village of *Arna* (Tournefort, vol. i. p. 268; Ross, vol. ii. p. 16). It successfully resisted Alcibiades in B.C. 407 (Xen. Hell. I. iv. § 23; Diod. Sic. xiii. 69), but was taken by Attalus in B.C. 200 (Liv. xxxix. 45).

[1] Poverty and Helplessness had before this time been coupled together, having been termed sisters by the poet Alcæus. See the fragment in Stobæus (iii. p. 258, Gaisf.)—

ἀργαλέον Πενία, κακὸν ἄσχετον,
ἃ μέγαν δάμνησι
λαὸν, Ἀμαχανίᾳ σὺν ἀδελφᾷ.

Pausanias speaks of an actual temple to Βία and Ἀνάγκη at Corinth (II. iv. § 7).

pursuit of gain,[2] sent threatening messages to the other islanders with demands for different sums, employing the same messengers and the same words as he had used towards the Andrians. "If," he said, "they did not send him the amount required, he would bring the Greek fleet upon them, and besiege them till he took their cities." By these means he collected large sums from the Carystians[3] and the Parians, who, when they heard that Andros was already besieged, and that Themistocles was the best esteemed of all the captains, sent the money through fear. Whether any of the other islanders did the like, I cannot say for certain; but I think some did besides those I have mentioned. However, the Carystians, though they complied, were not spared any the more; but Themistocles was softened by the Parians' gift, and therefore they received no visit from the army. In this way it was that Themistocles, during his stay at Andros, obtained money from the islanders, unbeknown to the other captains.

113. King Xerxes and his army waited but a few days after the sea-fight, and then withdrew into Bœotia by the road which they had followed on their advance.[4] It was the wish of Mardonius to escort the king a part of the way; and as the time of year was no longer suitable for carrying on war, he thought it best to winter in Thessaly, and wait for the spring before he attempted

[2] Cf. supra, ch. 4. Charges of this kind were brought against Themistocles even in his life-time. The poet Timocreon loaded him with reproaches for his avarice (ap. Plut. Them. c. 21). A more unsuspicious testimony, perhaps, is furnished by the undoubted fact of his enormous wealth at the period of his exile, which was witnessed to both by Theopompus (Fr. 90) and Theophrastus (ib.). Though his original patrimony did not exceed three talents, his confiscated property, after his friends had secreted and conveyed into Asia a large portion of it, amounted, according to the latter writer, to eighty (19,500*l.*), according to the former to a hundred talents (24,375*l.*). Compare also Critias (ap. Æl. Var. II. x. 17).

[3] Supra, vi. 99, note [3].

[4] Probably the pass of Phylé; for though Thespiæ and Platæa were burnt on the advance (supra, ch. 50) which might seem to bring the Persians into Attica by Eleutheræ and Œnoé, yet the main army, one may be sure, marched straight from Orchomenus to Thebes, and from Thebes to Athens.

the Peloponnese. After the army was come into Thessaly, Mardonius made choice of the troops that were to stay with him; and, first of all, he took the whole body called the "Immortals,"[5] except only their leader Hydarnes, who refused to quit the person of the king. Next, he chose the Persians who wore breastplates,[6] and the thousand picked horse;[7] likewise the Medes, the Sacans, the Bactrians, and the Indians, foot and horse equally. These nations he took entire: from the rest of the allies he culled a few men, taking such as were either remarkable for their appearance, or else such as had performed, to his knowledge, some valiant deed. The Persians furnished him with the greatest number of troops, men who were adorned with chains and armlets.[8] Next to them were the Medes, who in number equalled the Persians, but in valour fell short of them. The whole army, reckoning the horsemen with the rest, amounted to 300,000 men.

114. At the time when Mardonius was making choice of his troops, and Xerxes still continued in Thessaly, the Lacedæmonians received a message from the Delphic oracle, bidding them seek satisfaction at the hands of Xerxes for the death of Leonidas, and take whatever he chose to give them. So the Spartans sent a herald with all speed into Thessaly, who arrived while

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[5] Supra, vii. 83, 211, 215.

[6] This is not quite clear; since the great body of the Persian infantry was said (vii. 61) to have worn coats of scale armour, while the breastplate (θώρηξ) was not assigned to any. If the coat of scale armour is here called θώρηξ, and the great body of the infantry is meant, from whom are they distinguished? From the special attendants upon the king's person (ch. 40)? But these would not be less well armed than the mass. I incline to think that a distinction is drawn between the better and the worse armed among the Persian infantry, to the former of whom alone the description in vii. 61 is to be applied. The expression—"These nations he took entire," I should limit to the Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians.

[7] The "thousand horsemen, picked men of the Persian nation," who formed the van of the body of troops specially attached to the king's person (supra, vii. 40).

[8] Supra, vii. 83, note [4]. The "chains" and "armlets" are specially noticed by Plutarch (Themist. c. 18) and Xenophon (Anab. I. viii. § 29).

the entire Persian army was still there. This man being brought before the king, spake as follows:—

"King of the Medes, the Lacedæmonians and the Heracleids of Sparta require of thee the satisfaction due for bloodshed, because thou slewest their king, who fell fighting for Greece."

Xerxes laughed, and for a long time spake not a word. At last, however, he pointed to Mardonius, who was standing by him, and said:—"Mardonius here shall give them the satisfaction they deserve to get." And the herald accepted the answer, and forthwith went his way.

115. Xerxes, after this, left Mardonius in Thessaly, and marched away himself, at his best speed, toward the Hellespont. In five and forty days he reached the place of passage, where he arrived with scarce a fraction, so to speak, of his former army.[9] All along their line of march, in every country where they chanced to be, his soldiers seized and devoured whatever corn they could find belonging to the inhabitants;

[9] The well-known description in Æschylus (Pers. 484-516), while it confirms the account here given of the Persian retreat in many respects, exceeds it in certain strikingly poetic particulars. According to the tragedian, besides the deaths from starvation there were many from thirst, and some from mere gasping for breath. The great loss was at the Strymon, which, in the night of the day when the Persian army arrived upon its banks, was frozen over by an unseasonable frost, so firmly and hardly that the Persians commenced crossing upon the ice. When the sun's rays grew hot, the ice melted, and the greater portion of the army perished in the stream. Bishop Thirlwall accepts this story as true (Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 316). Mr. Grote, with reason, discredits it (History, &c., vol. v. p. 191, note). The freezing of the Strymon, a river 180 yards wide (Leake) at this part, in the latitude of Naples, and at the beginning of November—to drop all mention of the "single night"—is so improbable a circumstance, that we are warranted, on this ground alone, in rejecting it. The fact that a bridge of boats had been thrown across the river (Herod. vii. 24, 114) on the march into Greece, which remained under the protection of the garrison of Eion, and furnished a secure means of transit, is also of importance. It is very doubtful whether Æschylus had any foundation at all for this poetic feature in his narrative—whether, having carried his hearers northward to a sufficient distance from Athens, into regions with the very geography of which he was himself unacquainted (l. 496), he did not regard himself as at liberty to indulge his imagination in describing what he supposed to be a possible disaster. He would be sure of finding in his hearers very indulgent critics.

while, if no corn was to be found, they gathered the grass that grew in the fields, and stripped the trees, whether cultivated or wild, alike of their bark and of their leaves, and so fed themselves. They left nothing anywhere, so hard were they pressed by hunger. Plague too and dysentery attacked the troops while still upon their march, and greatly thinned their ranks. Many died; others fell sick and were left behind in the different cities that lay upon the route, the inhabitants being strictly charged by Xerxes to tend and feed them. Of these some remained in Thessaly, others in Siris of Pæonia,[10] others again in Macedon. Here[1] Xerxes, on his march into Greece, had left the sacred car and steeds of Jove; which upon his return, he was unable to recover; for the Pæonians had disposed of them to the Thracians, and, when Xerxes demanded them back, they said, that the Thracian tribes who dwelt about the sources of the Strymon had stolen the mares as they pastured.

116. Here too a Thracian chieftain, king of the Bisaltians and of Crestonia,[2] did a deed which went beyond nature. He had refused to become the willing slave of Xerxes, and had fled before him into the heights of Rhodopé,[3] at the same time forbidding his sons to take part in the expedition against Greece. But they, either because they cared little for his orders, or because they wished greatly to see the war, joined the army of Xerxes. At this time they had all returned home to him—the number of the men was six—quite safe and sound. But their father took them, and

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[10] Vide supra, v. 15, note [1].

[1] At Siris, not in Macedonia; as appears by the next sentence. The "sacred car and steeds of Jove" (Ormazd) were briefly described, vii. 40. The steeds which drew it were there said to be "eight white *horses*."

[2] For the positions of Bisaltia and Crestonia, vide supra, vii. 115 note [2], and 124, note [3].

[3] Rhodope proper appears to have been the chain now called *Despoto Dagh* (supra, iv. 49, note [3]), which separates the valley of the Nestus (*Kara Su*) from that of the Hebrus (*Maritza*). The name, however, extended to some portion of the Balkan (Thucyd. ii. 96; Ptolem. Geogr. iii. 11)—that, namely, upon which this chain adjoins.

punished their offence by plucking out their eyes from the sockets. Such was the treatment which these men received.

117. The Persians, having journeyed through Thrace and reached the passage, entered their ships hastily and crossed the Hellespont to Abydos. The bridges were not found stretched across the strait; since a storm had broken and dispersed them. At Abydos the troops halted, and obtaining more abundant provision than they had yet got upon their march, they fed without stint; from which cause, added to the change in their water, great numbers of those who had hitherto escaped perished. The remainder, together with Xerxes himself, came safe to Sardis.[4]

118. There is likewise another account given of the return of the king. It is said that when Xerxes on his way from Athens arrived at Eïon upon the Strymon, he gave up travelling by land, and intrusting Hydarnes with the conduct of his forces to the Hellespont, embarked himself on board a Phœnician ship, and so crossed into Asia. On his voyage the ship was assailed by a strong wind blowing from the mouth of the Strymon, which caused the sea to run high. As the storm increased, and the ship laboured heavily, because of the number of the Persians who had come in the king's train, and who now crowded the deck, Xerxes was seized with fear, and called out to the helmsman in a loud voice, asking him, if there were any means whereby they might escape the danger. "No means, master," the helmsman answered, "unless we could be quit of these too numerous passengers." Xerxes, they say, on hearing this, addressed the Persians as follows:

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[4] Xerxes remained at Sardis the whole of the winter, and during a considerable portion of the next year (infra, ix. 107, ad fin.). It was at this time that he was said to have plundered and destroyed the temple at Branchidæ (supra, vi. 19, note [5]); many curious remains from which, including eight of the archaic sitting statues (supra, v. 36, note [4]), have lately reached this country, and are now in the British Museum.

"Men of Persia," he said, "now is the time for you to show what love ye bear your king. My safety, as it seems, depends wholly upon you." So spake the king; and the Persians instantly made obeisance, and then leapt over into the sea. Thus was the ship lightened, and Xerxes got safe to Asia. As soon as he had reached the shore, he sent for the helmsman, and gave him a golden crown because he had preserved the life of the king,—but because he had caused the death of a number of Persians, he ordered his head to be struck from his shoulders.

119. Such is the other account which is given of the return of Xerxes; but to me it seems quite unworthy of belief, alike in other respects, and in what relates to the Persians. For had the helmsman made any such speech to Xerxes, I suppose there is not one man in ten thousand who will doubt that this is the course which the king would have followed:—he would have made the men upon the ship's deck,[5] who were not only Persians, but Persians of the very highest rank, quit their place and go down below; and would have cast into the sea an equal number of the rowers, who were Phœnicians. But the truth is, that the king, as I have already said, returned into Asia by the same road as the rest of the army.

120. I will add a strong proof of this. It is certain that Xerxes on his way back from Greece passed through Abdêra, where he made a contract of friendship with the inhabitants, and presented them with a golden scymitar, and a tiara broidered with gold. The Abderites declare—but I put no faith in this part of

[5] The Epibatæ, or "marines," of which each trireme in the Persian fleet carried thirty (supra, 184). It may well be doubted whether under such circumstances the Persian king would not have preferred Phœnician seamen to unskilled Persians. There is, however, no ground for attaching any credence to the story, which is only valuable as a striking embodiment of the real Oriental feeling with regard to the person of the monarch (vide supra, ch. 99, note [4], and ch. 102).

their story—that from the time of the king's leaving Athens, he never once loosed his girdle till he came to their city, since it was not till then that he felt himself in safety. Now Abdêra is nearer to the Hellespont than Eïon and the Strymon,[6] where Xerxes, according to the other tale, took ship.

121. Meanwhile the Greeks, finding that they could not capture Andros, sailed away to Carystus, and wasted the lands of the Carystians,[7] after which they returned to Salamis. Arrived here, they proceeded, before entering on any other matter, to make choice of the first-fruits which should be set apart as offerings to the gods. These consisted of divers gifts; among them were three Phœnician triremes,[8] one of which was dedicated at the Isthmus, where it continued to my day; another at Sunium; and the third, at Salamis itself, which was devoted to Ajax. This done, they made a division of the booty, and sent away the first-fruits to Delphi. Thereof was made the statue,[9] holding in its hand the beak of a ship, which is twelve cubits high, and which stands in the same place with the golden one of Alexander the Macedonian.[10]

122. After the first-fruits had been sent to Delphi,

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[6] For the site of Abdera, vide supra, vii. 109, note [9].

[7] Themistocles seems to have lacked the influence, or the honesty, to keep his bargain with these unfortunates (supra, ch. 112).

[8] Compare Thucyd. ii. 84, for the practice of dedicating ships to commemorate a naval victory. The offering at the Isthmus was made to Neptune, as god of the sea (cf. Pausan. II. i. § 6-8); that at Sunium to Minerva Sunias (ib. I. i. § 1), who had inspired Themistocles with wisdom; that at Salamis to Ajax, in acknowledgment of the help rendered by the Æacidæ (supra, ch. 83, end).

[9] I presume this is the statue mentioned by Pausanias (x. xiv. § 3), as still remaining at Delphi in his day, which he says was erected by the Greeks to commemorate the battles of Artemisium and Salamis. It was a statue of Apollo, and stood, apparently, inside the temple. Its counterpart, the statue dedicated at Olympia to commemorate the victory of Platæa, was a statue of Jupiter, not quite so colossal, the height being ten cubits instead of 12 (infra, ix. 81).

[10] Mr. Blakesley imagines (note ad loc.) that this is an addition by another hand, and that the Alexander who had a gold statue at Delphi, was the conqueror of Asia. But the wealth of Alexander, the son of Amyntas, who derived from a single mine nearly 90,000*l.* a-year (supra, v. 17), may well have sufficed for such an offering.

the Greeks made inquiry of the god, in the name of their whole body, if he had received his full share of the spoils and was satisfied therewith. The god made answer, that all the other Greeks had paid him his full due, except only the Eginetans; on them he had still a claim for the prize of valour which they had gained at Salamis.[1] So the Eginetans, when they heard this, dedicated the three golden stars which stand on the top of a bronze mast, in the corner near the bowl offered by Crœsus.[2]

123. When the spoils had been divided, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, where a prize of valour was to be awarded to the man who, of all the Greeks, had shown the most merit during the war. When the chiefs were all come, they met at the altar of Neptune, and took the ballots wherewith they were to give their votes for the first and for the second in merit. Then each man gave himself the first vote, since each considered that he was himself the worthiest; but the second votes were given chiefly to Themistocles.[3] In this way, while the others received but one vote apiece, Themistocles had for the second prize a large majority of the suffrages.

124. Envy, however, hindered the chiefs from coming to a decision, and they all sailed away to their homes without making any award.[4] Nevertheless Themistocles was regarded everywhere as by far the wisest man of all the Greeks; and the whole country

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[1] Supra, ch. 93. It is thought that the Eginetans exhibited their gratitude for the victory of Salamis chiefly "upon their own soil." (See Mr. Blakesley's note on this passage.) The temple, from which the Munich marbles were taken, was probably "erected in commemoration of the victory." Its ornaments exhibited "the triumph of the Hellenic over the Asiatic race."

[2] Supra, i. 51. The *silver* bowl of Crœsus is intended, which stood "in the corner of the ante-chapel." All the more precious treasures of the Delphians were lost before the date of Pausanias, having been converted into money at the time of the Sacred War (B.C. 357—347).

[3] Plutarch, with his usual exaggeration, declares the second votes to have been given to Themistocles *unanimously* (Them. c. 17; De Malign. Her. vol. ii. p. 871, D).

[4] It was probably considered impossible to award a second prize without a first, and the first could not be decided.

rang with his fame. As the chiefs who fought at Salamis, notwithstanding that he was really entitled to the prize, had withheld his honour from him, he went without delay to Lacedæmon, in the hope that he would be honoured there.[5] And the Lacedæmonians received him handsomely, and paid him great respect. The prize of valour indeed, which was a crown of olive, they gave to Eurybiades; but Themistocles was given a crown of olive too, as the prize of wisdom and dexterity. He was likewise presented with the most beautiful chariot that could be found in Sparta; and after receiving abundant praises, was, upon his departure, escorted as far as the borders of Tegea, by the 300 picked Spartans who are called the Knights.[6] Never was it known, either before or since, that the Spartans escorted a man out of their city.

125. On the return of Themistocles to Athens, Timodêmus of Aphidnæ,[7] who was one of his enemies, but otherwise a man of no repute, became so maddened with envy that he openly railed against him, and reproaching him with his journey to Sparta, said—"'Twas not his own merit that had won him honour from the men of Lacedæmon, but the fame of Athens, his country." Then Themistocles, seeing that Timodêmus repeated this phrase unceasingly, replied—

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[5] According to Diodorus (xi. 27), Themistocles went to Sparta on invitation. The Spartans were afraid that in his disappointment he might entertain projects dangerous to Greece, and wished to bring him back to good humour. Among other favours they presented him with a sum of money double the amount of that which Polycritus and Ameinias had received. To his acceptance of this sum Diodorus ascribes it, that he was superseded in his command the next year by Xanthippus. Plutarch likewise speaks of Themistocles as invited to Sparta (Them. c. 17).

Thucydides (i. 74) is an important witness to the unusual character of the honours which Themistocles received (*μάλιστα ἐτιμήσατε ἄνδρα ξένον τῶν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων*).

[6] Concerning the Spartan knights, vide supra, i. 67 note[8], and vii. 205.

[7] Aphidnæ, or Aphidna (Strab. ix. p. 577; Steph. Byz. ad voc.) was one of the most ancient of the Attic demi, its foundation being ascribed to Cecrops (Strab. l. s. c.). The site is uncertain, but on grounds of strong probability it is placed by Colonel Leake at *Kotróni*, in the upper part of the valley formed by the river of Marathon (Demi of Attica, p. 21).

"Thus stands the case, friend. I had never got this honour from the Spartans, had I been a Belbinite[8]—nor thou, hadst thou been an Athenian!"

126. Artabazus, the son of Pharnaces,[9] a man whom the Persians had always held in much esteem, but who, after the affair of Platæa, rose still higher in their opinion, escorted king Darius as far as the strait, with sixty thousand of the chosen troops of Mardonius. When the king was safe in Asia, Artabazus set out upon his return; and on arriving near Pallêné,[1] and finding that Mardonius had gone into winter quarters in Thessaly and Macedonia, and was in no hurry for him to join the camp, he thought it his bounden duty, as the Potidæans had just revolted, to occupy himself in reducing them to slavery. For as soon as the king had passed beyond their territory, and the Persian fleet had made its hasty flight from Salamis, the Potidæans revolted from the barbarians openly; as likewise did all the other inhabitants of that peninsula.

127. Artabazus, therefore, laid siege to Potidæa; and having a suspicion that the Olynthians were likely to revolt shortly, he besieged their city also. Now Olynthus was at that time held by the Bottiæans,[2] who had been driven from the parts about the Thermaic gulf by the Macedonians. Artabazus took the city, and having so done, led out all the inhabitants to a

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[8] There were two places of the name of Belbina. One, called also Belmina (Polyb. II. liv. § 3), or Belemina (Pausan. III. xxi. § 3, &c.), was a town of Lacedæmon, on the borders of Arcadia. The other was an island at the mouth of the Saronic gulf (Strab. viii. p. 544), not far from Sunium (ib. ix. p. 578; cf. Scylax, Peripl. p. 45), which seems to be the modern island of *St. George* (Leake's Demi, p. 62). The latter is undoubtedly the place intended in this passage.

Timodêmus must have been a native of Belbina, who, on receiving the Athenian citizenship, was enrolled in the demus of Aphidnæ. Hence the point of the repartee. Plato (Rep. i. p. 330), who is followed by most other writers (Cic. de Senect. c. 3; Plut. Them. c. 18; Apophth. vol. ii. p. 185, B.; Orig. adv. Cels. i. 29, &c.), tells the story of a Seriphian.

[9] Artabazus had previously commanded the Parthians and Chorasmians (supra, vii. 66). His prudent conduct at Platæa is noticed (infra, ix. 66).

[1] Supra, vii. 123, note [8].

[2] Compare Thucyd. ii. 99, and see above, vii. 123, note [4].

marsh in the neighbourhood,[3] and there slew them. After this he delivered the place into the hands of the people called Chalcideans, having first appointed Critobulus of Torônè to be governor. Such was the way in which the Chalcideans got Olynthus.[4]

128. When this town had fallen, Artabazus pressed the siege of Potidæa all the more unremittingly; and was pushing his operations with vigour, when Timoxenus, captain of the Scionæans,[5] entered into a plot to betray the town to him. How the matter was managed at first, I cannot pretend to say, for no account has come down to us: but at the last this is what happened. Whenever Timoxenus wished to send a letter to Artabazus, or Artabazus to send one to Timoxenus, the letter was written on a strip of paper, and rolled round the notched end of an arrow-shaft; the feathers were then put on over the paper, and the arrow thus prepared was shot to some place agreed upon. But after a while the plot of Timoxenus to betray Potidæa was discovered in this way. Artabazus, on one occasion, shot off his arrow, intending to send it to the accustomed place, but missing his mark, hit one of the Potidæans in the shoulder. A crowd gathered about the wounded man, as commonly happens in war; and when the arrow was pulled out, they noticed the paper, and straightway carried it to the captains, who were

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[3] The lagoon *Bolyca*, a little to the east of the city, is probably intended (Leake's Northern Greece, vol. iii. p. 154).

[4] The site and celebrity of Olynthus, and the position of Torônè, have been already noticed (vii. 122, note [1]), as also have the number and importance of the Chalcidean settlements in these parts (v. 74, note). Excepting Acanthus, Stagirus, and Argilus, which were colonies from Andros (Thucyd. iv. 84, 88, 103), Olynthus, which was Bottiæan, Mendé, which was Eretrian (ib. 123), Potidæa, which was a colony from Corinth (ib. i. 56), and Sciône, which claimed to be Achæan (ib. iv. 120), all the cities of the great peninsula included between the Thermaic and Strymonic gulfs appear to have been of Chalcidean origin (see Hermann's Pol. Antiq. § 81). Olynthus seems, very shortly after it was given to the Chalcideans, to have come to be regarded as their chief city (Thuc. i. 58; iv. 123). We find it, before its conquest by Philip, at the head of thirty-two cities (Dem. Philipp. iii. p. 117, 21).

[5] Supra, vii. 123, note [5].

present from the various cities of the peninsula.[6] The captains read the letter, and finding who the traitor was, nevertheless resolved, out of regard for the city of Scioné, that as they did not wish the Scionæans to be thenceforth branded with the name of traitors, they would not bring against him any charge of treachery. Such accordingly was the mode in which this plot was discovered.

129. After Artabazus had continued the siege by the space of three months, it happened that there was an unusual ebb of the tide, which lasted a long while. So when the barbarians saw that what had been sea was now no more than a swamp, they determined to push across it into Pallêné. And now the troops had already made good two-fifths of their passage, and three-fifths still remained before they could reach Pallêné, when the tide came in with a very high flood, higher than had ever been seen before, as the inhabitants of those parts declare, though high floods are by no means uncommon. All who were not able to swim perished immediately;[7] the rest were slain by the Potidæans, who bore down upon them in their sailing vessels. The Potidæans say that what caused this swell and flood, and so brought about the disaster of the Persians which ensued therefrom, was the profanation, by the very men now destroyed in the sea, of the temple and image of Neptune, situated in their suburb. And in this they seem to me to say well. Artabazus afterwards led away the remainder of his army, and joined Mardonius in Thessaly. Thus fared it with the Persians who escorted the king to the strait.

130. As for that part of the fleet of Xerxes which

[6] These were Aphytis, Neapolis, Æga, Therambus, Scioné, Mendé, and Sané (vide supra, vii. 123).

[7] A more successful passage was made by Aristeus and a body of Corinthians, when excluded from Potidæa by the victorious Athenians under Callias. He contrived to carry his men into the town through the sea, with only a slight loss (Thucyd. i. 63).

had survived the battle, when it had made good its escape from Salamis to the coast of Asia, and conveyed the king with his army across the strait from the Chersonese to Abydos, it passed the winter at Cymé.[8] On the first approach of spring, there was an early muster of the ships at Samos, where some of them indeed had remained throughout the winter. Most of the men-at-arms who served on board were Persians, or else Medes; and the command of the fleet had been taken by Mardontes the son of Bagæus, and Artaÿntes the son of Artachæes;[9] while there was likewise a third commander, Ithamitres the nephew of Artaÿntes,[10] whom his uncle had advanced to the post. Further west than Samos, however, they did not venture to proceed; for they remembered what a defeat they had suffered, and there was no one to compel them to approach any nearer to Greece. They therefore remained at Samos, and kept watch over Ionia, to hinder it from breaking into revolt. The whole number of their ships, including those furnished by the Ionians, was three hundred. It did not enter into their thoughts that the Greeks would proceed against Ionia; on the contrary, they supposed that the defence of their own country would content them, more especially as they had not pursued the Persian fleet when it fled from Salamis, but had so readily given up the chase. They despaired, however, altogether of gaining any success by sea themselves, though by land they thought that Mardonius was quite sure of victory. So they remained at Samos, and took counsel together, if by any means they might harass the enemy, at the same

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[8] Supra, i. 149.

[9] Artayntes was probably the son of the Persian noble who had been one of the superintendents at Mount Athos (vii. 22), and had died there (ib. 117). Another of his sons, Otaspes, commanded the Assyrian contingent in the army of Xerxes (ib. 63). Mardontes, the son of Bagæus, was mentioned (ib. 80) as commanding the troops furnished by the islands in the Persian Gulf.

[10] Infra, ix. 102.

time that they waited eagerly to hear how matters would proceed with Mardonius.

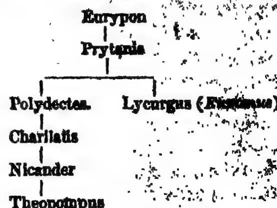
131. The approach of spring, and the knowledge that Mardonius was in Thessaly, roused the Greeks from inaction. Their land force indeed was not yet come together; but the fleet, consisting of one hundred and ten ships, proceeded to Egina, under the command of Leotychides.[11] This Leotychides, who was both general and admiral, was the son of Menares, the son of Agesilaüs,[1] the son of Hippocratides, the son of Leotychides, the son of Anaxilaüs, the son of Archi-

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[11] Supra, vi. 71. By comparing the genealogy here given with the list of Spartan kings of the lower house in Pausanias (III. and IV.), we find that the line of Leotychides departed from that of Demaratus, after Theopompus, the eighth king. The names between Leotychides and Theopompus are only known from Herodotus. With regard to the earlier kings there is a good deal of diversity among the best authorities, as the following lists will show:—

Herodotus.	Pausanias (III. vii.).	Eusebius (Chron. I. p. 167).	Simonides.
Procles	Procles	Procles	Procles
	Soüs		Soüs
Euryphon	Eurypon		Eurypon
Prytanis	Prytanis	Prytanis	Prytanis
Polydectes	Eunomus	Eunomius	Eunomus
Eunomus	Polydectes		
Charillus	Charillus	Charicles	Charilaüs
Nicander	Nicander	Nicander	Nicander
Theopompus	Theopompus	Theopompus	Theopompus

Soüs seems to be wrongly omitted from the list of Herodotus, and Eunomus appears to be an interpolation in all the lists. Eunomus is a fictitious name, standing for Lycurgus, whose legislation was called εὐνομία (Plut. Lycurg. c. 5). Now Lycurgus was not king at all, or in the direct line of succession. He was son of Prytanis, brother of Polydectes, and uncle to Charillus or Charilaüs (Eph. Fr. 64). The true genealogical descent from Eurypon was probably the following. (See note[8] on Book i. ch. 65; and compare Clinton's F. H. vol. i. p. 144, and App. ch. 6. For the genealogy between Procles and Hercules, vide supra, vii. 204.)



[1] Herodotus gives Agis as the name of the father of Menares, in Book vi. ch. 65.

damus, the son of Anaxandrides, the son of Theopompus, the son of Nicander, the son of Charillus, the son of Eunomus, the son of Polydectes, the son of Prytanis, the son of Euryphon, the son of Procles, the son of Aristodêmus, the son of Aristomăchus, the son of Cleodæus, the son of Hyllus, the son of Hercules. He belonged to the younger branch of the royal house.[2] All his ancestors, except the two next in the above list to himself, had been kings of Sparta.[3] The Athenian vessels were commanded by Xanthippus the son of Ariphron.[4]

132. When the whole fleet was collected together at Egina, ambassadors from Ionia arrived at the Greek station; they had but just come from paying a visit to Sparta, where they had been intreating the Lacedæmonians to undertake the deliverance of their native land. One of these ambassadors was Herodotus, the son of Basileides.[5] Originally they were seven in number; and the whole seven had conspired to slay Strattis the tyrant of Chios;[6] one, however, of those engaged in the plot betrayed the enterprise; and the conspiracy being in this way discovered, Herodotus, and the remaining five, quitted Chios, and went straight to Sparta, whence they had now proceeded to

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[2] Supra, vi. 52.

[3] It seems almost necessary to read, as has been proposed (Palmer, Exercit. p. 39; Larcher, ad loc.), "seven" for "two" (ζ for ϛ) here. The line of kings from Theopompus is given by Pausanias as follows:—Theopompus, Zeuxidamus, Anaxidamus, Archidamus, Agesicles, Ariston, Demaratus, Leotychides, &c. Of these the last four are confirmed by Herodotus (i. 65, 67, v. 75, vi. 71), so that there is no reason to think, as Bähr suggests, that he and Herodotus drew from different sources. The two branches of the lower royal house parted at Theopompus, the eighth ancestor of Leotychides, and the seventh of Demaratus (cf. Clinton, ii. p. 260).

[4] Supra, vi. 131. That Xanthippus had succeeded Themistocles in the command of the fleet, does not imply that the latter had ceased to be a Strategus. There is no reason to suppose, as Diodorus does (xi. 27), that Themistocles was in any disgrace (Plut. Them. c. 17). The feeling probably was that he could not be spared on distant service. He therefore remained at Athens to give his countrymen the benefit of his counsels.

[5] It is conjectured, with some reason (Dahlmann, Life of Herodotus, p. 5, E. T.), that this Herodotus was a relation of the historian.

[6] Strattis was mentioned as accompanying Darius to the Danube (supra, iv. 138).

Egina, their object being to beseech the Greeks that they would pass over to Ionia. It was not however without difficulty that they were induced to advance even so far as Delos. All beyond that seemed to the Greeks full of danger; the places were quite unknown to them, and to their fancy swarmed with Persian troops; as for Samos, it appeared to them as far off as the pillars of Hercules.[7] Thus it came to pass, that at the very same time the barbarians were hindered by their fears from venturing any further west than Samos, and the prayers of the Chians failed to induce the Greeks to advance any further east than Delos. Terror guarded the mid region.

133. The Greek fleet was now on its way to Delos; but Mardonius still abode in his winter-quarters in Thessaly. When he was about to leave them, he despatched a man named Mys, an Europian by birth,[8] to go and consult the different oracles, giving him orders to put questions everywhere to all the oracles whereof he found it possible to make trial. What it was that he wanted to know, when he gave Mys these

[7] This is perhaps the grossest instance in Herodotus of rhetorical exaggeration. The passage from Europe to Asia, through the islands, must have been thoroughly familiar to the Greeks of this period. Even the Spartans were accustomed to make it (Herod. i. 70, 152, iii. 47, 54). The fact that for fifteen years, since the termination of the Ionian revolt, the western waters of the Ægean had been little visited, could not produce the state of ignorance which Herodotus describes. I agree with Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 198), that the fear which kept the Greeks at Delos was not a dread of the distance, but "fear of an enemy's country, where they could not calculate the risk beforehand;" but I cannot agree with him in thinking that the words of Herodotus mean no more. He clearly intends to assert that geographical ignorance was (at least in part) the cause of the delay. (On the proneness of Herodotus to rhetorical exaggeration, see the Introductory Essay, vol. i. pp. 103-5.)

[8] There were two cities of the name of Eurôpus in Macedonia (Ptolem. iii. 13; Plin. H. N. iv. 10), and a third in Caria (Steph. Byz.; Etymolog. Mag.). From Stephen it appears (s. v. Εὔρωμος and Εὔρωπος) that the Carian Eurôpus was the city more commonly known as Euromus, which lay at some little distance from the coast (Strab. xiv. p. 942), probably not far from Mylasa (Liv. xlv. 25). Colonel Leake thinks the ruins near *Iakli* (figured in Fellows's Asia Minor, p. 261) to be those of this town (Leake's Asia Minor, p. [illegible]). It is clear from ch. 135 ad fin. that Herodotus intends the Carian city.

orders, I am not able to say, for no account has reached me of the matter; but for my own part, I suppose that he sent to inquire concerning the business which he had in hand, and not for any other purpose.

134. Mys, it is certain, went to Lebadeia,[9] and by the payment of a sum of money, induced one of the inhabitants to go down to Trophônius;[1] he likewise visited Abæ of the Phocians,[2] and there consulted the god; while at Thebes, to which place he went first of all, he not only got access to Apollo Ismenius[3] (of whom inquiry is made by means of victims, according to the custom practised also at Olympia[4]); but likewise prevailed on a man who was not a Theban but a foreigner, to pass the night in the temple of Amphiaraüs.[5] No Theban can lawfully consult this oracle,

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[9] Lebadeia retains its name almost unchanged in the modern *Livadhia*, one of the most flourishing towns of Northern Greece. There are a number of inscriptions on the spot containing the ancient name, but very few remains of Hellenic buildings (Leake's Northern Greece, vol. ii. pp. 120-132).

[1] The cave of Trophonius was situated at a little distance from the city (Pausan. IX. xxxix. § 2), probably on the hill to the south (Leake, p. 126). Pausanias has described at length the very complex operation of the descent, drawing from his own experience (l. s. c. § 4-5). His account is confirmed in all important particulars by Philostratus (Vit. Apoll. Tyan. viii. 19). According to Cicero (Tusc. D. i. 47), Trophonius and Agamedes were the original builders of the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

[2] Supra, i. 46, note [8], and viii. 33, note [illegible].

[3] This temple, which has been already mentioned more than once (see i. 52 and v. 59), stood on a hill inside the walls, to the right of the gate called Electra, by which you entered Thebes from the south (Pausan. IX. x. § 2, connected with viii. end.) Beneath this hill to the eastward, and in part from it, flowed the Ismenus, from which the Apollo here worshipped received his name. No remains of the ancient building have yet been found (Leake's N. Greece, vol. ii. p. 222).

[4] Compare Pind. Ol. viii. 2-5. "Οὐλυμπία . . . ἵνα μάντιες ἄνδρες, ἐμπύροις τεκμαιρόμενοι, παραπειρῶνται Διός." And note the existence at Olympia to the time of Pausanias of an altar to Jupiter *Moeragetas* (Pausan. v. xv. § 4). Allusions to the custom as prevailing at the temple of Apollo Ismenius will be found, Soph. Œd. T. 21 (ἐπ' Ἰσμηνοῦ τε μαντείᾳ σποδῷ), and Philoch. Fr. 197.

[5] That this temple was not at Thebes, but near Oropus, has been already proved (supra, i. 46, note [8]). Some remains of the ancient building are thought to have been discovered at *Mavro-Dhilissi*, between *Markópulo* and *Kalamo* (Leake, vol. ii. p. 441).

Prophetic dreams were supposed to visit those who slept in this temple on the fleece of a ram which they had first offered to the god (Pausan. I. xxxiv. ad fin.). Plutarch professes to recount the dream which visited the man employed on this occasion. He thought that he was entering the temple when the priest tried to stop him, pushed him towards the door,

for the following reason: Amphiaraüs by an oracle gave the Thebans their choice, to have him for their prophet or for their helper in war; he bade them elect between the two, and forego either one or the other; so they chose rather to have him for their helper. On this account it is unlawful for a Theban to sleep in his temple.

135. One thing which the Thebans declare to have happened at this time is to me very surprising. Mys, the Europian, they say, after he had gone about to all the oracles, came at last to the sacred precinct of Apollo Ptôüs.[6] The place itself bears the name of Ptôüm; it is in the country of the Thebans, and is situate on the mountain side overlooking Lake Copaïs, only a very little way from the town called Acræphia. Here Mys arrived, and entered the temple, followed by three Theban citizens—picked men whom the state had appointed to take down whatever answer the god might give. No sooner was he entered than the prophet delivered him an oracle, but in a foreign tongue; so that his Theban attendants were astonished, hearing a strange language when they expected Greek, and did not know what to do. Mys, however, the Europian, snatched from their hands the tablet which they had brought with them, and wrote down what the prophet uttered. The reply, he told them, was in the Carian dialect. After this, Mys departed and returned to Thessaly.

136. Mardonius, when he had read the answers given

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and finally, when he would not retire, struck him on the head with a stone (Vit. Aristid. c. 19).

[6] The temple of Apollo Ptoüs stood on the flanks of the mountain (Mount Ptoüm), from which probably it derived its name. Mount Ptoüm was the ridge between the eastern part of Lake Copaïs and the sea (Strab. ix. p. 599; Pausan. ix. xxiii. § 3-4). It had three heights (τρικάρηνον, Pind. ap. Strab. l. s. c.), which seem to be Mounts *Paleá*, *Strutzina*, and *Skimponeri*. The temple of Apollo was probably on Mount *Paleá*, where the monastery of *Paleá* formerly stood (Leake, vol. ii. p. 279). The town of Acræphia, or Acræphium (Theopomp. Fr. 241; Pausan, l. s. c.), occupied a craggy eminence lower down, and nearer Copaïs. It is identified, by means of inscriptions, with the extensive ruins near *Kardhitza* (Gell, p. 143; Leake, ii. p. 302).

by the oracles, sent next an envoy to Athens. This was Alexander, the son of Amyntas, a Macedonian, of whom he made choice for two reasons. Alexander was connected with the Persians by family ties; for Gygæa, who was the daughter of Amyntas, and sister to Alexander himself, was married to Bubares,[7] a Persian, and by him had a son, to wit, Amyntas of Asia; who was named after his mother's father, and enjoyed the revenues of Alabanda, a large city of Phrygia,[8] which had been assigned him by the King. Alexander was likewise (and of this too Mardonius was well aware), both by services which he had rendered, and by formal compact of friendship,[9] connected with Athens. Mardonius therefore thought that, by sending him, he would be most likely to gain over the Athenians to the Persian side. He had heard that they were a numerous and a warlike people, and he knew that the disasters which had befallen the Persians by sea were mainly their work; he therefore expected that, if he could form alliance with them, he would easily get the mastery of the sea (as indeed he would have done, beyond a doubt); while by land he believed that he was already greatly superior: and so he thought by this alliance to make sure of overcoming the Greeks. Perhaps too the oracles leant this way, and counselled him to make Athens his friend:[10] so that it may have been in obedience to them that he sent the embassy.

137. This Alexander was descended in the seventh degree from Perdiccas, who obtained the sovereignty

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[7] Supra, v. 21.

[8] Alabanda is said above (vii. 195) to have belonged to Caria. The limits of the two countries were never very strictly defined. For the site, see note on the above passage.

[9] The compact here spoken of is that of *proxenia*, the nature of which has been already explained (vide supra, vi. 57, note).

[10] It is likely enough that the Theban and Phocian oracles to which Mys obtained access, would have recommended this course—certainly the most judicious that could have been pursued. Having *medized* so determinedly, these two nations were now deeply interested in the success of the Persians. The *religious* machinery brought into play by the Persian party in the Greek nation appears again (infra, ch. 141).

over the Macedonians in the way which I will now relate.[1] Three brothers, descendants of Temenus, fled from Argos to the Illyrians; their names were Gauanes, Aëropus, and Perdiccas. From Illyria they went across to Upper Macedonia, where they came to a certain town called Lebæa.[2] There they hired themselves out to serve the king in different employs; one tended the horses; another looked after the cows; while Perdiccas, who was the youngest, took charge of the smaller cattle. In those early times poverty was not confined to the people: kings themselves were poor, and so here it was the king's wife who cooked the victuals.[3] Now whenever she baked the bread, she always observed that the loaf of the labouring boy Perdiccas swelled to double its natural size. So the queen, finding this never fail, spoke of it to her husband. Directly that it came to his ears, the thought struck him that it was a miracle, and boded something of no small moment. He therefore sent for the three labourers, and told them to begone out of his dominions. They answered, "they had a right to their wages; if he would pay them what was due, they were quite willing to go." Now it happened that the sun was shining down the chimney into the room where they were; and the king, hearing them talk of wages, lost his wits, and said, "There are the wages which you deserve; take that—I give it you!" and pointed, as

[1] This narrative had been promised (supra, v. 22). It possesses little historical interest, since it does not affect the nation; and the Argive descent of the Macedonian kings is open even to question (see note [10], ad loc. s. cit.). There were two incompatible traditions on the subject: one, that followed by Herodotus and Thucydides (ii. 99, 100), made Perdiccas fly from Argos and found the kingdom; the other, which seems to have been current at least as early as Theopompus (Fr. 30), and which is given in Eusebius (Chron. Can. i. ch. 37), Syncellus (pp. 262-3), and other writers, related that the great-grandfather of Perdiccas, Caranus, led an expedition from the Peloponnese into Macedonia, and there established himself. According to this version there were three Temenid kings before Perdiccas—Caranus, Cœnus, and Tyrimmas or Thurimas.

[2] No city of this name is mentioned by any other writer.

[3] Compare Hom. Od. vi. 57, &c.

he spoke, to the sunshine. The two elder brothers, Gauanes and Aëropus, stood aghast at the reply, and did nothing; but the boy, who had a knife in his hand, made a mark with it round the sunshine on the floor of the room, and said, "O king, we accept your payment!" Then he received the light of the sun three times into his bosom, and so went away; and his brothers went with him.

138. When they were gone, one of those who sat by told the king what the youngest of the three had done, and hinted that he must have had some meaning in accepting the wages given. Then the king, when he heard what had happened, was angry, and sent horsemen after the youths to slay them. Now there is a river in Macedonia to which the descendants of these Argives offer sacrifice as their saviour. This stream swelled so much, as soon as the sons of Têmenus were safe across, that the horsemen found it impossible to follow. So the brothers escaped into another part of Macedonia, and took up their abode near the place called "the Gardens of Midas, son of Gordias."[4] In these gardens there are roses which grow of themselves, so sweet that no others can come near them, and with blossoms that have as many as sixty petals apiece. It was here, according to the Macedonians, that Silenus was made a prisoner.[5] Above the gardens stands a mountain called Bermius, which is so cold that none can reach the top. Here the brothers made their abode;[6] and from this place by degrees they conquered all Macedonia.

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[4] This name is connected with the tradition which derived the Phrygians of Asia from the Bryges whom the Macedonians drove out (supra, vii. 73, note [illegible]). The tract known under the name lay probably near Berrhœa (Leake's N. Greece, vol. iii. p. 447).

[5] The tale went, that Midas, one day when he was hunting, caught Silenus, and forced him to answer a number of questions. These, as is natural, are variously reported (see Theopomp. Fr. 76; Aristot. ap. Plut. vol. ii. p. 115, D, E.; Cic. Tusc. i. 48, &c.).

[6] Mount Bermius is undoubtedly the range which shuts in the Macedonian maritime plain upon the west,

139. From the Perdiccas, of whom we have here spoken, Alexander was descended in the following

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extending from the Lydias (*Karasmák*) to the Haliacmon (*Vistrítza*) (cf. Strab. vii. p. 480; and Ptolem. Geograph. iii. 13). Colonel Leake observes of the district between the upper part of this ridge and the marshes which occupy a great portion of the plain, that it is "a beautiful region, protected on all sides by mountains or marshes, at a secure but not inconvenient distance from the sea; gifted with three magnificent positions for cities or fortresses in *Vérria* (Berrhœa), *Niáusta*, and *Vodhená*; blessed with every variety of elevation and aspect, of mountain, wood, fertile plain, running water and lake," and therefore "admirably adapted to be the nursery of the giant monarchy of Macedonia, where its wealth and power might thrive and increase, until the time came for the augmentation of its territory on every side" (N. Greece, iii. p. 446).

It seems true to say that this was the earliest seat of the Macedonian kingdom of the (so-called) Temenidæ. Herodotus properly distinguishes between the "upper Macedonia" bordering upon Illyria, to which the fugitives first came, and the "lower Macedonia" about Mount Bermius. The former was the country of the Lycestian and Eleimiot Macedonians, which lay west of the Temenid kingdom, and was not reduced to subjection by the Temenid kings till later than the time of Perdiccas, the son of Alexander (Thuc. ii. 99, iv. 83, &c.). The latter was the tract described above: its chief towns were Ægæ or Edessa, and Pella—the one (Edessa) situated at the point where the valley of the Lydias opens out upon the plain, the position of the modern *Vodhená* (Leake, iii. p. 272), a most magnificent site (Lear's Journal of a Tour in Albania, &c. p. 38); the other lying in the plain itself, on the borders of the great Lydias lake, near the spot now occupied by *Jannitsa* (Lear, p. 30; Leake, iii. p. 270). Edessa has better claims than even Berrhœa to be considered the original seat of empire, since there was the burial-place of the kings, even in later times, after Pella became the capital (Diod. Sic. xix. 52, xxii. p. 307; Pausan. I. vi. § 3; Plin. H. N. iv. 10, &c.). From the tract in question, which extended north to Mount *Paik*, and east perhaps to the Axius, but which nowhere reached the sea, being separated from it by Bottiæa and Pieria, the Temenid kings proceeded on that career of conquest, the earlier steps of which are related by Thucydides (ii. 99). They first attacked and reduced Pieria and Bottiæa, expelling the inhabitants, who fled eastward (supra, vii. 112, note [6], and 123, note [4], p. 105). Next they made war on the western Pæonians, and took from them the lower valley of the Axius. Beyond this river lay Mygdonia, the greater part of which they proceeded to conquer. After this their arms were turned against the Eordians, a Pæonian tribe (supra, vii. 185, note [7]) occupying the upper valley of the Lydias between Mount Bermius and the parallel range to the west, the district now known as *Sarighiol*. The conquest of Almôpia, which seems to be the country north of Mount *Paik* (Leake, iii. p. 445), followed. Anthemus, a town and district between Mygdonia and Chalcidicé (supra, v. 94), was apparently reduced next. All these conquests preceded the Persian invasion (see Müller, Dorians, i. App. I. § 16-18).

Between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, Crestonæa, Bisaltia, and portions of Upper Macedonia, were reduced. Indeed a sort of hegemony seems at this time to have been established by the Temenid kings over the entire Macedonian nation, though the different tribes retained their kings, and when pressed, as in the case of Arrhibæus (Thuc. iv.), defended their *quasi*-independence in arms. The further growth of Macedonia was after this checked by internal troubles until the time of Philip, son of Amyntas.

ways:—Alexander was the son of Amyntas, Amyntas of Alcetas; the father of Alcetas was Aëropus; of Aëropus, Philip; of Philip, Argæus; of Argæus, Perdiccas, the first sovereign.[1] Such was the descent of Alexander.

140. (§ 1.) When Alexander reached Athens as the ambassador of Mardonius, he spoke as follows:—

"O men of Athens, these be the words of Mardonius. 'The king has sent a message to me, saying, 'All the trespasses which the Athenians have committed against me I freely forgive. Now then, Mardonius, thus shalt thou act towards them. Restore to them their territory; and let them choose for themselves whatever land they like besides, and let them dwell therein as a free people. Build up likewise all their temples which I burned, if on these terms they will consent to enter into a league with me.' Such are the orders which I have received, and which I must needs obey, unless there be a hindrance on your part. And now I say unto you,—why are ye so mad as to levy war against the king, whom ye cannot possibly overcome, or even resist for ever? Ye have seen the multitude and the bravery of the host of Xerxes; ye know also how large a power remains with me in your land; suppose then ye should get the better of us, and defeat this army—a thing whereof ye will not, if ye be wise, entertain the least hope—what follows even then but a contest with a still greater force? Do not, because you would fain match yourselves with the king, consent to lose your country and live in constant

[1] This was the accepted genealogy. It is found complete in Eusebius (Chron. Can. i. ch. xxxvii.); with one (accidental?) omission in Syncellus (p. 262). These writers pretend to give the exact number of years which each king reigned. The result of their calculations is to place the accession of Perdiccas in the latter part of the eighth century B.C. (about B.C. 730). No dependence however can be placed on this date, nor can real Macedonian history be considered to commence any earlier than the reign of Amyntas. Even then the chronology is very uncertain (see Clinton's F. H. vol. ii. App. ch. 4).

danger of your lives. Rather agree to make peace; which ye can now do without any tarnish to your honour, since the king invites you to it. Continue free, and make an alliance with us, without fraud or deceit.'

(§ 2.) "These are the words, O Athenians, which Mardonius has bid me speak to you. For my own part, I will say nothing of the good will I bear your nation, since ye have not now for the first time to become acquainted with it.[8] But I will add my entreaties also, and beseech you to give ear to Mardonius: for I see clearly that it is impossible for you to go on for ever contending against Xerxes. If that had appeared to me possible, I would not now have come hither the bearer of such a message. But the king's power surpasses that of man, and his arm reaches far. If then ye do not hasten to conclude a peace, when such fair terms are offered you, I tremble to think of what you will have to endure—you, who of all the allies lie most directly in the path of danger, whose land will always be the chief battle-ground of the contending powers, and who will therefore constantly have to suffer alone. Hearken then, I pray you, to Mardonius! Surely it is no small matter that the Great King chooses you out from all the rest of the Greeks, to offer you forgiveness of the wrongs you have done him, and to propose himself as your friend and ally!"

141. Such were the words of Alexander. Now the Lacedæmonians, when tidings reached them that Alexander was gone to Athens to bring about a league between the Athenians and the barbarians, and when at the same time they called to mind the prophecies which declared that the Dorian race should one day be driven from the Peloponnese by the Medes and the Athenians,[9] were exceedingly afraid lest the Athenians

[8] Supra, vii. 173.

[9] Mr. Grote remarks that these prophecies must have been recently coined, since "at no other point of time could the expulsion of all the Dorians from Peloponnesus, by united

might consent to the alliance with Persia. They therefore lost no time in sending envoys to Athens, and it so happened that these envoys were given their audience at the same time with Alexander; for the Athenians had waited and made delays, because they felt sure that the Lacedæmonians would hear that an ambassador was come to them from the Persians, and as soon as they heard it would with all speed send an embassy. They contrived matters therefore of set purpose, so that the Lacedæmonians might hear them deliver their sentiments on the occasion.

142. As soon as Alexander had finished speaking, the ambassadors from Sparta took the word and said,—

"We are sent here by the Lacedæmonians to entreat of you that ye will not do a new thing in Greece, nor agree to the terms which are offered you by the Barbarian. Such conduct on the part of any of the Greeks were alike unjust and dishonourable; but in you 'twould be worse than in others, for divers reasons. 'Twas by you that this war was kindled at the first among us—our wishes were in no way considered; the contest began by your seeking to extend your empire[10]—now the fate of Greece is involved in it. Besides, it were surely an intolerable thing that the Athenians, who have always hitherto been known as a nation to which many men owed their freedom, should now be-

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Persians and Athenians, have been even dreamt of" (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 200, note [8]). The facility with which prophecies were forged appears from Book vii. ch. 6.

10 If this reading is sound, we must regard Herodotus as guilty of an anachronism in throwing back to the time of the Ionian insurrection the notion of an Athenian hegemony. This would be carelessness, not ignorance, on his part; for he was well aware at what time the Athenian empire really commenced (supra, ch. 3, ad fin.). A similar incorrectness appears in the next sentence. It could not possibly have been said in the year B.C. 479, that "many men owed their freedom" to the Athenians. Up to this time they had never taken any part in liberating any nation. But Herodotus transfers to the time of the Persian war what might have been said with some truth of the Athenians of his own day. This error lends some countenance to the former; otherwise I should be inclined to adopt the reading of Schæfer, which Bekker and Schweighæuser follow (ἀρχὴν for ἀρχῆς), and translate with Lange:—"The contest was begun in defence of your territory."

come the means of bringing all other Greeks into slavery. We feel, however, for the heavy calamities which press on you—the loss of your harvest these two years,[1] and the ruin in which your homes have lain for so long a time. We offer you, therefore, on the part of the Lacedæmonians and the allies, sustenance for your women and for the unwarlike portion of your households, so long as the war endures. Be ye not seduced by Alexander the Macedonian, who softens down the rough words of Mardonius. He does as is natural for him to do—a tyrant himself, he helps forward a tyrant's cause.[2] But ye, Athenians, should do differently, at least if ye be truly wise; for ye should know that with barbarians there is neither faith nor truth."

143. Thus spake the envoys. After which the Athenians returned this answer to Alexander:—[3]

"We know, as well as thou dost, that the power of the Mede is many times greater than our own: we did not need to have *that* cast in our teeth. Nevertheless we cling so to freedom that we shall offer what resistance we may. Seek not to persuade us into making terms with the barbarian—say what thou wilt, thou wilt never gain our assent. Return rather at once, and tell Mardonius that our answer to him is this:—'So long as the sun keeps his present course, we will never join alliance with Xerxes. Nay, we shall oppose him unceasingly, trusting in the aid of those

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[1] It would seem that the exhortation of Themistocles (supra, ch. 109) after Salamis—"Let each now repair his own house, and *sow his land diligently*"—had been disregarded, or had come too late. The seed-corn had not been got in, and so the harvest of 479 was lost, as well as that of 480 (see Grote, vol. v. p. 202, note [1]).

[2] Alexander was not a tyrant (*τύραννος*) in any proper acceptation of the word. He had not acquired his power unconstitutionally, neither did he exercise it cruelly. He was a king (*βασιλεύς*) as truly as Xerxes or Leonidas; and so other Greek writers name the various monarchs of his house (Thucyd. i. 56; ii. 100; Plut. Cim. c. 14; Xen. Hell. v. ii. § 12, &c.); but the Lacedæmonians are made, with dramatic propriety, to use, in their eagerness to disparage, a term not strictly applicable.

[3] Plutarch makes Aristides the speaker on this occasion, and says he was appointed to deliver the reply by a public decree (Vit. Aristid. c. 10).

gods and heroes whom he has lightly esteemed, whose houses and whose images he has burnt with fire.' And come not thou again to us with words like these; nor, thinking to do us a service, persuade us to unholy actions. Thou art the guest and friend of our nation—we would not that thou shouldst receive hurt at our hands."

144. Such was the answer which the Athenians gave to Alexander. To the Spartan envoys they said,—

"'Twas natural no doubt that the Lacedæmonians should be afraid we might make terms with the barbarian; but nevertheless 'twas a base fear in men who knew so well of what temper and spirit we are. Not all the gold that the whole earth contains—not the fairest and most fertile of all lands—would bribe us to take part with the Medes and help them to enslave our countrymen. Even could we anyhow have brought ourselves to such a thing, there are many very powerful motives which would now make it impossible. The first and chief of these is the burning and destruction of our temples and the images of our gods, which forces us to make no terms with their destroyer, but rather to pursue him with our resentment to the uttermost. Again, there is our common brotherhood with the Greeks: our common language, the altars and the sacrifices of which we all partake, the common character which we bear—did the Athenians betray all these, of a truth it would not be well. Know then now, if ye have not known it before, that while one Athenian remains alive, we will never join alliance with Xerxes. We thank you, however, for your forethought on our behalf, and for your wish to give our families sustenance, now that ruin has fallen on us—the kindness is complete on your part; but for ourselves, we will endure as we may, and not be burdensome to you. Such then is our resolve. Be it your care with all speed to lead out your troops; for if we surmise

aright, the Barbarian will not wait long ere he invade our territory, but will set out so soon as he learns our answer to be, that we will do none of those things which he requires of us. Now then is the time for us, before he enters Attica, to go forth ourselves into Bœotia, and give him battle."

When the Athenians had thus spoken, the ambassadors from Sparta departed, and returned back to their own country.

THE NINTH BOOK

OF THE

HISTORY OF HERODOTUS,

ENTITLED CALLIOPE.

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1. MARDONIUS, when Alexander upon his return made known to him the answer of the Athenians, forthwith broke up from Thessaly,[1] and led his army with all speed against Athens; forcing the several nations through whose land he passed to furnish him with additional troops.[2] The chief men of Thessaly, far from repenting of the part which they had taken in the war hitherto, urged on the Persians to the attack more earnestly than ever. Thorax of Larissa[3] in particular, who had helped to escort Xerxes on his flight to Asia, now openly encouraged Mardonius in his march upon Greece.

2. When the army reached Bœotia, the Thebans sought to induce Mardonius to make a halt: "He would not," they told him, "find anywhere a more convenient place in which to pitch his camp, and their advice to

[1] Mardonius wintered his army in Thessaly *and Macedonia* (supra, viii. 126). The difficulty of procuring supplies, after the exhaustion caused by the presence of the immense host of Xerxes, made it necessary to fall back upon those rich and fertile countries, the chief granaries of Greece. The same cause compelled the wide dispersion of the Persian troops, indicated by their occupation of both regions. Perhaps it was with a view of facilitating the finding of food, that Artabazus was permitted to winter in the neighbourhood of Potidæa and Olynthus (viii. 129). It must be borne in mind that the loss of the battle of Salamis had transferred to the Greeks the command of the sea, and that no supplies could any longer be drawn from Asia Minor, Syria, or Egypt.

[2] Diodorus says that the troops furnished to Mardonius by the Thracians, Macedonians, and other allies, amounted to 200,000 men (xi. 28).

[3] Thorax was the eldest of the Aleuadæ (infra, ch. 58; Pind. Pyth. x. 100), concerning whom vide supra, vii. 6, note [3].

him was, that he should go no further, but fix himself there, and thence take measures to subdue all Greece without striking a blow. If the Greeks, who had held together hitherto, still continued united among themselves, it would be difficult for the whole world to overcome them by force of arms. But if thou wilt do as we advise," they went on to say, "thou mayest easily obtain the direction of all their counsels. Send presents to the men of most weight in the several states, and by so doing thou wilt sow division among them. After that, it will be a light task, with the help of such as side with thee, to bring under all thy adversaries."

3. Such was the advice of the Thebans: but Mardonius did not follow it.[4] A strong desire of taking Athens a second time possessed him, in part arising from his inborn stubbornness, in part from a wish to inform the king at Sardis, by fire-signals along the islands,[5] that he was master of the place. However, he did not, on his arrival in Attica, find the Athenians in their country—they had again withdrawn, some to their ships, but the greater part to Salamis—and he only gained possession of a deserted town. It was ten months after the taking of the city by the king that Mardonius came against it for the second time.[6]

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[4] Later writers said that one Arthmius of Zela (in Cappadocia) was sent by Mardonius into the Peloponnese with a large sum of money, for the purpose of sowing dissension among the Greeks (Plut. Them. c. 6; Dem. Philipp. iii. p. 121, 27; comp. Diod. Sic. xi. 28). Demosthenes quotes a decree against him, which was inscribed (he says) in the Acropolis.

[5] On the general subject of fire-signals, see note [6] on Book vii. ch. 182. It is curious that we do not hear of their having been used by Xerxes himself, who employs *messengers* (viii. 54, 97-9) to convey intelligence of his doings. Mardonius, apparently, must himself have organised the telegraphic communication here spoken of, which, in that case, can scarcely have passed through the Cyclades, since, after Salamis, the Greeks were masters of the sea. I am inclined to believe that the real line of communication passed along the European coast to Athos, and thence by Lemnos to Asia—the line described in a reverse order by Æschylus (Agam. 272-290)—who may have taken his idea from the fact here noted, which would have come in part under his own observation.

[6] According to Plutarch (Camill. c. 19), the battle of Salamis took place on the 20th of the month Boëdromion, corresponding nearly with our September, a date which is

4. Mardonius, being now in Athens, sent an envoy to Salamis, one Murychides, a Hellespontine Greek, to offer the Athenians once more the same terms which had been conveyed to them by Alexander. The reason for his sending a second time, though he knew beforehand their unfriendly feelings towards him, was,—that he hoped, when they saw the whole land of Attica conquered and in his power, their stubbornness would begin to give way. On this account, therefore, he dispatched Murychides to Salamis.

5. Now, when Murychides came before the council, and delivered his message, one of the councillors, named Lycidas, gave it as his opinion —"that the best course would be, to admit the proposals brought by Murychides, and lay them before the assembly of the people." This he stated to be his opinion, perhaps because he had been bribed by Mardonius, or it may be because that course really appeared to him the most expedient. However, the Athenians,—both those in the council, and those who stood without, when they heard of the advice,—were full of wrath, and forthwith surrounded Lycidas, and stoned him to death.[7] As for Murychides, the Hellespontine Greek, him they sent away unharmed. Now there was a stir in the island about Lycidas, and the Athenian women learnt what had happened. Then each exhorted her fellow, and one brought another to take part in the deed; and they all flocked of their own

borne out by the synchronism apparently intended by our author (viii. 65) between the time of the engagement and that of the Eleusinian mysteries. If this be allowed, the taking of Athens by Xerxes cannot have been earlier than August; which would make the second taking by Mardonius fall in the following June. This seems late in the year; but it accords with the time indicated, infra, ch. 7, and also with the traditional date for the battle of Platæa, the 4th of Boedromion (Plut. Aristid. c. 19). To explain the inaction of Mardonius through the spring, it seems necessary to suppose a certain amount of truth in the statement of Diodorus and others, as to his wasting time in efforts to win over some of the Grecian states by money (supra, ch. 3, note [4]).

[7] Demosthenes (de Cor. p. 296) tells a similar story of one Cyrsilus, who was stoned, he says, the year before, for advising submission on the approach of Xerxes. He is followed by Cicero (De Off. iii. 11). I do not see why both stories may not be true.

accord to the house of Lycidas, and stoned to death his wife and his children.

6. The circumstances under which the Athenians had sought refuge in Salamis were the following. So long as any hope remained that a Peloponnesian army would come to give them aid, they abode still in Attica; but when it appeared that the allies were slack and slow to move, while the invader was reported to be pressing forward and to have already entered Bœotia, then they proceeded to remove their goods and chattels from the mainland, and themselves again crossed the strait to Salamis. At the same time they sent ambassadors to Lacedæmon,[8] who were to reproach the Lacedæmonians for having allowed the Barbarian to advance into Attica, instead of joining them and going out to meet him in Bœotia. They were likewise to remind the Lacedæmonians of the offers by which the Persian had sought to win Athens over to his side,[9] and to warn them, that if no aid came from Sparta, the Athenians must consult for their own safety.

7. The truth was, the Lacedæmonians were keeping holiday at that time; for it was the feast of the Hyacinthia,[1] and they thought nothing of so much moment as to perform the service of the god.[2] They were also

[8] According to Plutarch, Aristides recommended this course, and the ambassadors sent were Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides (Vit. Aristid. c. 10).

[9] Supra, viii. 140, § 1.

[1] The feast of the Hyacinthia was held annually at Amyclæ, on the longest day of the Spartan month Hecatombeus, corresponding to our June and July. It was manifestly a part of the ancient elemental religion of the Achæans, which had been adopted to some extent by the Dorians at the time of the conquest. Hyacinthus, the beautiful youth slain accidentally by Apollo, was the chief object of the worship. He took his name from the flower, which was an emblem of death; and the original feast seems to have been altogether a mournful ceremony,—a lamentation over the destruction of the flowers of spring by the summer heat, passing on to a more general lament over death itself. The Amyclæans at all times made a point of attending the feast (Xen. Hell. IV. v. § 11), and the Spartans themselves are known occasionally to have returned home from a foreign expedition with the same object. (Pausan. IV. xix. § 3.) For the details of the celebration, see the excellent article in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, sub voc. HYACINTHIA.

[2] See on this point, note [7] on Book vi. ch. 106.

engaged in building their wall across the Isthmus, which was now so far advanced that the battlements had begun to be placed upon it.

When the envoys of the Athenians, accompanied by ambassadors from Megara and Platæa,[3] reached Lacedæmon, they came before the Ephors, and spoke as follows:—

"The Athenians have sent us to you to say,—the King of the Medes offers to give us back our country, and wishes to conclude an alliance with us on fair and equal terms, without fraud or deceit. He is willing likewise to bestow on us another country besides our own, and bids us choose any land that we like. But we, because we reverenced Hellenic Jupiter, and thought it a shameful act to betray Greece, instead of consenting to these terms, refused them; notwithstanding that we have been wronged and deserted by the other Greeks, and are fully aware that it is far more for our advantage to make peace with the Persian, than to prolong the war with him. Still we shall not, of our own free will, consent to any terms of peace. Thus do we, in all our dealings with the Greeks, avoid what is base and counterfeit: while contrariwise, ye, who but now were so full of fear lest we should make terms with the enemy,[4] having learnt of what temper we are, and assured yourselves that we shall not prove traitors to our country,—having brought moreover your wall across the Isthmus to an advanced state—cease altogether to have any care for us. Ye covenanted with us to go out and meet the Persian in Bœotia; but when the time came, ye were false to your word, and looked on while the barbarian host advanced into Attica. At this time therefore the Athenians are angered with you; and justly,—for ye

[3] Megara and Platæa, as extra-Peloponnesian states, were equally interested with Athens in having the advance of Mardonius checked. Megara was especially concerned, for Platæa had been plundered and burnt (supra, viii. 50), whereas Megara had hitherto escaped ravage (infra, ch. 14).

[4] Supra, viii. 142.

have not done what was right. They bid you, however, make haste to send forth your army, that we may even yet meet Mardonius in Attica. Now that Bœotia is lost to us, the best place for the fight within our country, will be the plain of Thria."[5]

8. The Ephors, when they had heard this speech, delayed their answer till the morrow; and when the morrow came, till the day following. And thus they acted for ten days, continually putting off the ambassadors from one day to the next. Meanwhile the Peloponnesians generally were labouring with great zeal at the wall, and the work nearly approached completion. I can give no other reason for the conduct of the Lacedæmonians in showing themselves so anxious, at the time when Alexander came, that the Athenians should not join the Medes, and now being quite careless about it, except that at that former time the wall across the Isthmus was not complete, and they worked at it in great fear of the Persians, whereas now the bulwark had been raised, and so they imagined that they had no further need of the Athenians.

9. At last the ambassadors got an answer, and the troops marched forth from Sparta, under the following circumstances. The last audience had been fixed for the ambassadors, when, the very day before it was to be given, a certain Tegean, named Chileüs, a man who had more influence at Sparta than any other foreigner, learning from the Ephors exactly what the Athenians had said, addressed these words to them—"The case stands thus, O ye Ephors! If the Athenians are not our friends, but league themselves with the barbarians, however strong our wall across the Isthmus may be, there will be doors enough, and wide enough open too, by which the Persian may gain entrance to the Pelo-

[5] Supra, viii. 65, note [6]. The number of the Persians being now so much reduced, the Greeks are willing to meet them in the plains.

ponnese.[6] Grant their request then, before they make any fresh resolve, which may bring Greece to ruin."

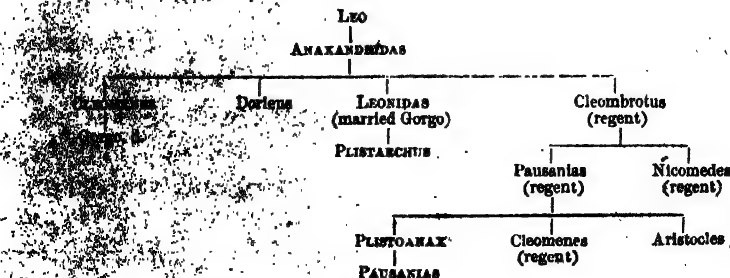
10. Such was the counsel which Chileüs gave: and the Ephors, taking the advice into consideration, determined forthwith, without speaking a word to the ambassadors from the three cities, to dispatch to the Isthmus a body of five thousand Spartans; and accordingly they sent them forth the same night, appointing to each Spartan a retinue of seven helots,[7] and giving the command of the expedition to Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus. The chief power belonged of rights at this time to Plistarchus, the son of Leonidas;[8] but as he was still

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[6] That is, "the naval power of Athens would lay the whole coast of the Peloponnese open to the Persians. This can scarcely have been a new thought to the Ephors. Probably what moved them was the being reminded that they must not count too entirely on the self-devotion of the Athenians.

[7] Müller—though in one place (Dorians, vol. ii. p. 45, note *, E. T.) he assumes this proportion of Helots to Spartans as the basis of a calculation, whereby he would imply that it was usual—in another (ib. p. 259) maintains that this was the only time when the number attending on each Spartan was so great. Of this, however, he brings no proof—and the truth seems to be that there are no data for determining the question. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, it is most reasonable to suppose the proportion to have been the established one (vide supra, vii. 229; viii. 25).

[8] Plistarchus could not have been more than seven or eight at this time. His mother Gorgo, who was only eight years old in the year B.C. 500 (supra, v. 51), is not likely to have married till she was twenty; for the Spartan law forbade early marriages (Müller's Dorians, vol. ii. p. 300). Plistarchus therefore could not well have been born before B.C. 487. He died, according to Diodorus, in B.C. 458 (xiii. 75), having been full king for a very short time (Pausan. III. v. § 1). The family tree of the Agidæ, during the period embraced by the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides, may be thus exhibited:—



Anaxandridas succeeded Leo about B.C. 560, and reigned probably forty years. Cleomenes succeeded him in B.C. 520 or 519. He died B.C. 491.

a child, Pausanias, his cousin, was regent in his room. For the father of Pausanias, Cleombrotus, the son of Anaxandridas, no longer lived; he had died a short time after bringing back from the Isthmus the troops who had been employed in building the wall.[2] A prodigy had caused him to bring his army home; for while he was offering sacrifice to know if he should march out against the Persian, the sun was suddenly darkened in mid sky. Pausanias took with him, as joint-leader of the army, Euryanax, the son of Dorieus, a member of his own family.[1]

11. The army accordingly had marched out from Sparta with Pausanias: while the ambassadors, when day came, appeared before the Ephors, knowing nothing of the march of the troops, and purposing

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Dorieus being already dead, Leonidas mounted the throne, and reigned eleven years, till B.C. 480. On the accession of his son Plistarchus in that year, Cleombrotus, uncle to Plistarchus, became regent, but dying the same year, was succeeded in his office by Pausanias, his son, who, though cousin to Plistarchus, was considerably older, since Leonidas had married late in life. Pausanias, though often called king (infra, ch. 76; Arist. Pol. vii. 13; Demosth. c. Neær. p. 1378; Schol. Arist. Eq. 84, &c.), was never more than regent. He held the office until his death, which was probably in B.C. 467. Whether Nicomedes, his brother, now became regent, or whether Plistarchus assumed his full rights, is uncertain. All that we know is, that the latter did not enjoy his sovereignty long, but died, as stated above, B.C. 458, and left no issue. The crown devolved on Plistoanax, the eldest son of Pausanias, who was a minor; and Nicomedes now certainly became regent (Thucyd. i. 107; Diod. Sic. xi. 79). In the year B.C. 445, this regency had come to an end, and Plistoanax was full king (Thucyd. i. 114). Shortly afterwards Plistoanax was exiled, and remained in banishment nineteen years (ib. v. 16). Pausanias, his son, was during this period regarded as king, while Cleomenes, his brother, was regent (ib. iii. 26). Plistoanax, upon his recall from exile (about B.C. 426), appears to have resumed the kingly office, which he retained to his death in B.C. 408. Pausanias then became actual king, but fourteen years afterwards was accused and went into exile, where he died, B.C. 394 (Xen. Hell. III. v. § 7-25).

[2] Thirlwall (Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 330) regards the return of Cleombrotus, and his death, as having happened while the envoys were detained; but Mr. Blakesley (note ad loc.) is probably right in supposing Herodotus to speak of what had happened in the preceding autumn.

[1] I cannot suppose, with Mr. Clinton (F. H. vol. [illegible] 255) and Mr. Blakesley (note * on book ix.) that the Dorieus here mentioned is Dorieus the elder brother of Leonidas and Cleombrotus. Had that Dorieus left a son behind him at Sparta, he would undoubtedly have succeeded to the throne on the death of Cleomenes. And the words of Herodotus imply a more distant relative.

themselves to leave Sparta forthwith, and return each man to his own country. They therefore addressed the Ephors in these words:—"Lacedæmonians, as you do not stir from home, but keep the Hyacinthian festival, and amuse yourselves, deserting the cause of your confederates, the Athenians, whom your behaviour wrongs, and who have no other allies, will make such terms with the Persians as they shall find possible. Now when terms are once made, it is plain that, having become the King's allies, we shall march with the barbarians whithersoever they choose to lead. Then at length you will perceive what the consequences will be to yourselves." When the envoys had spoken, the Ephors declared to them with an oath:—"Our troops must be at Orestêum[2] by this time, on their march against the strangers." (The Spartans say "strangers" for "barbarians.") At this the ambassadors, quite ignorant of what had happened, questioned them concerning their meaning; and when, by much questioning, they had discovered the truth, they were greatly astonished thereat, and forthwith set off, at their best speed, to overtake the Spartan army. At the same time a body of five thousand Lacedæmonian Periœci,[3]

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[2] Orestêum, or Orestasium, was a small town in the district of Arcadia called Mænalia (Thucyd. v. 64; Pausan. VIII. xxvii. § 3). It did not lie on the direct route from Sparta to the Isthmus, but a little to the left, on the road from Lycosura to Tegea. The direct road to the Isthmus passed through Tegea. It is not easy to understand why the divergence was made on this occasion, unless it were to receive the contingent of the Lepreatæ.

Col. Leake believes Orestêum to have occupied the summit of Mount Tsimbarú on the eastern side of the great plain of Megalopolis (Morea, vol. ii. p. [illegible]). Various accounts are given of the origin of the term (Pausan. VIII. iii. § 1; Eurip. Orest. 1645; Pherecyd. Fr. 97; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Ὀρέσται); but I find no mention of the "temple of Orestes" which Bähr (ad loc.) supposes to have given name to the place. The temple which did exist at the place was one of Artemis (Pausan. VIII. xliv. § 2; Pherecyd. l. s. c.).

[3] Supra, vi. 58, note [8], and comp. App. to Book v. Essay i. p. 343. The entire force which Sparta furnished on this occasion amounted, according to our author, to 50,000 men. Of these, 5000 were actual Spartans, an unexampled number. As the entire body of adult citizens certainly did not exceed, and probably fell short of 8000 (supra, vii. 234), the levy may

all picked men and fully armed, set forth from Sparta, in the company of the ambassadors.

12. So these troops marched in haste towards the Isthmus. Meanwhile the Argives, who had promised Mardonius that they would stop the Spartans from crossing their borders, as soon as they learnt that Pausanias with his army had started from Sparta, took the swiftest courier they could find, and sent him off to Attica. The message which he delivered, on his arrival at Athens, was the following: "Mardonius," he said, "the Argives have sent me to tell thee, that the Lacedæmonian youth are gone forth from the city, and that the Argives are too weak to hinder them. Take good heed therefore to thyself at this time." After this, without a word more, he returned home.

13. When Mardonius learnt that the Spartans were on their march, he no longer cared to remain in Attica. Hitherto he had kept quiet, wishing to see what the Athenians would do, and had neither ravaged their territory, nor done it any the least harm; for till now he had cherished the hope, that the Athenians would come to terms with him. As however he found that his persuasions were of no avail, and as their whole policy was now clear to him, he determined to withdraw from Attica before Pausanias with his army reached the Isthmus; first, however, he resolved to burn Athens, and to cast down and level with the ground whatever remained standing of the walls, temples, and other buildings.[4] His reason for retreating was, that Attica

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be regarded as an instance of the proportion of two-thirds of the whole effective strength, which we know to have been required of the subject allies in some cases (Thucyd. ii. 10). To these were added 5000 Lacedæmonians, each with a single attendant helot (infra, ch. 29), and 35,000 helots in attendance upon the 5000 Spartans. Sparta never made an effort at all comparable to this attack before or afterwards.

[4] Col. Leake remarks that this statement seems to be beyond the truth. "Experience," he observes, "shows that an invader in the temporary possession of an enemy's capital, seldom has the power and leisure for destruction equal to his will; and that the total annihilation

was not a country where horse could act with advantage; and further, that if he suffered defeat in a battle, no way of escape was open to him, except through defiles, where a handful of troops might stop all his army. So he determined to withdraw to Thebes, and give the Greeks battle in the neighbourhood of a friendly city, and on ground well suited for cavalry.

14. After he had quitted Attica and was already upon his march, news reached him that a body of a thousand Lacedæmonians, distinct from the army of Pausanias, and sent on in advance,[6] had arrived in the Megarid. When he heard it, wishing, if possible, to destroy this detachment first, Mardonius considered with himself how he might compass their ruin. With a sudden change of march he made for Megara, while the horse, pushing on in advance, entered and ravaged the Megarid. (Here was the furthest point in Europe towards the setting sun to which this Persian army ever penetrated.)

15. After this, Mardonius received another message, whereby he learnt that the forces of the Greeks were collected together at the Isthmus; which tidings caused him to draw back, and leave Attica by the way of

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of massy buildings constructed of stone, is a work of great difficulty" (Athens, p. 12). And the mention of certain "ancient" temples in the description of Pausanias (I. xviii. § 1; xx. § 2), which are distinguished from those built after the Persian war, confirms this view. Thucydides too informs us that even some of the houses remained standing (i. 89).

[5] Three roads only connected Attica with Bœotia. One was the direct route from Athens to Thebes, which ran by Phyle, over Mount Parnes. Another, west of this, connected Athens with Platæa, passing over Cithæron by way of Eleutheræ. Both these are rugged mountain passes, presenting great difficulties to the march of an army (Gell's Greece, p. 52, and pp. 108-9). The third, which Mardonius now followed, led from Athens into the Tanagræa by the fortress of Deceleia, crossing the low ridge which joins Parnes to Pentelicus. This is comparatively an easy route (Gell, pp. 66-7). The strength of the boundary line between Attica and Bœotia is noticed by Xenophon, who had a good military eye (Mem. III. v. § 25).

[6] I have here followed not Gaisford's text, but the conjecture of Schweighauser (προδρομον for πρόδρομος), which is approved by Scott and Liddell (ad voc.), by Bekker, and by Mr. Blakesley.

Deceleia.[7] The Bœotarchs[8] had sent for some of the neighbours of the Asopians;[9] and these persons served as guides to the army, and led them first to Sphendalé,[1] and from thence to Tanagra,[2] where Mardonius rested a night; after which, upon the morrow, he bent his course to Scôlus,[3] which brought him into the territory of the Thebans. And now, although the Thebans had espoused the cause of the Medes, yet Mardonius cut down all the trees in these parts; not however from any enmity towards the Thebans, but on account of his own urgent needs; for he wanted a rampart to protect his army from attack, and he likewise desired to have a place of refuge, whither his troops might flee, in case the battle should go contrary to his wishes. His army at this time lay on the Asôpus, and stretched from Erythræ, along by Hysiæ,[4] to the territory of

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[7] There can be little doubt that Deceleia was at or near the modern *Tatoy*, which is on the direct route from Athens to Oropus, at about the distance from Athens mentioned by Thucydides (vii. 19), and "where there is a peaked height which is a conspicuous object from the Acropolis." (Leake's Demi, p. 18. Compare Thucyd. ἐπιφανὲς μέχρι τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλεως.)

[8] On the Bœotarchs, or chief magistrates of the Bœotians, see Herman's Pol. Antiq. of Greece, § 179.

[9] The Asopians are the inhabitants of the rich valley of the Asopus, which lay immediately beyond the Attic frontier, running parallel with the chains of Cithæron and Parnes.

[1] The site of Sphendalé has to be determined from this passage, on which no light is thrown by the only other notices of the place that occur, those namely in Stephen and Hesychius. Col. Leake's grounds for placing it at *Malakása*, though not establishing the point, make it highly probable (Demi of Attica, pp. 123-4).

[2] Tanagra was situated on the left or northern bank of the Asopus, near its junction with a small stream which descends from the flanks of Mount *Soro*. The site is sufficiently identified by the remains of ancient buildings at a place now called *Grimádha*, and by an inscription in a neighbouring church (Leake's Northern Greece, vol. ii. pp. 455-7). Tanagra, according to some, was the place called Græa by Homer (Il. ii. 498. See Pausan. IX. XX. § 2; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Τάναγρα; Strab. ix. p. 586). The modern name may perhaps contain a trace of this early appellation.

[3] Scôlus became a place of some importance in the wars between Sparta and Thebes (Xen. Hell. v. iv. § 49; Ages. ii. § 22). It lay on the south bank of the Asopus, under Mount Cithæron, at a point about five miles to the right of the direct route from Platæa to Thebes (see Pausan. IX. iv. § 2; Strab. ix. p. 593). Col. Leake found in this position, "on a little rocky table-height overlooking the river, the remains of an ancient Hellenic fortress, which he is inclined to identify with the ancient Scolus." (N. Greece, vol. ii, p. 330 and p. 369.)

[4] These two places lay very near each other, and are generally men-

the Platæans. The wall however was not made to extend so far, but formed a square of about ten furlongs each way.

While the barbarians were employed in this work, a certain citizen of Thebes, Attagînus by name, the son of Phrynon, having made great preparations, gave a banquet, and invited Mardonius thereto, together with fifty of the noblest Persians. Now the banquet was held at Thebes, and all the guests who were invited came to it.

16. What follows was recounted to me by Thersander, a native of Orchomenus,[5] a man of the first rank in that city. Thersander told me, that he was himself among those invited to the feast, and that besides the Persians fifty Thebans were asked;[6] and the two nations were not arranged separately, but a Persian and a Theban were set side by side upon each couch. After the feast was ended, and the drinking had begun, the Persian who shared Thersander's couch addressed him in the Greek tongue, and inquired of him, from what city he came. He answered, that he was of Orchomenus; whereupon the other said—

"Since thou hast eaten with me at one table, and poured libation from one cup, I would fain leave with thee a memorial of the belief I hold—the rather that thou mayest have timely warning thyself, and so be able to provide for thy own safety. Seest thou these

noted together (Thucyd. iii. 24; Strab. ix. p. 587; Pausan. IX. ii. § 1). They were both on the south or Platæan side of the Asopus, near the base of Mount Cithæron. Hysiæ, as is plain from this passage among others, was the more western of the two, lying between Platæa and Erythræ. Col. Leake found some tolerably extensive remains between *Kriakúki* and *[illegible]*, which seemed entitled to be considered the ruins of Hysiæ, and some slight traces beyond the latter place, near *Katsúla*, which might be those of Erythræ (N. Greece, vol. ii. pp. 327-9).

[5] Vide supra, viii. 34.

[6] By Thebans we must understand here Bœotians, since Thersander was one of the fifty. There scarcely seem to be sufficient grounds for stating that the connexion between Thebes and Orchomenus was at this time especially intimate (see Grote, vol. v. p. 213, note [3]; and compare Herod. v. 79, where the Orchomenians are not mentioned among the intimate allies of Thebes).

Persians here feasting, and the army which we left encamped yonder by the river-side? Yet a little while, and of all this number thou wilt behold but a few surviving!"

As he spake, the Persian let fall a flood of tears: whereon Thersander, who was astonished at his words, replied—"Surely thou shouldest say all this to Mardonius, and the Persians who are next him in honour"—but the other rejoined—"Dear friend, it is not possible for man to avert that which God has decreed shall happen. No one believes warnings, however true. Many of us Persians know our danger, but we are constrained by necessity to do as our leader bids us. Verily 'tis the sorest of all human ills, to abound in knowledge and yet have no power over action." All this I heard myself from Thersander the Orchomenian; who told me further, that he mentioned what had happened to divers persons, before the battle was fought at Platæa.

17. When Mardonius formerly held his camp in Bœotia, all the Greeks of those parts who were friendly to the Medes sent troops to join his army, and these troops accompanied him in his attack upon Athens. The Phocians alone abstained, and took no part in the invasion; for, though they had espoused the Median cause warmly, it was very much against their will, and only because they were compelled so to do.[7] However, a few days after the arrival of the Persian army at Thebes, a thousand of their heavy-armed soldiers came up,[8] under the command of Harmocydes, one of their most distinguished citizens. No sooner had these troops reached Thebes, than some horsemen came to them from Mardonius, with orders that they should take up a position upon the plain, away from the rest of the army.

[7] Supra, viii. 30-3.

[8] This seems to have been the full effective strength of Phocis; for at Thermopylæ, when their country was especially in danger, they could muster no greater force (supra, vii. 203).

The Phocians did so, and forthwith the entire Persian cavalry drew nigh to them: whereupon there went a rumour through the whole of the Greek force encamped with the Medes,[9] that Mardonius was about to destroy the Phocians with missiles. The same conviction ran through the Phocian troops themselves; and Harmocÿdes, their leader, addressed them thus with words of encouragement—"Phocians," said he, "'tis plain that these men have resolved beforehand to take our lives, because of the accusations of the Thessalians, as I imagine. Now, then, is the time for you all to show yourselves brave men. 'Tis better to die fighting and defending our lives, than tamely to allow them to slay us in this shameful fashion. Let them learn that they are barbarians, and that the men whose death they have plotted, are Greeks!"

18. Thus spake Harmocÿdes; and the Persian horse, having encircled the Phocians, charged towards them, as if about to deal out death, with bows bent, and arrows ready to be let fly; nay, here and there some did even discharge their weapons. But the Phocians stood firm, keeping close one to another, and serrying their ranks as much as possible: whereupon the horse suddenly wheeled round, and rode off. I cannot say with certainty whether they came, at the prayer of the Thessalians, to destroy the Phocians, but seeing them prepared to stand on their defence, and fearing to suffer damage at their hands, on that account beat a retreat, having orders from Mardonius so to act; or whether his sole intent was to try the temper of the Phocians and see whether they had any courage or no. However this may have been, when the horsemen retired, Mardonius sent a herald to the Phocians, saying—"Fear not, Phocians—ye have shown yourselves valiant men—much unlike the report I had heard of you. Now therefore

[9] On the subject of the φήμη, or supernatural rumour of the Greeks, see Mr. Grote's excellent note (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. pp. 260-2).

be forward in the coming war. Ye will not readily outdo either the King or myself in services." Thus ended the affair of the Phocians.

19. The Lacedæmonians, when they reached the Isthmus, pitched their camp there; and the other Peloponnesians who had embraced the good side, hearing or else seeing that they were upon the march, thought it not right to remain behind when the Spartans were going forth to the war. So the Peloponnesians went out in one body from the Isthmus, the victims being favourable for setting forth; and marched as far as Eleusis, where again they offered sacrifices, and finding the omens still encouraging, advanced further. At Eleusis they were joined by the Athenians,[10] who had come across from Salamis, and now accompanied the main army. On reaching Erythræ[1] in Bœotia, they learnt that the barbarians were encamped upon the Asôpus, wherefore they themselves, after considering how they should act, disposed their forces opposite to the enemy upon the slopes of Mount Cithæron.

20. Mardonius, when he saw that the Greeks would not come down into the plain, sent all his cavalry, under Masistius (or Macistius,[2] as the Greeks call him), to attack them where they were. Now Masistius was a

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[10] This is enough to disprove the story told by Diodorus (xi. 29) of the oath taken by all the confederates before leaving the Isthmus. The oath itself, as recorded both by this historian, and, with trifling variations, by the orator Lycurgus (adv. Leocr. p. 389, ed. Baiter), is such as only the Athenians could have framed, and they were never at the Isthmus. Lycurgus, indeed, who represents the oath as taken at Platæa, avoids this error. But the whole story seems to have been a pure fiction, as Theopompus remarked (Fr. 167). The terms of the pretended vow were never observed; for though some temples, in Attica and elsewhere (Pausan. I. i. § 4; x. xxxiv. § 2), which the Persians had burnt, were not rebuilt, yet the great majority seem to have been restored immediately that the war was over (vide supra, viii. 55 and see Leake's Athens, p. 12, and p. 575).

[1] Supra, ch. 15. The Greeks had marched by the route which led through Œnoë and Eleutheræ to Platæa, over Mount Cithæron (Diod. Sic. l. s. c.)

[2] The Greeks modified his name to make it significative of his great height (infra, ch. 25). They intended to express that he was the tallest (μήκιστος, Doric μάκιστος) of the Persians.

man of much repute among the Persians, and rode a Nisæan charger, with a golden bit,[3] and otherwise magnificently caparisoned. So the horse advanced against the Greeks, and made attacks upon them in divisions, doing them great damage at each charge, and insulting them by calling them women.

21. It chanced that the Megarians were drawn up in the position most open to attack, and where the ground offered the best approach to the cavalry. Finding themselves therefore hard pressed by the assaults upon their ranks, they sent a herald to the Greek leaders, who came and said to them, "This is the message of the Megarians—We cannot, brothers-in-arms, continue to resist the Persian horse in that post which we have occupied from the first, if we are left without succours. Hitherto, although hard pressed, we have held out against them firmly and courageously. Now, however, if you do not send others to take our place, we warn you that we shall quit our post." Such were the words of the herald. Pausanias, when he heard them, inquired among his troops if there were any who would volunteer to take the post and so relieve the Megarians. Of the rest none were willing to go, whereupon the Athenians offered themselves; and a body of picked men, three hundred in number, commanded by Olympiodôrus, the son of Lampo, undertook the service.

22. Selecting, to accompany them, the whole body of archers, these men relieved the Megarians,[4] and occu-

[3] On the abundant use of gold by the Persians, vide supra, vii. 83, 190, and infra, ch. 80. With regard to the Nisæan horses, cf. vii. 40, note [6].

[4] Thirlwall (Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. ch. xvi. p. 335) supposes that the Athenians merely "*covered* the Megarians," instead of taking their place; but Herodotus seems to mean more than this. If it be asked, how should 300 Athenians suffice to replace 3000 Megarians, the answer is that the 300 Athenians hoplites were accompanied by perhaps 3000 archers. The Athenians saw that the service was one for light-armed troops, and so sent *all* their bowmen (*τοὺς τοξότας*), with just sufficient hoplites to serve them as a nucleus, and protection.

pied a post which all the other Greeks collected at Erythræ had shrunk from holding. After the struggle had continued for a while, it came to an end on this wise. As the barbarians continued charging in divisions, the horse of Masistius, which was in front of the others, received an arrow in his flank, the pain of which caused him to rear and throw his rider. Immediately the Athenians rushed upon Masistius as he lay, caught his horse, and when he himself made resistance, slew him. At first, however, they were not able to take his life; for his armour hindered them. He had on a breastplate formed of golden scales,[5] with a scarlet tunic covering it. Thus the blows all falling upon his breastplate took no effect,[6] till one of the soldiers, perceiving the reason, drove his weapon into his eye and so slew him. All this took place without any of the other horsemen seeing it: they had neither observed their leader fall from his horse, nor beheld him slain; for he fell as they wheeled round and prepared for another charge, so that they were quite ignorant of what had happened. When, however, they halted, and found that there was no one to marshal their line, Masistius was missed; and instantly his soldiers, understanding what must have befallen him, with loud cheers charged the enemy in one mass, hoping to recover the dead body.

23. So when the Athenians saw, that instead of coming up in squadrons, the whole mass of the horse was about to charge them at once, they called out to the other troops to make haste to their aid. While the rest of the infantry, however, was moving to their assistance, the contest waxed fierce about the dead body of Masistius. The three hundred, so long as they fought

[5] Vide supra, vii. 6, and viii. 113. Pausanias tells us, that the breastplate of Masistius was preserved to his day in the temple of Minerva Polias at Athens, together with a scymitar said to be that of Mardonius (I. xxvii. § 1).

[6] Plutarch, with his usual exaggeration, clothes Masistius in impenetrable armour from head to foot (Vit. Aristid. c. 14).

by themselves, had greatly the worse of the encounter, and were forced to retire and yield up the body to the enemy; but when the other troops approached, the Persian horse could no longer hold their ground, but fled without carrying off the body, having incurred in the attempt a further loss of several of their number. They therefore retired about two furlongs, and consulted with each other what was best to be done. Being without a leader, it seemed to them the fittest course to return to Mardonius.

24. When the horse reached the camp, Mardonius and all the Persian army made great lamentation for Masistius. They shaved off all the hair from their own heads, and cut the manes from their war-horses and their sumpter-beasts, while they vented their grief in such loud cries that all Bœotia resounded with the clamour,[7] because they had lost the man who, next to Mardonius, was held in the greatest esteem, both by the King and by the Persians generally. So the barbarians, after their own fashion, paid honours to the dead Masistius.

25. The Greeks, on the other hand, were greatly emboldened by what had happened, seeing that they had not only stood their ground against the attacks of the horse, but had even compelled them to beat a retreat. They therefore placed the dead body of Masistius upon a cart, and paraded it along the ranks of the army.

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[7] Such free indulgence of grief is characteristic of the Oriental temper, and goes far (as Mr. Grote observes, vol. v. p. 221) to justify Æschylus in the representations which have been so much criticised in the Persæ. Herodotus often notes this trait of character (vide supra, iii. 66; viii. 99; and in a lesser degree, iii. 64, and vii. 45).

The mode of mourning, by shaving the head, was common to many nations. Probably the earliest instance on record is that of Job (i. 20). It was universal through Greece (supra, ii. 36), and extended to the Thessalians and Macedonians (Plut. Vit. Pelop. c. 34). Q. Curtius notices it as a Persian custom (x. v. § 17). The cutting off the manes of horses was more rarely practised; but the Thessalians are said to have observed the rite in their mourning for Pelopidas, and the Macedonians at the death of Hephæstion (Plutarch, l. s. c.). Euripides makes it a practice of the Greeks in very early times (Alcest. 429).

Now the body was a sight well deserving to be gazed upon, being remarkable both for stature and for beauty; and it was to stop the soldiers from leaving their ranks to look at it, that they resolved to carry it round. After this the Greeks determined to quit the high ground and go nearer Platæa, as the land there seemed far more suitable for an encampment than the country about Erythræ, particularly because it was better supplied with water. To this place therefore, and more especially to a spring-head which was called Gargaphia,[8] they considered that it would be best for them to remove, after which they might once more encamp in their order. So they took their arms, and proceeded along the slopes of Cithæron, past Hysiæ, to the territory of the Platæans; and here they drew themselves up, nation by nation, close by the fountain Gargaphia, and the sacred precinct of the Hero Androcrates,[9] partly along some hillocks of no great height, and partly upon the level of the plain.[10]

26. Here, in the marshalling of the nations, a fierce battle of words arose between the Athenians and the

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[8] Col. Leake thought that he recognised the fountain Gargaphia in a source which feeds a small tributary of the Asopus, lying about half-way between *Kriakuki* and *Platani* (N. Greece, vol. ii. p. 332). Former travellers had endeavoured to identify it with the spring called *Vergentiani*, which lies between *Kriakuki* and Platæa, and feeds a tributary of the Oëroë (Walpole's Turkey, p. 338; Clarke's Travels, vol. iv. p. 83). Of the two positions, Col. Leake's is certainly preferable; but I agree with Mr. Grote (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 222, note), in thinking that we ought scarcely to expect such a feature to be recognisable at this distance of time.

[9] Thucydides (iii. 24) mentions the Heroum of Androcrates as situated on the right of the road leading northward from Platæa to Thebes, and as lying within a mile of the former city. Plutarch (Vit. Aristid. c. 11) shows it to have been near Argiopius) and to have lain just at the foot of the hills. It must therefore have occupied nearly the site which Col. Leake (p. 343) assigns it, and not as Mr. Grote supposes (l. s. c.) a position in the plain near the Asopus.

I cannot at all agree with Mr. Grote that the fountain Gargaphia and the sacred precinct of Androcrates mark respectively the two extremities of the Grecian army. A comparison of Plutarch (l. s. c.) and Pausanias (IX. iv. § 2) with our author will show, that Gargaphia, Argiopius, and the precinct of Androcrates, were all very near one another, and lay on the skirts of Cithæron, near the extreme right of the Greek line.

[10] The subjoined plan of the ground will throw light on the various changes of position.

To Thebes
To Thebes
PERSIAN CAMP
R. Asopus
GARGAPHIA
R. Oeroe
ACROPOLIS
PLATÆA
MON. TO MARDONIUS
ERYTHRAE
HYSIAE
CEPHALAE
MT. K
To Megara

BATTLE
OF
PLATÆA
B.C. 179.

I. First position occupied by the opposing armies
II. Second position
III. Third position

a Persians
b Athenians
c Lacedemonians
d Various Greek allies

Tegeans, both of whom claimed to have one of the wings assigned to them. On each side were brought forward the deeds which they had done, whether in earlier or in later times; and first the Tegeans urged their claim as follows:—

"This post has been always considered our right, and not the right of any of the other allies, in all the expeditions which have been entered into conjointly by the Peloponnesians, both anciently and in later times. Ever since the Heraclidæ made their attempt, after the death of Eurystheus, to return by force of arms into the Peloponnese,[1] this custom has been observed. It was then that the right became ours, and this was the way in which we gained it:—When, in company with the Achæans and Ionians who then dwelt in the Peloponnese,[2] we marched out to the Isthmus, and pitched our camp over against the invaders, then, the tale goes, that Hyllus made proclamation, saying—"It needs not to imperil two armies in a general battle; rather let one be chosen from the Peloponnesian ranks, whomsoever they deem the bravest, and let him engage with me in single combat, on such terms as shall be agreed upon." The saying pleased the Peloponnesians, and

[1] According to the account generally received among the Greeks, the family of Hercules at his death fled to Ceyx, king of Trachis, who gave them shelter for a while, but was induced by the threats of Eurystheus to expel them from his country. They then found a refuge in Attica, where Eurystheus attacked them at the head of a large army. The Athenians, however, took their part, and a battle was fought in which Eurystheus and his five sons were slain; and the Heraclidæ, taking advantage of the success, invaded the Peloponnese (see Apollod. II. viii. §§ 1, 2; Diod. Sic. iv. 57-8; Thucyd. i. 9, &c; Pherecyd. Fr. 39). They were repulsed as related in the text, and only effected their return a hundred years later.

[2] Before the Dorian immigration the entire Peloponnese was occupied, with trifling exceptions, by three races:—the Arcadians, the Achæans, and the Ionians. The Ionians occupied the country along the Corinthian gulf, which in later times became Achæa (supra, i. 145); the Arcadians held the strong central position in which they always maintained themselves; the Achæans were masters of the remainder. The only noticeable exceptions to this were, the Dryopians in Hermioné (viii. 73), the Pylians, in southern Elis, who were Æolians (Apollod. I. ix. § 9), and the Epeans in Northern Elis, who were Ætolians (see Hermann's Pol. Antiq. of Greece, § 17).

oaths were sworn to the effect following:—'If Hyllus conquer the Peloponnesian champion, the Heraclidæ shall return to their inheritance; if, on the other hand, he be conquered, the Heraclidæ shall withdraw, lead back their army, and engage for the next hundred years to make no further endeavours to force their return.' Hereupon Echemus, the son of Aëropus and grandson of Phêgeus,[3] who was our leader and king, offered himself, and was preferred before all his brothers-in-arms as champion, engaged in single combat with Hyllus, and slew him upon the spot. For this exploit we were rewarded by the Peloponnesians of that day with many goodly privileges, which we have ever since enjoyed; and, among the rest, we obtained the right of holding the leading post in one wing, whenever a joint expedition goes forth beyond our borders. With you then, O Lacedæmonians, we do not claim to compete; choose you which wing ye please; we yield and grant you the preference: but we maintain that the command of the other wing belongs of right to us, now no less than formerly. Moreover, set aside this exploit which we have related, and still our title to the chief post is better than that of the Athenians: witness the many glorious fights in which we have been engaged against yourselves,[4] O Spartans! as well as those which we have maintained with others. We have therefore more right to this place than they; for they have performed no exploits to be compared to ours, whether we look to earlier or to later times."

27. Thus spake the Tegeans; and the Athenians made reply as follows:—"We are not ignorant that our forces were gathered here, not for the purpose of speech-

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[3] Pausanias, who relates this story briefly (VIII. v. § 1), makes Echemus the son of Aëropus and grandson of *Cepheus* (iv. § 7). A monument at Tegea, which existed in the time of Pausanias, was called the tomb of Echemus, and bore a representation of his single combat with Hyllus (VIII. liii. § 5).

[4] Supra, i. 66, 67; Pausan. VIII. xlv. § 2.

making, but for battle against the Barbarian. Yet as the Tegeans have been pleased to bring into debate the exploits performed by our two nations, alike in earlier and in later times, we have no choice but to set before you the grounds on which we claim it as our heritage, deserved by our unchanging bravery, to be preferred above Arcadians. In the first place, then, those very Heraclidæ, whose leader they boast to have slain at the Isthmus, and whom the other Greeks would not receive when they asked a refuge from the bondage wherewith they were threatened by the people of Mycênæ,[5] were given a shelter by us; and we brought down the insolence of Eurystheus, and helped to gain the victory over those who were at that time lords of the Peloponnese. Again, when the Argives led their troops with Polynices against Thebes, and were slain and refused burial, it is our boast that we went out against the Cadmeians, recovered the bodies, and buried them at Eleusis in our own territory.[6] Another noble deed of ours was that against the Amazons, when they came from their seats upon the Thermôdon, and poured their hosts into Attica;[7]

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[5] Mycênæ, and not Argos, was the ancient capital of Argolis, as is plain from Homer (Il. ii. 569, &c.). It was situated "upon a rugged height, in a recess between two commanding summits of the range of mountains which borders the eastern side of the Argolic plain" (Leake's Morea, ii. p. 366). There are to this day abundant remains of the ancient city, notwithstanding the assertion of Strabo (viii. p. 540), which Pausanias long ago contradicted (II. xv. and xvi.). The chief of these is the well-known "treasury of Atreus."

All accounts agree in representing Mycenæ as the capital city of Eurystheus (Thucyd. I. 9; Apollod. II. iv. § 5; Eurip. Herc. F. 388; Strab. viii. p. 547, &c.).

[6] It was said that Adrastus, when he could not p[illegible] the Thebans to surrender the s[illegible]pplied to Theseus, who was then king of Athens; and Theseus marched against Thebes, gained a victory over the Cadmeians, and recovered the bodies (Apollod. III. vi. § 1, &c.; Pausan. I. xxxix. § 2). Some said the bodies were given up to Theseus without a battle (Pausan. ibid.; Plut. Vit. Thes. c. 29; Isocrat. Panath. p. 250, ed. Baiter). Their tomb was shown near Eleusis, on the road to Megara, as late as the time of Pausanias (I. xxxix. § 1).

[7] The mythic contest between the Greeks and the Amazons was said to have begun with Hercules, who invaded their country on the Thermôdon, being required by Eurystheus to bring him the baldrick of Hippolyta (Apollod. II. v. § 9). According to some, Theseus took part in this expedition (Philoch. Fr. 49; Plut. Vit. Thes. c. 26); but the generality of writers made his expedition distinct

and in the Trojan war too we were not a whit behind any of the Greeks. But what boots it to speak of these ancient matters?[8] A nation which was brave in those days might have grown cowardly since, and a nation of cowards then might now be valiant. Enough therefore of our ancient achievements. Had we performed no other exploit than that at Marathon—though in truth we have performed exploits as many and as noble as any of the Greeks—yet had we performed no other, we should deserve this privilege, and many a one beside. There we stood alone, and singly fought with the Persians; nay, and venturing on so dangerous a cast, we overcame the enemy, and conquered on that day forty and six nations![9] Does not this one achievement suffice to make good our title to the post we claim? Nevertheless, Lacedæmonians, as to strive concerning place at

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from that of Hercules, and later in date (Hellan. Fr. 76; Pherecyd. ap. Plut. l. s. c.; Herodor. ibid.; compare supra, iv. 110). To revenge the attack of Theseus, the Amazons invaded Attica, passing round the Black Sea, and crossing the Cimmerian Bosphorus upon the ice, according to Hellanicus (Fr. 84). They continued in Attica four months (Clitodem. Fr. 6), and fought battles with various success, but at last were defeated by Theseus (Pausan. I. xli. § 7), and consented to leave the country. The tomb of Hippolyta was shown at Megara (ibid.); and at Athens, the Amazoneium, or temple of the Amazons, and the Horcomosion, or oath-house, where the treaty was made between them and Theseus, were regarded as memorials of the occurrence. The war with the Amazons was a favourite subject both with the painters and the sculptors of Greece. It formed, apparently, the subject of the Metopes on the northern side of the Parthenon (Leake's Attica, p. 543), and certainly that of a relief in the southern wall of the Acropolis (Pausan. I. xxv. § 2); it was painted in the Pœcilé (ib. xv. § 2), and in the temple of Theseus at Athens (ib. xvii. § 2); and represented on the pedestal of the statue of Jupiter at Olympia (ib. v. xi. § 2), and on the shield of the Minerva of Phidias (Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 5, p. 632; Pausan. I. xvii. § 2).

The war, nevertheless, is rightly regarded as a mere mythus, on a par with that between the Centaurs and the Lapithæ, which faced it in the Parthenon (see Müller's Orchomenus, p. 357; Völcker's Myth. Geogr. i. p. 209; Grote's Hist. of Greece, vol. i. pp. 286-298).

[8] In mentioning Troy, the Athenian speaker had touched on somewhat tender ground. (See above, vol. iii. p. 371.) He therefore rapidly retreats from it, with an affectation of indifference as regards ancient exploits.

[9] Vide supra, vii. 61-80, where the entire number of nations composing the army of Xerxes is made to be forty-six. The Athenian speaker is represented as boasting that the army of Datis was similarly composed of contingents from the whole empire. That it was so is very unlikely.

such a time as this is not right, we are ready to do as ye command, and to take our station at whatever part of the line, and face whatever nation ye think most expedient. Wheresoever ye place us, 'twill be our endeavour to behave as brave men. Only declare your will, and we shall at once obey you."

28. Such was the reply of the Athenians; and forthwith all the Lacedæmonian troops cried out with one voice, that the Athenians were worthier to have the left wing than the Arcadians. In this way were the Tegeans overcome, and the post was assigned to the Athenians.

When this matter had been arranged, the Greek army, which was in part composed of those who came at the first, in part of such as had flocked in from day to day, drew up in the following order:[10]—Ten thou-

[10] The list of states which Pausanias found inscribed on the base of the statue of Jove, erected at Olympia by the Greeks after the close of the war (infra, ch. 81), is not very materially different from this. There are indeed more variations between the two than Mr. Grote allows (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 217, note) but they are of little importance, and admit of easy explanation. Pausanias omits the Eretrians, the Leucadians, and the Paleans of Cephallené: he adds the Eleans, Ceans, Melians, Tenians, Naxians, and Cythnians. It has been ingeniously conjectured by Broensted (Itin. p. 106), that the Eleans of Pausanias (FAΛEIOI) are the Paleans of Herodotus (ΠΑΛΕΙΣ): and Pausanias (it is said) may either have misread the word from the inscription being worn, or the Eleans, who were the guardians of the temple in which the statue stood, may have fraudulently altered the title (see Grote, l. s. c.). The islanders contained in the list of Pausanias had their names inscribed on the statue, not as having sent contingents to Platæa, but as having taken part in the war by fighting at Salamis (supra, viii. 46). Pausanias is mistaken when he speaks of the inscribed states as having all shared *in the battle*. He may be corrected from Herodotus (viii. 82), and Thucydides (i. 132), from which passages it appears, that having borne any part in *defeating the barbarian*, gave a claim for inscription. The offerings dedicated from the spoils of Platæa were regarded, not as commemorative of that victory only, but of the whole war; and consequently all those who had shared in the victories, whether by land or by sea, had honourable mention upon those memorials (see Appendix, Note A.). The only exception was in case of *very* trivial contingents. The single penteconters of the Siphnians and Seriphians, and even the single triremes of the Crotoniats (viii. 47) and Lemnians (viii. 82) were perhaps not thought to entitle them to commemoration. If so, the Tenians would probably have been omitted but for the timeliness of their arrival (see note [a] to Book viii. ch, 82). With regard to the Eretrians and Leucadians, if their names did not appear upon the Olympian offering, it may have been because at the time of the inscription these states were politically included in Styra and Anactorium respectively.

sand Lacedæmonian troops held the right wing, five thousand of whom were Spartans; and these five thousand were attended by a body of thirty-five thousand helots, who were only lightly armed—seven helots to each Spartan.[1] The place next to themselves the Spartans gave to the Tegeans, on account of their courage and of the esteem in which they held them. They were all fully armed, and numbered fifteen hundred men. Next in order came the Corinthians, five thousand strong; and with them Pausanias had placed, at their request,[2] the band of three hundred which had come from Potidæa in Pallêné. The Arcadians of Orchomenus, in number six hundred, came next; then the Sicyonians, three thousand; then the Epidaurians, eight hundred; then the Trœzenians, one thousand; then the Lepreats,[3] two hundred; the Mycenæans and Tirynthians,[4] four hundred; the Phliasians, one thousand; the Hermionians, three hundred; the Eretrians and Styreans, six hundred; the Chalcideans,[5] four hundred; and the Ambraciots, five hundred. After these came the Leucadians and Anactorians,[6] who numbered eight

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Hence in the catalogue of Herodotus the contingents of the "Eretrians and Styreans," and of the "Leucadians and Anactorians," are united in one, and expressed by a single number. (On the general subject, see Appendix, Note A.)

[1] Vide supra, ch. 10.

[2] The Corinthians naturally desired to have *their colonists* (Thucyd. i. 56) under their immediate protection.

[3] Lepreum was the chief city of the Paroreatæ, who were Minyans (supra, iv. 145; viii. 73), probably from Orchomenus (supra, iv. 145, note [2]). It continued to be an independent city in the time of the Peloponnesian war (Thucyd. v. 31). Concerning its site, see note [7] on Book iv. ch. 148.

[4] For the site of Tiryns, vide supra, vi. 76, note [1]. This was the first time that it had taken part in the war. Both Tiryns and Mycênæ were afterwards punished by the Argives for siding with the Greeks against Persia, by the razing of their cities and transference of the inhabitants to Argos (Pausan. v. xxiii. § 2; Diod. Sic. xi. 65).

[5] Not the Chalcideans of Thrace, but those of Eubœa (Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐρίπῳ, Pausan. l. s. c.).

[6] Anactorium was a Corinthian, or perhaps a joint Corinthian and Corcyræan colony (compare Thucyd. i. 55 with Strab. x. p. 659, and Pausan. l. s. c.), founded in the time of Cypselus (ab. B.C. 650). It was situated at the mouth of the Ambracian gulf, inside the outer and outside the inner entrance (compare Scylax. Peripl. pp. 28-9, with Strab. x. p. 658, and Plin. H. N. iv. 1), on the south side of the bay, near the modern town of *Vonitza*. The ruins at *Aios Petros*, about two miles west of *Vonitza*,

hundred; the Paleans of Cephallênia,[7] two hundred; the Eginetans, five hundred; the Megarians, three thousand; and the Platæans, six hundred. Last of all, but first at their extremity of the line, were the Athenians, who, to the number of eight thousand, occupied the left wing, under the command of Aristides, the son of Lysimachus.

29. All these, except the Helots—seven of whom, as I said, attended each Spartan—were heavy-armed troops, and they amounted to thirty-eight thousand seven hundred men. This was the number of Hoplites, or heavy-armed soldiers, which was brought together against the Barbarian. The light-armed troops consisted of the thirty-five thousand ranged with the Spartans, seven in attendance upon each, who were all well equipped for war; and of thirty-four thousand five hundred others, belonging to the Lacedæmonians and the rest of the Greeks, at the rate (nearly) of one light to one heavy-armed.[8] Thus the entire number of the light-armed was sixty-nine thousand five hundred.

30. The Greek army, therefore, which mustered at Platæa, counting light-armed as well as heavy-armed, was but eighteen hundred men short of one hundred and ten thousand; and this amount was exactly made

appear to mark the site (Leake's Northern Greece, vol. iii. p. 493; vol. iv. pp. 28-31).

[7] Cephallenia (the modern *Cefalonia*) was a τετράπολις. Its four cities were Palé, or Palus, Cranii, Samé, and Pronus, or Pronnesus (Thucyd. ii. 30; Liv. xxxviii. 28; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Κράνιοι). Of these Palé seems to have been the most important in early times (Thucyd. i. 27; Polyb. v. 3). It occupied a site of no great strength in the midst of a fertile country, near the south western extremity of the island. Its position is marked by a few ruins (the *Paleókastro* near *Lixuri*), on which has been found inscribed the name of the inhabitants. The plain in which the ruins stand is still called *Pálio*, and the entire district *Palikí* (Παλική). See Leake's Northern Greece, vol. iii. p. 65.

[8] The numbers of this calculation are unusually accurate, the sum total of the hoplites being perfectly correct. There is, however, an excess of 800 light-armed, which seems to have arisen from a miscalculation. If we subtract the 5000 Spartans from the 38,700 hoplites, the remainder is 33,700, not 34,500. (On the frequent occurrence of numerical discrepancies in Herodotus, see the Introductory Essay, vol. i. p. 109.)

up by the Thespians who were present in the camp; for eighteen hundred Thespians, being the whole number left,[9] were likewise with the army; but these men were without arms.[1] Such was the array of the Greek troops when they took post on the Asôpus.

31. The barbarians under Mardonius, when the mourning for Masistius was at an end, and they learnt that the Greeks were in the Platæan territory, moved likewise towards the river Asôpus, which flows in those parts. On their arrival Mardonius marshalled them against the Greeks in the following order:—Against the Lacedæmonians he posted his Persians; and as the Persians were far more numerous, he drew them up with their ranks deeper than common, and also extended their front so that part faced the Tegeans; and here he took care to choose out the best troops to face the Lacedæmonians, whilst against the Tegeans he arrayed those on whom he could not so much depend. This was done at the suggestion and by the advice of the Thebans. Next to the Persians he placed the Medes, facing the Corinthians, Potidæans, Orchomenians, and Sicyonians; then the Bactrians, facing the Epidaurians, Trœzenians, Lepreats, Tirynthians, Mycenæans, and Phliasians; after them the Indians, facing the Hermionians, Eretrians, Styreans, and Chalcidians; then the Sacans, facing the Ambraciots, Anactorians, Leuca-

[9] That is, the whole number left after the destruction of the 700 at Thermopylæ (supra, vii. 222-5).

[1] It is uncertain whether Herodotus means that the Thespians were unarmed, or only that they were lightly armed. The expression in this passage (ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὗτοι εἶχον) seems rather to imply the latter; but if this be the meaning, why are they not counted with the other light-armed? and how is Herodotus justified in saying that "the *entire* number of the light-armed was 69,500"? It seems not improbable that in their hurried flight from Thespiæ on the advance of Xerxes (supra, viii. 50), they may not have liked to encumber themselves with the weight of arms. And the other Greeks had none to lend them, as each state sent its full force to the war. The Thespians were inscribed on the Delphic tripod (supra, viii. 82, note [8]), though, according to Pausanias, their name did not appear at Olympia. Their inscription does not prove, however, that they fought at Platæa. It may have been owing to their conduct at Thermopylæ.

dians, Paleans, and Eginetans; last of all, facing the Athenians, the Platæans, and the Megarians, he placed the troops of the Bœotians, Locrians, Malians, and Thessalians, and also the thousand Phocians.[2] The whole nation of the Phocians had not joined the Medes: on the contrary there were some who had gathered themselves into bands about Parnassus, and made expeditions from thence, whereby they distressed Mardonius and the Greeks who sided with him, and so did good service to the Grecian cause. Besides those mentioned above, Mardonius likewise arrayed against the Athenians the Macedonians and the tribes dwelling about Thessaly.

32. I have named here the greatest of the nations which were marshalled by Mardonius on this occasion, to wit, all those of most renown and account. Mixed with these, however, were men of divers other peoples,[3] as Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Pæonians, and the like; Ethiopians again, and Egyptians, both of the Hermotybian and Calasirian races,[4] whose weapon is

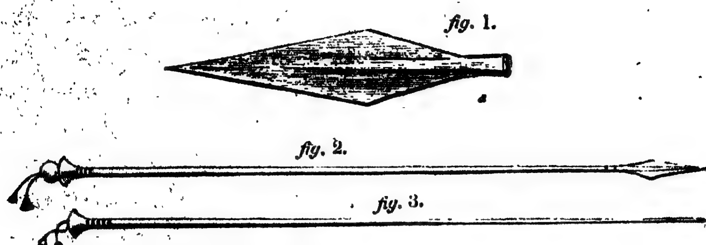
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[2] That is, the thousand Phocians who had been previously mentioned (supra, chs. 17, 18).

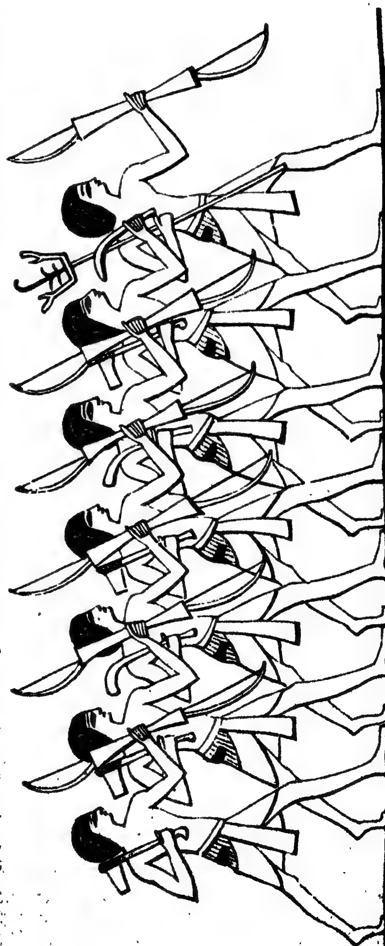
[3] See above, viii. 113, ad fin.

[4] The whole of the former amounted to 160,000 men, the Calisiries to 250,000. (Bk. ii. chs. 164, 165, 166.) Herodotus says they were armed with swords, and it is probably to the long daggers many of the Egyptian soldiers had that he alludes, which may be called their side-arms; for in no case could a sword be considered more than *one* of the weapons, either of heavy or light infantry. The arms of the different corps varied; the heavy infantry having, with other weapons, either a sword, or dagger; a hatchet; a battle-axe; a pole-axe; one or two kinds of clubs or maces (figs. 12, 14), tipped with metal, and bound with thongs round the handle (like the Roman fasces) to give a firm hold; a curved club, the *lissán* of modern Ethiopia (see woodcut No. II. in n. ch. 69, Bk. vii.), or a falchion, which was a sort of ensis falcatus, called *shopsh* (carried by figs. 5 and 9, in woodcut No. V. below), or *khopsh*, a name resembling the κοπὶς of the Argives. (Quint. Curt. lib. viii., Apul. Met. lib. xi.) They had *always* the shield and spear; and they wore linen corslets (Herod. ii. 182; iii. 47), common to many other people, sometimes fortified with metal plates. (See woodcut No. III. in n. ch. 89, Bk. vii., and the dress of infantry in woodcut No. V. below.) The light infantry, a very numerous body, were chiefly archers; who, besides their bows, had clubs, swords, or battle-axes, and occasionally a sort of flail (as in the middle ages); and two soldiers are armed with this in the bas-relief of the Temple at Dayr el Medeeneh, at Thebes, representing a march to celebrate a victory; part of which is given in woodcut No. III. Some had light javelins which were also

the sword, and who are the only fighting men in that country.[5] These persons had formerly served on board



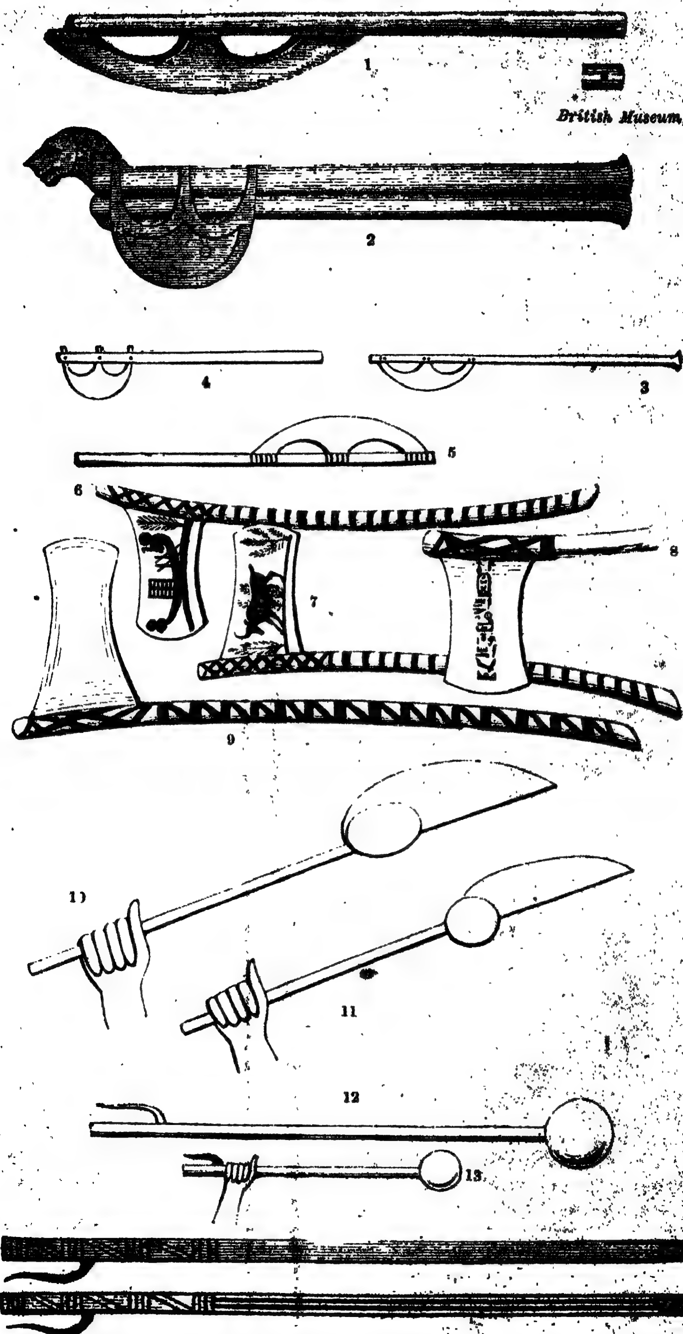
No. I.



No. III.

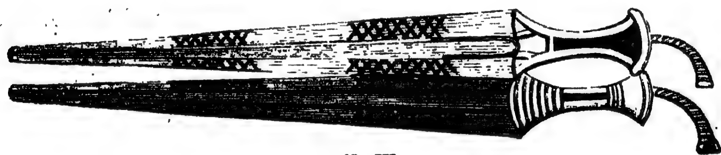
used by the chariot corps, the cavalry of an Egyptian army, whose arms consisted of the bow and arrow, javelins, a club, and a dagger, or straight sword, for close combat. There was also a corps of slingers. The arms and dress of the infantry may be seen in the woodcut No. V. Each regiment had its standard, serving, as Diodorus says (i. 86), as a rallying point, and an encouragement in battle. (Comp. Plut. de Isid. s. 72.) This consisted generally of a sacred animal, a king's name, or an emblematic device. (See At. Eg. vol. i. p. 291 and 294.) They had disciplined troops at a very early period; the necessity of which was more felt when the disparity of the arms, used by a civilised and a barbarous people, was so much less than in later times. —[G. W.]

[5] The heavy and light armed infantry, the chariot and other corps, form part of them. The Egyptian army was highly disciplined, in the time of the 18th dynasty, and probably long before. It was divided into corps and regiments, and it had the phalanx of heavy infantry even before that early period; armed with very long and strong spears, and with immense shields; the power of which solid square was afterwards proved in the battle between Cyrus and Crœsus, the Persians being unable to make any impression upon their compact mass. (See note on Bk. vii. ch. 89, woodcut No. V.) It was afterwards adopted by the Greeks (see At. Eg. vol. i. p. 293, and p. 359 to 363). In attack-


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the fleet of Xerxes, but Mardonius disembarked them before he left Phalerum; in the land force which Xerxes brought to Athens there were no Egyptians. The number of the barbarians, as I have already mentioned,[6] was three hundred thousand; that of the Greeks who had made alliance with Mardonius is known to none, for they were never counted: I should guess that they mustered near fifty thousand strong. The troops thus marshalled were all foot soldiers. As for the horse, it was drawn up by itself.

33. When the marshalling of Mardonius' troops by nations and by maniples was ended, the two armies proceeded on the next day to offer sacrifice. The Grecian sacrifice was offered by Tisamenus, the son of Antiochus, who accompanied the army as soothsayer: he was an Elean, and belonged to the Clytiad branch of the Iamidæ,[7] but had been admitted among their

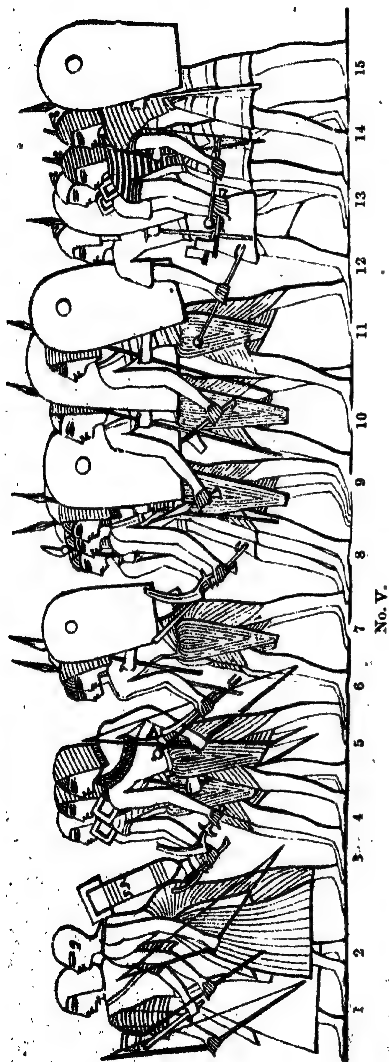


No. IV.

ing fortified places, the Egyptians either used the scaling ladder, or in a regular siege approached under cover of the arrows of the bowmen, and battered the walls with the testudo (see woodcut No. VI. in note on Bk. vii. ch. 89, and below No. VI.). This was at first a long pike, the men being protected under a framework covered with hides, the rude prototype of the *testudo arietaria*, which was employed in after times by the Assyrians (see the Nimroud sculptures), and by the Romans and others. It was against this and the moveable towers of those days (the "bulwarks" of Deut. xx. 20), that the Egyptians in their early fortifications introduced the scarp and counterscarp, and the parallel wall in the ditch; which, with the sculptures of the 12th dynasty, show that these military engines were invented at least 2000 years before our era. Mining was also adopted by them.—[G. W.]

[6] Supra, viii. 113, end. I do not see on what grounds Mr. Grote denies that we "can place any confidence in this total of 300,000" (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 223). If Herodotus had not possessed data in this instance, which he lacked with regard to the auxiliary Greek force, he would not have expressed himself so differently in the two cases. He implies that this portion of the Persian army had been counted. Diodorus, with his usual exaggeration, makes the number of Mardonius's army 500,000 (xi. 30).

[7] According to Cicero, there were



No. V.

fig. 1. a a b

fig 2. a b c

own citizens by the Lacedæmonians. Now his admission among them was on this wise:—Tisamenus had gone to Delphi to consult the god concerning his lack of offspring, when it was declared to him by the Pythoness that he would win five very glorious combats.[8] Misunderstanding the oracle, and imagining that he was to win combats in the games, Tisamenus at once applied himself to the practice of gymnastics. He trained himself for the Pentathlum,[9] and, on contending at Olympia, came within a little of winning it; for he was successful in everything, except the wrestling-match, which was carried off by Hieronymus the Andrian. Hereon the Lacedæmonians perceived that the combats of which the oracle spoke were not combats in the games, but battles: they therefore sought to induce Tisamenus to hire out his services to them, in order that they might join him with their Heracleid kings in

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two great augural families in Elis, the Iamidæ and the Clytiadæ (De Div. i. 41). Herodotus also mentions two families, but they are the Iamidæ and the Telliadæ (infra, ch. 37). The Clytiadæ with him are a branch of the former. Philostratus (Vit. Apoll. Tyan. v. 25) considers the three families as distinct. Pausanias does not mention the Telliadæ, but appears to distinguish between the Clytiadæ, whom he derives from Clytius, a descendant of Melampus (VI. xvii. § 4), and the Iamidæ, who are descended from Iamus, the son of Apollo (VI. ii. § 3; compare Pind. Ol. vi. 57-75). Whether the Clytiads were or were not originally Iamids, they seem certainly in later times to have been regarded as a different stock.

The Iamid race is more famous than either of the others. (See, besides the various passages in Pausanias, Pind. Ol. vi. 120-1, and Clem. Alex. Strom., p. 399.) They furnished soothsayers to Lacedæmon and other Peloponnesian states from very early times (Pausan. IV. xvi. § 1; VI. ii. § 2). At Sparta they had a family sepulchre (ib. III. xii. § 7). In Syracuse they were held in especial honour (Pind. Ol., l. s. c.). They had there taken part in the foundation of the city under Archias, and had had influence enough to introduce their own peculiar religious worship and mythology (cf. Müller's Dorians, vol. i. p. 394, E. T.). In their native country, the ministration at the altar of Jupiter at Olympia seems specially to have belonged to them (Pind. Ol. vi. 7, 115-9).

[8] On the habit of the Pythoness to disregard the question asked, and to answer on an entirely different subject, see above, iv. 151 and 155; v. 63; &c.

[9] For the nature of the Pentathlum, vide supra, vi. 92, note [8]. According to Pausanias (III. xi. § 6), Tisamenus gained two contests only, the running and the leaping match. In the third, which was wrestling, he was defeated, and so (apparently) could not contend any more. This would seem to imply that to win the prize it was necessary to be victorious in all the five games (see Bähr. ad loc.).

the conduct of their wars. He however, when he saw that they set great store by his friendship, forthwith raised his price, and told them, "If they would receive him among their citizens, and give him equal rights with the rest, he was willing to do as they desired, but on no other terms would they ever gain his consent." The Spartans, when they heard this, at first thought it monstrous, and ceased to implore his aid. Afterwards, however, when the fearful danger of the Persian war hung over their heads, they sent for him and agreed to his terms; but Tisamenus now, perceiving them so changed, declared, "He could no longer be content with what he had asked before: they must likewise make his brother Hagias[1] a Spartan, with the same rights as himself."

34. In acting thus he did but follow the example once set by Melampus, at least if kingship may be compared with citizenship. For when the women of Argos were seized with madness, and the Argives would have hired Melampus to come from Pylos and heal them of their disease, he demanded as his reward one-half of the kingdom; but as the Argives disdained to stoop to this, they left him and went their way. Afterwards, however, when many more of their women were seized, they brought themselves to agree to his terms; and accordingly they went again to him, and said they were content to give what he required. Hereon Melampus, seeing them so changed, raised his demand, and told them, "Except they would give his brother Bias one-third of the kingdom likewise, he would not do as they wished." So, as the Argives were in a strait, they consented even to this.[2]

[1] Hagias the *brother* must be distinguished from Hagias the *grandson* of Tisamenus. The latter was Lysander's soothsayer at the battle of Ægos-Potami (B.C. 405), and had a bronze statue erected to him at Sparta (Pausan. III. xi. § 5).

[2] The same story is told of Melampus by Apollodorus (II. ii. § 2), Pausanias (II. xviii. § 4), and the Scholiast on Pindar (Nem. ix. 30). It is glanced at by Homer (Odyss. xv. 225-240). Pherecydes (Fr. 24) related it, but without any mention of Bias.

35. In like manner the Spartans, as they were in great need of Tisamenus, yielded everything: and Tisamenus the Elean, having in this way become a Spartan citizen afterwards, in the capacity of soothsayer, helped the Spartans to gain five very glorious combats. He and his brother were the only men whom the Spartans ever admitted to citizenship.[3] The five combats were these following:—The first was the combat at Platæa; the second, that near Tegea, against the Tegeans and the Argives; the third, that at Dipæeis, against all the Arcadians excepting those of Mantinea;[4] the fourth, that at the Isthmus,[5] against the Messenians; and the fifth, that at Tanagra, against the Athenians and the Argives.[6] The battle here fought was the last of all the five.

[3] Herodotus must be supposed to mean the only *foreigners*; otherwise his statement will be very incorrect. Helots, it is well known, were often admitted to citizenship, becoming thereby Neodamodeis, or new citizens (Thucyd. vii. 58). Even with this limitation it may be doubted whether admissions to citizenship were really so rare. Herodotus himself declares that the Minyæ were received as citizens (supra, iv. 145; see note[3] ad loc.). And Tyrtæus is said by Plutarch to have enjoyed the same privilege (Apophth. Lac. vol. ii. p. 230, D.). Foreign slaves too, brought up as foster-children in the house of a Spartan (τρόφιμοι), seem sometimes to have attained the citizen rank (Xen. Hell. v. iii. § 9; cf. Müller's Dorians, vol. ii. p. 44, E.T.).

[4] These are clearly the wars to which Thucydides alludes, as hindering the Spartans from offering any opposition to the growth of the Athenian confederacy, during the years immediately following the Persian war (τὸ δέ τι καὶ πολέμοις οἰκείοις ἐξειργόμενοι, i. 118). Nothing more is known of them than the little which may be gathered from this passage; for Pausanias (III. xi. § 6) merely repeats what he has learnt from our author. It would seem that Argos endeavoured to use the advantage that she had gained by nursing her resources while Sparta was engaged in the struggle against Xerxes, and that having succeeded in stirring up disaffection in Arcadia, she attacked Sparta in alliance with that country. But Sparta was victorious over her assailants. Dipæeis, where the second victory was gained, was a hamlet in the tract known as Mænalia (Pausan., l. s. c.), which lay immediately to the east of the Tegeatis. The city is mentioned under the name of Dipæa by Stephen. It was one of the places swallowed up in Megalopolis (Pausan. VIII. xxvii. § 3.)

[5] Or "at Ithômé," if the conjecture of Palmer be adopted. All the MSS. however give the reading "Isthmus," and the manuscript reading of Pausanias (III. xi. § 6, ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ) is to some extent a confirmation of it. Considering how little we know of the history of this period (Grote, vol. v. pp. 395-6), it is impossible to say that one of the battles between the rebel Helots and their lords may not have been fought near the Isthmus.

For the circumstances of the revolt, see Thucyd. i. 101-3, and Diod. Sic. xi. 63-4. It began in the year B.C. 464, and ended B.C. 455.

[6] See Thucyd. i. 107-8; Diod. Sic.

36. The Spartans had now brought Tisamenus with them to the Platæan territory, where he acted as soothsayer for the Greeks. He found the victims favourable, if the Greeks stood on the defensive, but not if they began the battle or crossed the river Asôpus.

37. With Mardonius also, who was very eager to begin the battle, the victims were not favourable for so doing; but he likewise found them bode him well, if he was content to stand on his defence. He too had made use of the Grecian rites; for Hêgêsistratus, an Elean, and the most renowned of the Telliads,[7] was his soothsayer. This man had once been taken captive by the Spartans, who, considering that he had done them many grievous injuries, laid him in bonds, with the intent to put him to death. Thereupon Hêgêsistratus, finding himself in so sore a case, since not only was his life in danger, but he knew that he would have to suffer torments of many kinds before his death,—Hêgêsistratus, I say, did a deed for which no words suffice. He had been set with one foot in the stocks, which were of wood but bound with iron bands; and in this condition received from without an iron implement, wherewith he contrived to accomplish the most courageous deed upon record. Calculating how much of his foot he would be able to draw through the hole, he cut off the front portion with his own hand; and then, as he was guarded by watchmen, forced a way through the wall of his prison, and made his escape to Tegea, travelling during the night, but in the daytime stealing into the woods, and staying there. In this way, though the Lacedæmonians went out in full force to search for him, he nevertheless escaped, and arrived the third evening at Tegea. So the Spartans were

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xi. 80; Plat. Menex. p. 242, B. The Athenians did not allow that they suffered a defeat at Tanagra, but regarded the battle as undecided. It was fought in November of the year B.C. 457.

[7] Supra, ch. 33, note [7].

amazed at the man's endurance, when they saw on the ground the piece which he had cut off his foot, and yet for all their seeking could not find him anywhere. Hêgêsistratus having thus escaped the Lacedæmonians, took refuge in Tegea; for the Tegeans at that time were ill friends with the Lacedæmonians.[8] When his wound was healed, he procured himself a wooden foot, and became an open enemy to Sparta. At the last, however, this enmity brought him to trouble; for the Spartans took him captive as he was exercising his office in Zacynthus,[9] and forthwith put him to death. But these things happened some while after the fight at Platæa. At present he was serving Mardonius on the Asôpus, having been hired at no inconsiderable price; and here he offered sacrifice with a right good will, in part from his hatred of the Lacedæmonians, in part for lucre's sake.

38. So when the victims did not allow either the Persians or their Greek allies to begin the battle—these Greeks had their own soothsayer in the person of Hippomachus, a Leucadian—and when soldiers continued to pour into the opposite camp and the numbers on the Greek side to increase continually, Timagenidas, the son of Herpys, a Theban, advised Xerxes to keep a watch on the passes of Cithæron,[1] telling him how supplies of men kept flocking in day after day, and assuring him that he might cut off large numbers.

39. It was eight days after the two armies first en-

[8] As they commonly were. See above, i. 65-8; vi. 72; ix. 35.

[9] Zacynthus more than once furnished an asylum to those who feared the enmity of Sparta. Demaratus fled there after his deposition (vi. 70). Hence perhaps the expedition undertaken against the island in the second year of the Peloponnesian war, B.C. 430 (Thucyd. ii. 66).

[1] Two roads passing over Cithæron converged upon Platæa. One led from Eleusis and Athens, and passing Œnoë, Eleutheræ, and Panactum, debouched on the Platæan plain near Hysiæ. The other was the direct route from the Isthmus to Thebes. It led from Megara, and crossed the ridge of Cithæron about a mile to the west of the former, descending thence obliquely along the flanks of the mountain, upon Platæa (Leake, N. Greece, vol. ii. p. 334).

camped opposite to one another when this advice was given by Timagenidas. Mardonius, seeing it to be good, as soon as evening came, sent his cavalry to that pass of Mount Cithæron, which opens out upon Platæa, a pass called by the Bœotians the "Three Heads," but called the "Oak-Heads" by the Athenians.[2] The horse sent on this errand did not make the movement in vain. They came upon a body of five hundred sumpter-beasts which were just entering the plain, bringing provisions to the Greek camp from the Peloponnese, with a number of men driving them. Seeing this prey in their power, the Persians set upon them and slaughtered them, sparing none, neither man nor beast; till at last, when they had had enough of slaying, they secured such as were left, and bore them off to the camp to Mardonius.

40. After this they waited again for two days more, neither army wishing to begin the fight. The barbarians indeed advanced as far as the Asôpus, and endeavoured to tempt the Greeks to cross; but neither side actually passed the stream. Still the cavalry of Mardonius harassed and annoyed the Greeks incessantly; for the Thebans, who were zealous in the cause of the Medes, pressed the war forward with all eagerness, and often led the charge till the lines met, when the Medes and Persians took their place, and displayed, many of them, uncommon valour.

41. For ten days nothing was done more than this; but on the eleventh day from the time when the two hosts first took station, one over against the other, near Platæa—the number of the Greeks being now much greater than it was at the first, and Mardonius being impatient of the delay—there was a conference held

[2] The name "Oak-Heads" (Dryos-Cephalæ) seems to have belonged to the entire dip in the mountain range through which passed both the roads above mentioned. Here the western road seems to be specially intended, but in Thucydides (iii. 24) the eastern or Athenian route has the term applied to it.

between Mardonius, son of Gobryas, and Artabazus, son of Pharnaces,[3] a man who was esteemed by Xerxes more than almost any of the Persians. At this consultation the following were the opinions delivered:—Artabazus thought it would be best for them to break up from their quarters as soon as possible, and withdraw the whole army to the fortified town of Thebes, where they had abundant stores of corn for themselves, and of fodder for the sumpter-beasts. There, he said, they had only to sit quiet, and the war might be brought to an end on this wise:—Coined gold was plentiful in the camp, and uncoined gold too; they had silver moreover in great abundance, and drinking-cups. Let them not spare to take of these, and distribute them among the Greeks, especially among the leaders in the several cities; 'twould not be long before the Greeks gave up their liberty, without risking another battle for it. Thus the opinion of Artabazus agreed with that of the Thebans;[4] for he too had more foresight than some. Mardonius, on the other hand, expressed himself with more fierceness and obstinacy, and was utterly disinclined to yield. "Their army," he said, "was vastly superior to that of the Greeks; and they had best engage at once, and not wait till greater numbers were gathered against them. As for Hêgêsistratus and his victims, they should let them pass unheeded, not seeking to force them to be favourable, but, according to the old Persian custom, hasting to join battle."

42. When Mardonius had thus declared his sentiments, no one ventured to say him nay; and accordingly his opinion prevailed, for it was to him, and not to Artabazus, that the king had given the command of the army. Mardonius now sent for the captains of the squa-

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[3] Supra, viii. 126-9.

[4] Supra, ch. 2. The sense has been mistaken by Larcher, Beloe, and Mr. Isaac Taylor; who understand Herodotus to mean, that the Thebans were present at the conference, and expressed their approval of Artabazus' advice.

drons, and the leaders of the Greeks in his service, and questioned them:—"Did they know of any prophecy which said that the Persians were to be destroyed in Greece?" All were silent; some because they did not know the prophecies, but others, who knew them full well, because they did not think it safe to speak out. So Mardonius, when none answered, said, "Since ye know of no such oracle, or do not dare to speak of it, I, who know it well, will myself declare it to you. There is an oracle which says that the Persians shall come into Greece, sack the temple at Delphi, and when they have so done, perish one and all. Now we, as we are aware of the prediction, will neither go against the temple nor make any attempt to sack it: we therefore shall not perish for this trespass. Rejoice then thus far, all ye who are well-wishers to the Persians, and doubt not we shall get the better of the Greeks." When he had so spoken, he further ordered them to prepare themselves, and to put all in readiness for a battle upon the morrow.

43. As for the oracle of which Mardonius spoke, and which he referred to the Persians, it did not, I am well assured, mean them, but the Illyrians and the Enchelean host.[5] There are, however, some verses of Bacis which did speak of this battle:—

"By Thermôdon's stream, and the grass-clad banks of Asôpus,
See where gather the Grecians, and hark to the foreigners' war-shout—
There in death shall lie, ere fate or Lachesis doomed him,
Many a bow-bearing Mede, when the day of calamity cometh."

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[5] The Encheleans are generally spoken of as an Illyrian race (Scylax, Peripl. p. 19; Strab. vii. p. 473; Steph. Byz. ad voc.). They dwelt in the country north of Epidamnus, about Lake Lychnidia, the modern *Zenta Skutari* (Polyb. v. 108).

The expedition of which Herodotus here speaks, appears to have belonged to the time of Cadmus. Cadmus, according to the myth, was invited by the Encheleans to assist them against the other Illyrians. He accepted the invitation, and led them to victory. In this way he became king of Illyria. Afterwards, having gained many successes, he led an expedition against Delphi, plundered the temple, but met with great disasters on his return (compare Eurip. Bacch. 1336, with Apollod. III. v. § 4).

These verses, and some others like them which Musæus wrote, referred, I well know, to the Persians. The river Thermodon[6] flows between Tanagra and Glisas.[7]

44. After Mardonius had put his question about the prophecies, and spoken the above words of encouragement, night drew on apace, and on both sides the watches were set. As soon then as there was silence throughout the camp,—the night being now well advanced, and the men seeming to be in their deepest sleep,—Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king and leader of the Macedonians, rode up on horseback to the Athenian outposts, and desired to speak with the generals. Hereupon, while the greater part continued on guard, some of the watch ran to the chiefs, and told them, "There had come a horseman from the Median camp who would not say a word, except that he wished to speak with the generals, of whom he mentioned the names."

45. They at once, hearing this, made haste to the outpost, where they found Alexander, who addressed them as follows:—

"Men of Athens, that which I am about to say I trust to your honour; and I charge you to keep it secret from all excepting Pausanias, if you would not bring me to destruction. Had I not greatly at heart the common welfare of Greece, I should not have come to tell you; but I am myself a Greek by descent,[8] and I

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[6] I cannot agree with Col. Leake (N. Greece, vol. ii. p. 250) that this Thermodon is the torrent of *Platanaki*, which rising from the mountain of *Siamatá* flows into the Euripus near *Dhrámisi*. In that case Herodotus could not have connected it with Tanagra. I should suppose it, with Kiepert, to be one of the winter streams (χείμαρροι) which descend from the south side of *Siamatá* (Hypatus), the waters of which, if Kiepert's map is true, form the tributary of the Asopus which joins it at Tanagra, and which is now called the *Lari* (cf. Pausan. ix. xix. § 3; and Tzetz. ad Lycoph. 647).

[7] Glisas was one of the most ancient of the Bœotian towns. It is mentioned by Homer. (Il. ii. 504). Pausanias places it on the road from Thebes to Chalcis, seven stades from Teumessus (l. s. c.; compare Strab. ix. p. 598). Its exact site is uncertain (Leake, N. G. vol. ii. p. 255).

[8] Supra, v. 22; viii. 137-8.

would not willingly see Greece exchange freedom for slavery. Know then that Mardonius and his army cannot obtain favourable omens; had it not been for this, they would have fought with you long ago. Now, however, they have determined to let the victims pass unheeded; and, as soon as day dawns, to engage in battle. Mardonius, I imagine, is afraid that, if he delays, you will increase in number. Make ready then to receive him. Should he however still defer the combat, do you abide where you are; for his provisions will not hold out many more days.[9] If ye prosper in this war, forget not to do something for my freedom; consider the risk I have run, out of zeal for the Greek cause, to acquaint you with what Mardonius intends, and to save you from being surprised by the barbarians. I am Alexander of Macedon."

As soon as he had said this, Alexander rode back to the camp, and returned to the station assigned him.

46. Meanwhile the Athenian generals hastened to the right wing, and told Pausanias all that they had learnt from Alexander. Hereupon Pausanias, who no sooner heard the intention of the Persians than he was struck with fear, addressed the generals, and said,—

"Since the battle is to come with to-morrow's dawn, it were well that you Athenians should stand opposed to the Persians, and we Spartans to the Bœotians and the other Greeks; for ye know the Medes and their manner of fight, since ye have already fought with them once at Marathon, but we are quite ignorant and without any experience of their warfare. While, however, there is not a Spartan here present who has ever fought against a Mede, of the Bœotians and Thessalians we have had experience.[1] Take then your arms, and

[9] It seems very unlikely that this could be true. Herodotus had spoken above of the "abundant stores of corn and fodder," which were laid up at Thebes (ch. 41). And it is evident from their whole history that the commissariat of the Persians was excellently managed.

[1] That the Spartans had occasionally been engaged against the Thes-

march over to our post upon the right, while we supply your place in the left wing."

47. Both sides agreeing hereto, at the dawn of day the Spartans and Athenians changed places.[2] But the movement was perceived by the Bœotians, and they gave notice of it to Mardonius; who at once, on hearing what had been done, made a change in the disposition of his own forces, and brought the Persians to face the Lacedæmonians. Then Pausanias, finding that his design was discovered, led back his Spartans to the right wing; and Mardonius, seeing this, replaced his Persians upon the left of his army.

48. When the troops again occupied their former posts, Mardonius sent a herald to the Spartans, who spoke as follows:—

"Lacedæmonians, in these parts the men say that you are the bravest of mankind, and admire you because you never turn your backs in flight or quit your ranks, but always stand firm, and either die at your posts or else destroy your adversaries.[3] But in all this which they say concerning you there is not one word of truth; for now have we seen you, before battle was joined or our two hosts had come to blows, flying and leaving your posts, wishing the Athenians to make the first trial of our arms, and taking your own station against our slaves. Surely these are not the deeds of brave men. Much do we find ourselves deceived in you; for we believed the reports of you that reached our ears,

salians we know from Herod. v. 63 and 64. But there is no reason to think that they had ever hitherto been at war with the Bœotians. Herodotus is not a good authority for the details of Spartan history.

[2] Plutarch confirms this narrative (Vit. Aristid. c. 16), but his details are at variance with Herodotus, and cannot be regarded as trustworthy.

[3] Vide supra, vii. 209. That the Spartans had really at this time the reputation of being the bravest of the Greeks, is evident from the words of Thucydides (iv. 40). It was thought that nothing could induce them to yield, but that, whatever the strait in which they might be, they would always resist to the death. This illusion was dispelled at Pylos. Concerning the real nature of the Spartan courage, see Arist. Pol. viii. 3; and compare Eth. Nic. III. viii. § 7, 8.

and expected that you would send a herald with a challenge to us, proposing to fight by yourselves against our division of native Persians. We for our part were ready to have agreed to this; but ye have made us no such offer—nay! ye seem rather to shrink from meeting us. However, as no challenge of this kind comes from you to us, lo! we send a challenge to you. Why should not you on the part of the Greeks, as you are thought to be the bravest of all, and we on the part of the barbarians, fight a battle with equal numbers on both sides? Then, if it seems good to the others to fight likewise, let them engage afterwards—but if not,—if they are content that we should fight on behalf of all, let us so do—and whichever side wins the battle, let them win it for their whole army."

49. When the herald had thus spoken,[4] he waited awhile, but as no one made him any answer, he went back, and told Mardonius what had happened. Mardonius was full of joy thereat, and so puffed up by the empty victory, that he at once gave orders to his horse to charge the Greek line. Then the horsemen drew near, and with their javelins and their arrows—for though horsemen they used the bow[5]—sorely distressed the Greek troops, which could not bring them to close combat. The fountain of Gargaphia,[6] whence the whole Greek army drew its water, they at this time

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[4] Mr. Grote disbelieves this circumstance. He thinks that Herodotus has here, "in Homeric style, cast the feeling of Mardonius at the time into the form of a speech" (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 230). But the 'Homeric' style of reproach is quite agreeable to the practice of primitive, and especially of Oriental, races. The challenge, it must be granted, is not so probable a feature.

[5] Supra, vii. 84 (compare vii. 61). The custom is noticed by several writers (Xen. Anab. III. iii. § 7; Lucian. Hermotim. § 33). It appears to have been adopted from the Assyrians (see the Monuments *passim*), and to have been passed on to the Parthians (Appian. B.C. iv. 59; Dionys. Perieg. l. 1040; Plut. Vit. Crass. c. 24-5; Virg. Georg. iii. 31; Hor. Od. i. 19; ii. 13, &c.). In Alexander's time, however, the favourite weapon of the Persian cavalry seems to have been the javelin,—the *jereed* of the present day (see Arrian Exp. Alex. i. 15; iii. 15).

[6] Supra, ch. 25.

choked up and spoiled.[7] The Lacedæmonians were the only troops who had their station near this fountain; the other Greeks were more or less distant from it, according to their place in the line; they however were not far from the Asôpus. Still, as the Persian horse with their missile weapons did not allow them to approach, and so they could not get their water from the river, these Greeks, no less than the Lacedæmonians, resorted at this time to the fountain.

50. When the fountain was choked, the Grecian captains, seeing that the army had no longer a watering-place, and observing moreover that the cavalry greatly harassed them, held a meeting on these and other matters at the head-quarters of Pausanias upon the right. For besides the above-named difficulties, which were great enough, other circumstances added to their distress. All the provisions that they had brought with them were gone; and the attendants who had been sent to fetch supplies from the Peloponnese, were prevented from returning to camp by the Persian horse, which had now closed the passage.

51. The captains therefore held a council, whereat it was agreed, that if the Persians did not give battle that day, the Greeks should move to the Island—a tract of ground which lies in front of Platæa, at the distance of ten furlongs from the Asôpus and fount Gargaphia, where the army was encamped at that time. This tract was a sort of island in the continent: for there is a river which, dividing near its source, runs down from Mount Cithæron into the plain below in two streams, flowing in channels about three furlongs apart, which after a while unite and become one.[8] The name of this river

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[7] Pausanias says the fountain was afterwards restored by the Platæans (IX. iv. § 2).

[8] There is no "island," properly so called, in front of Platæa. There is, however, in the position and at about the distance indicated, a tract of ground nearly, though not quite surrounded by water, which seems to be the place that bore the name. Two small streams descend from the flanks of Cithæron, which at first are not more

is Oëroë, and the dwellers in those parts call it, the daughter of the Asôpus.[9] This was the place to which the Greeks resolved to remove; and they chose it, first because they would there have no lack of water, and secondly, because the horse could not harass them as when it was drawn up right in their front. They thought it best to begin their march at the second watch of the night, lest the Persians should see them as they left their station, and should follow and harass them with their cavalry. It was agreed likewise, that after they had reached the place, which the Asôpus-born Oëroë surrounds, as it flows down from Cithæron, they should dispatch, the very same night, one half of their army towards that mountain-range, to relieve those whom they had sent to procure provisions, and who were now blocked up in that region.

52. Having made these resolves, they continued during that whole day to suffer beyond measure from the attacks of the enemy's horse. At length when towards dusk the attacks of the horse ceased, and night having closed in, the hour arrived at which the army was to commence its retreat, the greater number struck their tents and began the march towards the rear. They were not minded, however, to make for the place agreed upon; but in their anxiety to escape from the Persian horse, no sooner had they begun to move than they fled straight to Platæa, where they took post at the temple of Juno,[1] which lies outside the city, at the

than 300 yards apart, but gradually increase the distance to more than half a mile, after which they again approach each other, and unite to form the small river which flows into the Corinthian Gulf at *Livadhóstra*. (See the Plan, supra, p. 403.) This river is, beyond a doubt, the ancient Oëroë (see Pausan. ix. iv. 3; and compare the observations of Col. Leake, N. Greece, vol. ii. pp. 357-9).

[9] It is of course untrue, that there is any physical connexion between these two streams. The ancients, however, may have thought there was; for it was not uncommon with them to derive a stream from a river. The fountain Arethusa, for instance, though in Sicily, was connected in this way with the river Alpheus in the Peloponnese (Pind. Nem. i. 1; Pyth. ii. 7, &c.)!

[1] The site of this temple is very uncertain. Col. Leake thinks that it

distance of about twenty furlongs from Gargaphia, and here they pitched their camp in front of the sacred building.

53. As soon as Pausanias saw a portion of the troops in motion, he issued orders to the Lacedæmonians to strike their tents and follow those who had been the first to depart, supposing that they were on their march to the place agreed upon. All the captains but one were ready to obey his orders: Amompharetus, however, the son of Poliadas, who was leader of the Pitanate cohort,[2] refused to move, saying, "He for one would not fly from the strangers,[3] or of his own will bring disgrace upon Sparta." It had happened that he was absent from the former conference of the captains,[4] and so what was now taking place astonished him. Pausanias and Euryanax[5] thought it a monstrous thing that Amompharetus would not hearken to them; but considered that it would be yet more monstrous, if, when he was so minded, they were to leave the Pitanates to their fate; seeing that if they forsook them

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occupied a situation on the northern portion of the table height on which the town stood, overlooking the Oëroë, *within* the circuit of the present walls. The Platæa of the time of the Persian war, he believes to have been confined to the southern or highest part of the eminence, where the ruins are of the most archaic character (N. Greece, vol. ii. p. 364; compare p. 325). The temple appears to have been spared when the rest of the city was destroyed by the Bœotians, B.C. 426, while a new temple was also built in honour of Juno in its immediate neighbourhood (Thucyd. iii. 68). The latter is probably the building which Pausanias saw (IX. ii. § 5).

[2] Thucydides declares the belief in a "Pitanate cohort" to have been a vulgar error among the Greeks generally. He absolutely denies the existence, at any time, of such a body (ὃς οὐδ' ἐγένετο πώποτε, i. 20). It is possible certainly that no portion of the Spartan army may have borne this name, but as Pitana was a suburb of Sparta (supra, iii. 55), possessing a certain distinctness in itself, it is likely to have furnished to the army a battalion of its own, which Herodotus, who had been at Pitana (l. s. c.), would intend to mark out for honour. He might call this "the Pitanate cohort" without meaning that it actually bore the title.

In Roman times the statement of Thucydides was not believed; for it was certainly in supposed imitation of antiquity that Caracalla composed his λόχος Πιτανάτης of young Spartans (Herodian. iv. 3, p. 170, D.).

[3] Vide supra, ch. 11, and infra, ch. 55.

[4] Vide supra, ch. 51.

[5] Euryanax had been mentioned as having some share in the command, supra, ch. 10.

to keep their agreement with the other Greeks, Amompharetus and those with him, might perish. On this account, therefore, they kept the Lacedæmonian force in its place, and made every endeavour to persuade Amompharetus that he was wrong to act as he was doing.

54. While the Spartans were engaged in these efforts to turn Amompharetus,—the only man unwilling to retreat either in their own army or in that of the Tegeans—the Athenians on their side did as follows. Knowing that it was the Spartan temper to say one thing and do another,[6] they remained quiet in their station until the army began to retreat, when they dispatched a horseman to see whether the Spartans really meant to set forth, or whether after all they had no intention of moving. The horseman was also to ask Pausanias, what he wished the Athenians to do.

55. The herald on his arrival found the Lacedæmonians drawn up in their old position, and their leaders quarrelling with one another. Pausanias and Euryanax had gone on urging Amompharetus not to endanger the lives of his men by staying behind while the others drew off, but without succeeding in persuading him; until at last the dispute had waxed hot between them just at the moment when the Athenian herald arrived. At this point Amompharetus, who was still disputing, took up with both his hands a vast rock, and placed it at the feet of Pausanias, saying—"With this pebble I give my vote not to run away from the strangers." (By "strangers" he meant barbarians.[6a]) Pausanias, in reply, called him a fool and a madman, and turning to the Athenian herald, who had made the inquiries with which he was

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[6] Vide supra, chs. 6 and 8. The soreness caused by recent disappointment might have produced a distrust of the Spartans, which their ordinary conduct did not justify. The Athenians, as Mr. Blakesley observes (note ad loc.), were fond of taxing the Spartans with bad faith (Arist. Pac. 1004 et seqq.; Eurip. Androm. 446-450; &c.); but "history does not bear out the charge."

[6a] Vide supra, ch. 11.

charged, bade him tell his countrymen how he was occupied, and ask them to approach nearer, and retreat or not according to the movements of the Spartans.

56. So the herald went back to the Athenians; and the Spartans continued to dispute till morning began to dawn upon them. Then Pausanias, who as yet had not moved, gave the signal for retreat—expecting (and rightly, as the event proved) that Amompharetus, when he saw the rest of the Lacedæmonians in motion, would be unwilling to be left behind. No sooner was the signal given, than all the army except the Pitanates began their march, and retreated along the line of the hills; the Tegeans accompanying them. The Athenians likewise set off in good order, but proceeded by a different way from the Lacedæmonians. For while the latter clung to the hilly ground and the skirts of Mount Cithæron, on account of the fear which they entertained of the enemy's horse, the former betook themselves to the low country and marched through the plain.

57. As for Amompharetus, at first he did not believe that Pausanias would really dare to leave him behind; he therefore remained firm in his resolve to keep his men at their post; when, however, Pausanias and his troops were now some way off, Amompharetus, thinking himself forsaken in good earnest, ordered his band to take their arms, and led them at a walk towards the main army. Now the army was waiting for them at a distance of about ten furlongs, having halted upon the river Moloeis[7] at a place called Argiopius, where stands a temple[8] dedicated to Eleusinian Ceres.[9] They had

[7] The Moloeis must be one of the small streams which join to form the Oëroë, but it is not possible to determine which of them. If the name Oëroë applied, as is probable (supra, ch. 51), to both the main sources, perhaps the intermediate stream was the Moloeis.

[8] This temple is mentioned again, chs. 62 and 65. Plutarch tells us it was situated on the skirts of Cithæron, not far from the Heroum of Androcrates (Vit. Aristid. c. 11). Pausanias (IX. iv. § 2) seems to place it near Gargaphia (see above, ch. 25, note [9]). No remains of it have hitherto been discovered.

[9] According to Plutarch (l. s. c.) the

stopped here, that, in case Amompharetus and his band should refuse to quit the spot where they were drawn up, and should really not stir from it, they might have it in their power to move back and lend them assistance. Amompharetus, however, and his companions rejoined the main body; and at the same time the whole mass of the barbarian cavalry arrived and began to press hard upon them. The horsemen had followed their usual practice and ridden up to the Greek camp, when they discovered that the place, where the Greeks had been posted hitherto, was deserted. Hereupon they pushed forward without stopping, and as soon as they overtook the enemy, pressed heavily on them.

58. Mardonius, when he heard that the Greeks had retired under cover of the night, and beheld the place, where they had been stationed, empty, called to him Thorax of Larissa,[1] and his brethren, Eurypylus and Thrasideius, and said—

"O sons of Alcuas, what will ye say now, when ye see yonder place empty? Why, you who dwell in their neighbourhood, told me the Lacedæmonians never fled from battle, but were brave beyond all the rest of mankind. Lately, however, you yourselves beheld them change their place in the line;[2] and here, as all may see, they have run away during the night. Verily, when their turn came to fight with those, who are of a truth the bravest warriors in all the world, they showed plainly enough, that they are men of no worth, who have distinguished themselves among *Greeks*—men like-

Athenians had been warned by the Delphic oracle, that, in order to secure the victory, they must sacrifice to the local gods of the Platæan district, and also fight the battle in their own territory in the plain of the Eleusinian goddesses. The two parts of the oracle seemed incompatible; but by the discovery of this ancient temple they were reconciled. The Platæans ceded the territory in which it lay to Athens, who thus fought *on her own ground*. It is clear that Herodotus had not heard of this story, which is probably devoid of any foundation in fact (see Thirlwall, Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. pp. 334, 335).

[1] Supra, ch. 1.

[2] Supra, ch. 47.

wise of no worth at all. However I can readily excuse you, who, knowing nothing of the Persians, praised these men from your acquaintance with certain exploits of theirs; but I marvel all the more at Artabazus, that *he* should have been afraid of the Lacedæmonians, and have therefore given us so dastardly a counsel,—bidding us, as he did, break up our camp, and remove to Thebes, and there allow ourselves to be besieged by the Greeks[3]—advice whereof I shall take care to inform the King. But of this hereafter. Now we must not allow them to escape us, but must pursue after them till we overtake them; and then we must exact vengeance for all the wrongs, which have been suffered at their hands by the Persians."

59. When he had so spoken, he crossed the Asôpus, and led the Persians forward at a run directly upon the track of the Greeks, whom he believed to be in actual flight. He could not see the Athenians; for as they had taken the way of the plain, they were hidden from his sight by the hills; he therefore led on his troops against the Lacedæmonians and the Tegeans only. When the commanders of the other divisions of the barbarians saw the Persians pursuing the Greeks so hastily, they all forthwith seized their standards, and hurried after at their best speed, in great disorder and disarray.[4] On they went with loud shouts and in a wild rout, thinking to swallow up the runaways.

60. Meanwhile Pausanias had sent a horseman to the Athenians, at the time when the cavalry first fell upon him, with this message:—

[3] Supra, ch. 41.

[4] It is curious that Plutarch, while following in most points the very expressions of Herodotus, should reverse this statement, and declare that the Persians advanced in good order (Vit. Aristid. c. 17). If his text is sound, we must suppose that he thought it would detract too much from the credit of the Spartans to allow the disarray of the enemy. But I suspect that a negative has slipped out before συντεταγμένην—and that we ought to read, Μαρδόνιος . . . ἔχων οὐ συντεταγμένην τὴν δύναμιν ἐπεφέρετο τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, κτλ. The sense of the whole passage seems to require this change.

"Men of Athens, now that the great struggle has come, which is to decide the freedom or the slavery of Greece, we twain, Lacedæmonians and Athenians, are deserted by all the other allies, who have fled away from us during the past night. Nevertheless, we are resolved what to do—we must endeavour, as best we may, to defend ourselves and to succour one another. Now, had the horse fallen upon you first, we ourselves with the Tegeans (who remain faithful to the Greek cause) would have been bound to render you assistance against them. As however the entire body has advanced upon us, 'tis your place to come to our aid, sore pressed as we are by the enemy. Should you yourselves be so straitened that you cannot come, at least send us your archers, and be sure you will earn our gratitude. We acknowledge that throughout this whole war there has been no zeal to be compared to yours—we therefore doubt not that you will do us this service."

61. The Athenians, as soon as they received this message, were anxious to go to the aid of the Spartans, and to help them to the uttermost of their power; but, as they were upon the march, the Greeks on the King's side, whose place in the line had been opposite theirs, fell upon them, and so harassed them by their attacks that it was not possible for them to give the succour they desired. Accordingly the Lacedæmonians, and the Tegeans—whom nothing could induce to quit their side—were left alone to resist the Persians. Including the light-armed, the number of the former was 50,000; while that of the Tegeans was 3000.[5] Now, therefore, as they were about to engage with Mar-

[5] Vide supra, chs. 28-9. The 50,000 would be thus composed:—

Heavy-armed	Spartans	5,000
	Lacedæmonians	5,000
Light-armed	Helots	35,000
	Lacedæmonians	5,000
		50,000

The Tegean 3000 were:—

Heavy-armed	1,500
Light-armed	1,500
	3,000

donius and the troops under him, they made ready to offer sacrifice. The victims, however, for some time were not favourable; and during the delay, many fell on the Spartan side, and a still greater number were wounded. For the Persians had made a rampart[6] of their wicker shields,[7] and shot from behind them such clouds of arrows, that the Spartans were sorely distressed. The victims continued unpropitious; till at last Pausanias raised his eyes to the Heraeum of the Plataeans,[8] and calling the goddess to his aid, besought her not to disappoint the hopes of the Greeks.

62. As he offered his prayer, the Tegeans, advancing before the rest, rushed forward against the enemy; and the Lacedaemonians, who had obtained favourable omens the moment that Pausanias prayed, at length, after their long delay, advanced to the attack; while the Per-

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[6] It is curious to find the same practice still in use at the present day. In an account given by an English surgeon (Mr. Adams) of an attack made by North-American Indians upon a Russian post in the winter of 1850-1851, I find the following:—"Each man carried a shield of thick *wood*, which was musket-proof; and after the first attack, they appear to have *planted them in a line, so as to form a wall*, from behind which they fired [with arrows] at the surviving inhabitants." (See Osborn's Discovery of the North-West Passage, p. 175.)

[7] The wicker shield used by the Persians, both at this time and in the age of Xenophon (Anab. I. viii. § 9), but which is not seen at Persepolis (supra, vii. 61, note [7]), seems to have been adopted from the Assyrians, on whose monuments it not unfrequently appears (see Layard's Monuments of Nineveh, plates 75 and 78). The mode of using it, was either by means of a shield-bearer, who protected the archer, as in the subjoined representation, or sometimes perhaps by means of a crutch (vide supra, vii. 89, note [8]).



[8] Supra, ch. 52, note [1]. If the temple stood where Col. Leake supposes, it would be directly in the rear of Pausanias, but conspicuous if he turned round. As, however, the Plataean Hêrê, or Juno, was entitled "Hêrê Citheronia" (Plut. Vit. Arist. c. 18, &c.), it may be doubted whether the building did not occupy some point on the skirts of the mountain. In this case, it would have been upon his right.

sians, on their side, left shooting, and prepared to meet them. And first the combat was at the wicker shields. Afterwards, when these were swept down, a fierce contest took place by the side of the temple of Ceres, which lasted long, and ended in a hand-to-hand struggle. The barbarians many times seized hold of the Greek spears and brake them; for in boldness and warlike spirit the Persians were not a whit inferior to the Greeks; but they were without bucklers,[9] untrained, and far below the enemy in respect of skill in arms. Sometimes singly, sometimes in bodies of ten, now fewer and now more in number, they dashed forward upon the Spartan ranks, and so perished.

63. The fight went most against the Greeks, where Mardonius, mounted upon a white horse, and surrounded by the bravest of all the Persians, the thousand picked men,[1] fought in person. So long as Mardonius was alive, this body resisted all attacks, and, while they defended their own lives, struck down no small number of Spartans; but after Mardonius fell, and the troops with him, which were the main strength of the army, perished, the remainder yielded to the Lacedæmonians, and took to flight. Their light clothing, and want of bucklers, were of the greatest hurt to them: for they had to contend against men heavily armed, while they themselves were without any such defence.

64. Then was the warning of the oracle fulfilled,[2] and

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[9] The wicker shields (γέῤῥα) of the Persians were useless for close combat, and they seem to have been destroyed in the first attack of the Greeks. The Persians were then exposed without bucklers, and with no defence but the breastplate, or coat of scale armour, to the spears of their adversaries. Perhaps some were even without this protection. Mr. Grote, in understanding by ὅπλα, *defensive armour generally*, has overstated the disadvantages, and by consequence, the courage of the Persians (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 239). The ὅπλον is equivalent to the ἀσπὶς or *clypeus*, and is the ordinary shield which distinguished the ὁπλίτης from the ψιλὸς or light-armed soldier. Some considerable number of the Persians must certainly have had coats of mail or breastplates. (Vide supra, vii. 61, viii. 113, ix. 22.)

[1] Supra, vii. 40, and viii. 113.

[2] The warning to which allusion is made, must undoubtedly be that related in the preceding Book, ch. 114. In the original the expression is the same (τὸ χρηστήριον).

the vengeance which was due to the Spartans for the slaughter of Leonidas was paid them by Mardonius—then too did Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, and grandson of Anaxandridas (I omit to recount his other ancestors, since they are the same with those of Leonidas[3]), win a victory exceeding in glory all those to which our knowledge extends. Mardonius was slain by Aeimnêstus,[4] a man famous in Sparta—the same who in the Messenian war, which came after the struggle against the Medes,[5] fought a battle near Stenyclêrus with but three hundred men against the whole force of the Messenians, and himself perished, and the three hundred with him.

65. The Persians, as soon as they were put to flight by the Lacedæmonians, ran hastily away, without preserving any order, and took refuge in their own camp, within the wooden defence which they had raised in the Theban territory.[6] It is a marvel to me how it came to pass, that although the battle was fought quite close to the grove of Ceres, yet not a single Persian appears to have died on the sacred soil, or even to have set foot upon it, while round about the precinct, in the unconsecrated ground, great numbers perished. I imagine—if it is lawful, in matters which concern the gods, to imagine anything—that the goddess herself kept them out, because they had burnt her dwelling at Eleusis. Such, then, was the issue of this battle.

66. Artabazus, the son of Pharnaces, who had dis-

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[3] The ancestors of Leonidas had been already given (vii. 204).

[4] Plutarch says Arimnêstus; and this is the reading in some MSS. of Herodotus. According to the former, Mardonius received his death-wound from a stone, whereby was fulfilled a prophecy given to his messenger in the cave of Trophonius (De Def. Oracl. vol. ii. p. 412).

[5] Supra, ch. 35, note [4]. Stenyclerus, where this battle was fought, is said to have been the Dorian capital of Messenia (Ephor. Fr. 20; Pausan. IV. iii. § 4). It was famous for one of the great victories of Aristomenes (Pausan. IV. xvi.) The site is not now marked by any ruins; but perhaps the most probable position of the town is that assigned by Professor Curtius, who places it on a hill to the east of the great plain, about three miles north of *Scala* (Peloponnesus, vol. ii. p. 136, and comp. Map 5).

[6] Supra, ch. 15.

approved from the first of the king's leaving Mardonius behind him, and had made great endeavours, but all in vain, to dissuade Mardonius from risking a battle,[7] when he found that the latter was bent on acting otherwise than he wished, did as follows. He had a force under his orders which was far from inconsiderable, amounting, as it did, to near forty thousand men. Being well aware, therefore, how the battle was likely to go, as soon as the two armies began to fight, he led his soldiers forward in an orderly array,[8] bidding them one and all proceed at the same pace, and follow him with such celerity as they should observe him to use. Having issued these commands, he pretended to lead them to the battle. But when, advancing before his army, he saw that the Persians were already in flight, instead of keeping the same order, he wheeled his troops suddenly round, and beat a retreat; nor did he even seek shelter within the palisade or behind the walls of Thebes, but hurried on into Phocis, wishing to make his way to the Hellespont with all possible speed. Such accordingly was the course which these Persians took.

67. As for the Greeks upon the King's side, while most of them played the coward purposely, the Bœotians, on the contrary, had a long struggle with the Athenians. Those of the Thebans who were attached to the Medes,[9] displayed especially no little zeal; far from playing the coward, they fought with such fury that three hundred of the best and bravest among them

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[7] Supra, ch. 41.

[8] I have followed the reading ἦγε κατηρτημένους, which Mr. Blakesley edits, and which seems to give the best sense.

[9] It is plain from this passage that the Thebans were divided. While the great majority of them went heart and soul with the Persians, there was still among them an anti-Persian minority. This was to be expected from the constant existence of two parties, an aristocratic and a democratic, in Thebes (Hermann's Pol. Ant., § 180). As the former joined the Persians, chiefly out of hatred to Athens, the Athenian sympathies of the latter would induce it to take the opposite side.

were slain by the Athenians in this passage of arms. But at last they too were routed, and fled away—not, however, in the same direction as the Persians and the crowd of allies, who, having taken no part in the battle, ran off without striking a blow—but to the city of Thebes.

68. To me it shows very clearly how completely the rest of the barbarians were dependent upon the Persian troops, that here they all fled at once, without ever coming to blows with the enemy, merely because they saw the Persians running away. And so it came to pass that the whole army took to flight, except only the horse, both Persian and Bœotian. These did good service to the flying foot-men, by advancing close to the enemy, and separating between the Greeks and their own fugitives.

69. The victors however pressed on, pursuing and slaying the remnant of the king's army.

Meantime, while the flight continued, tidings reached the Greeks who were drawn up round the Heræum,[10] and so were absent from the battle, that the fight was begun, and that Pausanias was gaining the victory. Hearing this, they rushed forward without any order, the Corinthians taking the upper road across the skirts of Cithæron and the hills, which led straight to the temple of Ceres; while the Megarians and Phliasians followed the level route through the plain. These last had almost reached the enemy, when the Theban horse espied them, and observing their disarray, dispatched against them the squadron of which Asopodôrus, the son of Timander, was captain. Asopodôrus charged them with such effect that he left six hundred of their number dead upon the plain, and, pursuing the rest, compelled them to seek shelter in Cithæron. So these men perished without honour.

70. The Persians, and the multitude with them, who

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[10] Supra, ch. 52.

fled to the wooden fortress, were able to ascend into the towers before the Lacedæmonians came up. Thus placed, they proceeded to strengthen the defences as well as they could; and when the Lacedæmonians arrived, a sharp fight took place at the rampart. So long as the Athenians were away, the barbarians kept off their assailants, and had much the best of the combat, since the Lacedæmonians were unskilled in the attack of walled places:[1] but on the arrival of the Athenians, a more violent assault was made, and the wall was for a long time attacked with fury. In the end the valour of the Athenians and their perseverance prevailed—they gained the top of the wall, and, breaking a breach through it, enabled the Greeks to pour in. The first to enter here were the Tegeans, and they it was who plundered the tent of Mardonius; where among other booty they found the manger from which his horses ate, all made of solid brass, and well worth looking at. This manger was given by the Tegeans to the temple of Minerva Alea,[2] while the remainder of their booty

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[1] The inability to conduct sieges is one of the most striking features of the Spartan military character. Müller (Dorians, vol. ii. p. 265, E. T.) ascribes it to a contempt for the system of warfare wherein sieges are of much account. But was it not rather the consequence of a general unaptness for the mechanical arts? Sieges cannot but be of account in war, and the Spartan inability told greatly against them at various periods in their history. Hence the difficulty which they experienced in completing the conquest of the Achæans (Thirlwall, vol. i. pp. 266-7), and the long and fierce struggles with Messenia, where Ithômé and Eira were walled towns of great strength (Hermann, Pol. Ant. § 31). Hence again the prolonged resistance of the revolted Helots in Ithômé soon after the close of this war (Thucyd. i. 102, supra, chs. 35 and 64), and the failure to take Pylus even when hastily fortified (Thucyd. iv. 4, 5 and 11, 12), which was so important an event in the Peloponnesian struggle.

The Athenian skill contrasted remarkably with the Spartan inefficiency. (Compare Thucyd. i. 102, where the Spartans call in the help of their rivals, μάλιστα ὅτι τειχομαχεῖν ἐδόκουν δυνατοὶ εἶναι.)

[2] This was the most ancient and principal temple of the Tegeans (Pausan. VIII. xlv.-xlvii.). Its foundation is even ascribed to the mythic king Aleus (ibid. VIII. iv. § 5). In the year B.C. 395 the original building was destroyed by fire, and a new temple was shortly afterwards erected in its place by Scopas of Ephesus, the architect of the Mausoleum (Pausan. VIII. xlv. § 3, 4). The old statue was said to have been preserved, and to have been carried to Rome by Augustus (ibid. xlvi. § 1).

For the meaning of the term Alea, and the general Arcadian worship of

was brought into the common stock of the Greeks. As soon as the wall was broken down, the barbarians no longer kept together in any array, nor was there one among them who thought of making further resistance —in good truth they were all half dead with fright, huddled as so many thousands were into so narrow and confined a space. With such tameness did they submit to be slaughtered by the Greeks, that of the 300,000 men who composed the army—omitting the 40,000 by whom Artabazus was accompanied in his flight—no more than 3000 outlived the battle.[3] Of the Lacedæmonians from Sparta there perished in this combat ninety-one; of the Tegeans, sixteen; of the Athenians, fifty-two.[4]

71. On the side of the barbarians, the greatest courage was manifested, among the foot-soldiers, by the Persians; among the horse, by the Sacæ; while Mardonius himself, as a man, bore off the palm from the rest. Among the Greeks, the Athenians and the Tegeans fought well; but the prowess shown by the Lacedæmonians was beyond either.[5] Of this I have

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Minerva under that title, vide supra, i. 66, note [7].

[3] It cannot be doubted that there was an enormous carnage, though this statement may exceed the truth. Æschylus (Persæ, 814) mentions the "heaps of dead" (θῖνες νεκρῶν), which would carry down the evidence of the fight to the third generation. Diodorus (xi. 32) declares that no quarter was given, and lays the number of the slain at 100,000. Plutarch (Vit. Aristid. c. 19) follows Herodotus. There would however be no means of estimating accurately the number of those who made their escape from the camp and joined the retreating forces of Artabazus. Does Herodotus mean to say that the Greeks *spared* only 3000?

[4] Plutarch confirms this statement, but adds that the whole number of Greeks slain was 1360. Perhaps this number, which may fairly be looked on as *historical*, included not only the 600 Megarians and Phliasians destroyed by the Bœotian cavalry (ch. 69), but the entire loss of the Greeks during the twelve days that the two armies had been facing one another. Or was it the total amount of the Greek loss in the battle, including the Helots (infra, ch. 85) and the other light-armed?

Concerning the trivial losses sustained by the Greeks in great battles, vide supra, vi. 117, note [4]. It seems quite impossible that all the Athenians slain can have belonged to one tribe (that of Æantis), as Clitodemus declared (Fr. 14), if Plutarch does not misreport him.

[5] Æschylus, although himself an Athenian, assigns the whole credit of the victory at Platæa to "the Dorian spear" (Persæ, 812-3). Plato, in the Menexenus (p. 241, C.), claims half the glory for the Athenians.

but one proof to offer,[6]—since all the three nations overthrew the force opposed to them—which is, that the Lacedæmonians fought and conquered the best troops. The bravest man by far on that day was, in my judgment, Aristodêmus — the same who alone escaped from the slaughter of the three hundred at Thermopylæ, and who on that account had endured disgrace and reproach:[7] next to him were Posidônius, Philocyon, and Amompharetus the Spartan. The Spartans, however, who took part in the fight, when the question of "who had distinguished himself most," came to be talked over among them, decided—"that Aristodêmus, who, on account of the blame which attached to him, had manifestly courted death, and had therefore left his place in the line and behaved like a madman, had done of a truth very notable deeds; but that Posidônius, who, with no such desire to lose his life, had quitted himself no less gallantly, was by so much a braver man than he." Perchance, however, it was envy that made them speak after this sort. Of those whom I have named above as slain in this battle, all, save and except Aristodêmus, received public honours: Aristodêmus alone had no honours, because he courted death for the reason which I have mentioned.

72. These then were the most distinguished of those

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[6] It is plain from this passage that Herodotus had never heard of the violent contention concerning the prize of valour between the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians, of which Plutarch speaks (Vit. Aristid. c. 20; de Herod. Malig. vol. ii. p. 873). According to him, the two chief confederates were near coming to blows on the subject, but were saved by the mediation of Aristides, who proposed referring the matter to the judgment of the allies. They, by the advice of the Corinthian leader, selected the Platæans for the honour, thus avoiding the danger of a civil war; and the two contending powers submitted to the decision. Had this story been true, Herodotus, who collected materials for his account of the battle from the Platæans themselves (chs. 83, 85), would have certainly recorded it. We should also doubtless have found some allusion to the fact in the speech of the Platæans before their Spartan judges (Thuc. iii. 53-9).

Diodorus declares that the prize of valour was formally awarded to the Lacedæmonians—and among them to Pausanias (xi. 33). It seems most probable, however, that no formal decision was come to (see Grote, vol. v. p. 251).

[7] Supra, vii. 229-231.

who fought at Platæa. As for Callicrates,—the most beautiful man, not among the Spartans only, but in the whole Greek camp,—he was not killed in the battle; for it was while Pausanias was still consulting the victims, that as he sat[8] in his proper place in the line, an arrow struck him on the side. While his comrades advanced to the fight, he was borne out of the ranks, very loath to die, as he showed by the words which he addressed to Arimnestus, one of the Platæans;[9]—"I grieve," said he, "not because I have to die for my country, but because I have not lifted my arm against the enemy, or done any deed worthy of me, much as I have desired to achieve something."

73. The Athenian who is said to have distinguished himself the most was Sôphanes, the son of Eutychides, of the Decelean canton.[10] The men of this canton, once upon a time, did a deed, which (as the Athenians themselves confess) has ever since been serviceable to them. When the Tyndaridæ, in days of yore, invaded Attica with a mighty army to recover Helen,[1] and not being

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[8] Wesseling (ad loc.) notes that this was not an unusual custom. He refers to Eurip. Suppl. 357, 664, 674; and to Plutarch, Vit. Aristid. c. 17.

[9] Arimnestus, according to Plutarch, was the leader of the Platæan contingent (Vit. Aristid. c. 11). Pausanias assigns him, not only this command, but the command of the Platæans at the battle of Marathon (IX. iv. § 1). It is certain that a statue was erected to Arimnestus at Platæa, which stood in the temple of Minerva the Warlike (Ἀρεία)—a temple said to have been built out of the Marathonian spoils—at the foot of the colossal image of the Goddess (ibid.).

It may be suspected that Lacon, one of the two Platæans chosen to plead the cause of their countrymen before the Spartan judges (Thucyd. iii. 52), was the son of this officer. The names Arimnestus (ΑΡΙΜΝΗΣΤΟΣ) and Aeimnestus (ΑΕΙΜΝΗΣΤΟΣ) are constantly confused together (cf. Gaisf. ad loc., and also on the name Aeimnestus in ch. 64); and there would have been excellent policy in making a son of the great Platæan commander spokesman on that memorable occasion.

[10] Supra, ch. 15, note 7.

[1] Pirithoüs and Theseus resolved to wed daughters of Jove, and to help one another. They had heard of the beauty of Helen, though she was no more than seven years old, and went to Sparta to carry her off. There they found her dancing in the temple of Diana Orthia. Having seized her and borne her away, they cast lots whose she should be, and Theseus was the winner. So he brought Helen to Attica, and secreted her at Aphidna[2], giving her in charge to his friend Aphidnus, and his mother Æthra. Theseus then accompanied Pirithoüs into Thesprotia, to obtain Persephoné for him. Meanwhile the Dioscûri had collected a vast host, and invaded At-

able to find out whither she had been carried, desolated the cantons,—at this time, they say, the Deceleans (or Decelus himself, according to some), displeased at the rudeness of Theseus, and fearing that the whole territory would suffer, discovered everything to the enemy,[2] and even showed them the way to Aphidnæ; which Titacus, a native of the place, betrayed into their hands. As a reward for this action, Sparta has always, from that time to the present, allowed the Deceleans to be free from all dues, and to have seats of honour at their festivals; and hence too, in the war which took place many years after these events between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, while they laid waste all the rest of Attica, spared the lands of the Deceleans.[3]

74. Of this canton was Sôphanes, the Athenian who most distinguished himself in the battle. Two stories are told concerning him: according to the one, he wore an iron anchor fastened to the belt which secured his breastplate, by a brazen chain; and this, when he came near the enemy, he threw out; to the intent that, when they made their charge, it might be impossible for him to be driven from his post: as soon, however, as the enemy fled, his wont was to take up his anchor and join the pursuit. Such, then, is one of the said stories. The

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tica, where they sought everywhere for their sister. At length her hiding-place was pointed out to them; and they laid siege to Aphidnæ, and having taken it, recovered Helen, and made Æthra prisoner. (See Plutarch, Vit. Thes. c. 31-3; Hellan. Fr. 74; Apollod. III. x. § 7; Pausan. II. xxii. § 7.)

[2] Plutarch substitutes Academus for Decelus, and makes the Spartans spare the Academy on this account (Vit. Thes. c. 32).

[3] It has been supposed that this is a distorted account of the famous occupation of Decelea by the Spartan king Agis, in the nineteenth summer of the Peloponnesian war. Rumour, it is said, might give the event this shape in Magna Græcia (see Dahlmann's Life of Herod. p. 32, E. T., and Heyse's Quæst. Herodot. p. 76). But there are no grounds for believing that Herodotus wrote any part of his history so late (vide supra, vol. i. p. 32); and the reference is far more probably to a sparing of Decelea (induced perhaps by the remoteness of its situation), in the first year of the war, when Archidamus ravaged *certain* of the demes (τῶν δήμων τινάς) lying between Mounts Parnes and Brilessus (Thucyd. ii. 23).

other, which is contradictory to the first, relates, that Sôphanes, instead of having an iron anchor fastened to his breastplate, bore the device of an anchor upon his shield,[4] which he never allowed to rest, but made to run round continually.

75. Another glorious deed was likewise performed by this same Sôphanes. At the time when the Athenians were laying siege to Egina, he took up the challenge of Eurybates the Argive, a winner of the Pentathlum, and slew him.[5] The fate of Sôphanes in after times was the following: he was leader of an Athenian army in conjunction with Leagrus,[6] the son of Glaucon, and in a battle with the Edonians near Datum,[7] about the gold-mines there, he was slain, after displaying uncommon bravery.

76. As soon as the Greeks at Platæa had overthrown

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[4] Devices upon shields, the invention of which Herodotus ascribes to the Carians (i. 171), were in use among the Greeks from very early times. The elaborate shields ascribed to great heroes, as Hercules (Hesiod. Sc. Herc. 144-317), and Achilles (Hom. Il. xviii. 483-607), must have had some foundation of reality to rest upon. Perhaps the descriptions given of the devices borne by the Seven chiefs who attacked Thebes are not much beyond the truth (Æschyl. Sept. c. Th. 383-645; Eurip. Phœn. 1123-1154). See Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, s. v. INSIGNE.

[5] Supra, vi. 92. Eurybates had already slain three champions when Sôphanes accepted his challenge. His pentathlic victory (if we may trust Pausanias) was obtained at the Nemean games (I. xxix. § 4). Concerning the nature of pentathlic contests, vide supra, vi. 92, note [8].

[6] Leagrus seems to have had a son Glaucon, who commanded the Athenian squadron which protected the Corcyræans in one of their naval battles with the Corinthians shortly before the Peloponnesian war (Thucyd. i, 51).

[7] Datum or Datus (Appian. Harpocrat.) was a Thasian colony on the coast of Thrace, lying between Abdêra and Neapolis (Scylax, Peripl. p. 65; Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg. 517). It was excellently situated, in a fertile tract, well wooded and possessing rich gold-mines. It was also famous for its dockyards, and for the prosperity of its inhabitants. These favourable circumstances gave rise to the proverb "Δάτον ἀγαθῶν," which was applied to such as were very prosperous (Strab. vii. p. 481; Harpocrat. ad voc.; Apostol. Cent. vi. 74, &c.).

Appian is certainly wrong in identifying Datum with Crenides, the Philippi of later times (De Bell. Civ. iv. 105; p. 650, A.; see Col. Leake's remarks, N. Greece, vol. iii. p. 223-4).

The battle here mentioned was fought about the year B.C. 465, on occasion of the first attempt which the Athenians made to colonise Amphipolis (Pausan. I. xxix. § 4; Thucyd. i. 100, and iv. 102). Sôphanes and his comrades who fell, were conveyed to Athens, where their tomb was shown in the time of Pausanias (l. s. c.).

the barbarians, a woman came over to them from the enemy. She was one of the concubines of Pharandates,[8] the son of Teäspes, a Persian; and when she heard that the Persians were all slain and that the Greeks had carried the day, forthwith she adorned herself and her maids with many golden ornaments, and with the bravest of the apparel that she had brought with her, and, alighting from her litter, came forward to the Lacedæmonians, ere the work of slaughter was well over. When she saw that all the orders were given by Pausanias, with whose name and country she was well acquainted, as she had oftentimes heard tell of them, she knew who he must be; wherefore she embraced his knees, and said—

"Oh! king of Sparta,[9] save thy suppliant from the slavery that awaits the captive. Already I am beholden to thee for one service—the slaughter of these men, wretches who had no regard either for gods or angels. I am by birth a Coan, the daughter of Hêgêtoridas, son of Antagoras. The Persian seized me by force in Cos, and kept me against my will."

"Lady," answered Pausanias, "fear nothing: as a suppliant thou art safe—and still more, if thou hast spoken truth, and Hêgêtoridas of Cos is thy father—for he is bound to me by closer ties of friendship than any other man in those regions."

When he had thus spoken, Pausanias placed the woman in the charge of some of the Ephors who were present,[10] and afterwards sent her to Egina, whither she had a desire to go.

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8 Pharandates was the commander of the Mares and Colchians in the army of Xerxes (supra, vii. 79).

9 Wesseling's apology for the inaccuracy of this expression—the confusion and excitement of the speaker—is not needed. Pausanias, though no more than regent, is often termed king (vide supra, ch. 10, note 8).

10 This presence of Ephors in the camp is very remarkable. Hitherto the kings, notwithstanding the gradual encroachment of the Ephors upon their authority, had at least been uncontrolled in the camp and on foreign expeditions. Now this last privilege begins to suffer invasion. Ephors however do not yet, for a considerable

77. About the time of this woman's coming, the Mantineans arrived upon the field, and found that all was over, and that it was too late to take any part in the battle. Greatly distressed hereat, they declared themselves to deserve a fine, as laggarts; after which, learning that a portion of the Medes had fled away under Artabazus, they were anxious to go after them as far as Thessaly. The Lacedæmonians however would not suffer the pursuit; so they returned again to their own land, and sent the leaders of their army into banishment. Soon after the Mantineans, the Eleans likewise arrived,[1] and showed the same sorrow; after which they too returned home, and banished their leaders. But enough concerning these nations.

78. There was a man at Platæa among the troops of the Eginetans, whose name was Lampon; he was the son of Pytheas,[2] and a person of the first rank among his countrymen. Now this Lampon went about this same time to Pausanias, and counselled him to do a deed of exceeding wickedness. "Son of Cleombrotus," he said very earnestly, "what thou hast already done is passing great and glorious. By the favour of heaven thou hast saved Greece, and gained a renown beyond all the Greeks of whom we have any knowledge. Now then so finish thy work, that thine own fame may be increased

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period, *regularly* accompany the king when he goes abroad. No Ephor seems to have been with Pausanias, when he was recalled by *scytalé* (Thuc. i. 131). Plistoanax is accompanied into Attica (B.C. 445) not by an Ephor, but by a counsellor (*σύμβουλος*) appointed by the Ephors (Plut. Vit. Pericl. c. 22). After this Archidamus is apparently uncontrolled: as is Agis, until he falls into disgrace (B.C. 418), when ten counsellors are appointed to watch and check his proceedings (Thuc. v. 63). A little later (B.C. 413) he seems to be once more free (Ib. viii. 5). It is not till the year B.C. 403, that we find any instance of the practice, which finally prevailed, of two Ephors uniformly going out with the king. Then however it is called an established custom (Xen. Hell. II. iv. § 36; compare Rep. Lac. xiii. 5).

[1] The Mantineans and Eleans probably arrived *from the Peloponnese*, having been prevented hitherto by the Persian cavalry from descending the passes of Cithæron.

[2] Not the Pytheas mentioned before (vii. 181) as so greatly distinguishing himself, but Pytheas *the son of Lampon*, in whose honour Pindar wrote his fifth Nemean (see Larcher, ad loc.).

thereby, and that henceforth barbarians may fear to commit outrages on the Grecians. When Leonidas was slain at Thermopylæ, Xerxes and Mardonius commanded that he should be beheaded and crucified.[3] Do thou the like at this time by Mardonius, and thou wilt have glory in Sparta, and likewise through the whole of Greece. For by hanging him upon a cross, thou wilt avenge Leonidas, who was thy father's brother."

79. Thus spake Lampon, thinking to please Pausanias; but Pausanias answered him—"My Eginetan friend, for thy foresight and thy friendliness I am much beholden to thee: but the counsel which thou hast offered is not good. First hast thou lifted me up to the skies, by thy praise of my country and my achievement; and then thou hast cast me down to the ground, by bidding me maltreat the dead, and saying that thus I shall raise myself in men's esteem. Such doings befit barbarians rather than Greeks; and even in barbarians we detest them. On such terms then I could not wish to please the Eginetans, or those who think as they think—enough for me to gain the approval of my own countrymen, by righteous deeds as well as by righteous words. Leonidas, whom thou wouldst have me avenge, is, I maintain, abundantly avenged already. Surely the countless lives here taken are enough to avenge not him only, but all those who fell at Thermopylæ. Come not thou before me again with such a speech, or with such counsel; and thank my forbearance that thou art not now punished." Then Lampon, having received this answer, departed, and went his way.[4]

80. After this Pausanias caused proclamation to be

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[3] Supra, vii. 238. It does not appear, however, that Mardonius really took any part in the insults offered to the corpse of Leonidas.

[4] Mr. Grote disbelieves this story, which "has the air," he says, "rather of a poetical contrivance for bringing out an honourable sentiment, than of a real incident" (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 246, note [4]). He admits, however, that Herodotus may have heard the story from the Platæans when he visited their city. I see no sufficient grounds for doubting its truth.

made, that no one should lay hands on the booty, but that the helots should collect it and bring it all to one place. So the helots went and spread themselves through the camp, wherein were found many tents richly adorned with furniture of gold and silver, many couches covered with plates of the same, and many golden bowls, goblets, and other drinking-vessels. On the carriages were bags containing silver and golden kettles; and the bodies of the slain furnished bracelets and chains, and scymitars with golden ornaments—not to mention embroidered apparel, of which no one made any account. The helots at this time stole many things of much value, which they sold in after times to the Eginetans; however they brought in likewise no small quantity, chiefly such things as it was not possible for them to hide. And this was the beginning of the great wealth of the Eginetans, who bought the gold of the helots as if it had been mere brass.[5]

81. When all the booty had been brought together, a tenth of the whole was set apart for the Delphian god; and hence was made the golden tripod, which stands on the bronze serpent with the three heads, quite close to the altar.[6] Portions were also set apart for the gods

[5] This ignorance of the helots has been well compared to that of the Swiss after the battle of Granson, when, according to Philippe de Comines, they "ne connurent les biens qu'ils eurent en leurs mains . . . il y en eut qui vendirent grande quantité de plats et d'escuelles d'argent, pour deux grands blancs la pièce, *cuidans que ce fust estaing*" (Mémoires, v. 2).

[6] Upon this tripod Pausanias placed the inscription which was one of the first indications of his ambitious aims.

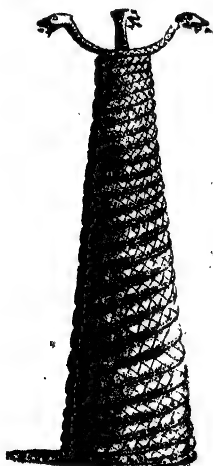
"Pausanias, Grecia's chief, the Mede o'erthrew,
And gave Apollo that which here ye view."

See Thucyd. i. 132; Dem. adv. Neær. p. 1401. The Lacedæmonians caused this inscription to be erased, and substituted a list of the states which had taken part in the war (Herod. viii. 82; Thuc. l. s. c.). The fate of the tripod is curious. The golden portion of it was plundered by the Phocians in the sacred war (Pausan. x. xiii. § 5); the bronze stand, which remained at Delphi to the time of Pausanias (ibid.), was carried to Constantinople by the Emperor Constantine, and placed in the Hippodrome (*Atmeidan*) (Zosim. ii. 31, ed. Bekker; Euseb. de Vit. Const. iii. 54, p. 144; Scholiast. ad Thucyd. i. 132, &c.), where it continues to the present day. When seen by Spon and Wheeler in 1675, it is said to have been still perfect; and the representation which they give of it (Journey into Greece, p. 185) exhibits the three heads of the serpent (see woodcut, No. I.): but it

of Olympia, and of the Isthmus; from which were made, in the one case, a bronze Jupiter ten cubits high;[7] and in the other, a bronze Neptune of seven cubits.[8] After this, the rest of the spoil was divided among the soldiers, each of whom received less or more

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has suffered great damage since their time. The heads are gone, and all that remains is a certain portion of the triple twist, as seen in the woodcut (No. II.), which is from a sketch taken by Mr. Dawson Turner in 1852. The height of this fragment is 16 feet. One of the heads is preserved in the armoury of the church of St. Irene at Constantinople. It has a crest along the top, which is *flattened*, apparently in order to support more steadily the golden tripod of which Herodotus speaks.



No. I.

During the recent occupation of Constantinople by the Western Powers, not only were excavations made, and the serpent laid bare to its base, but by the application of chemical solvents, the inscription was almost entirely recovered. As the inscription itself is a matter of great interest, which cannot be adequately treated in a footnote, I have thought it best to reserve my account of it for the Appendix. (See Appendix, Note A.)



No. II.

[7] Pausanias saw this statue, with its inscription still perfect (supra, ch. 28, note *), at the distance of nearly seven centuries. It stood in the space between the great temple and the council-house, and looked towards the east (Pausan. v. xxiii. § 1). The inscription, like that on the tripod, simply gave the names of the nations.

[8] Pausanias mentions three statues of Neptune at the Isthmus, two in the pronaos or ante-chapel of the great temple, and one in the chapel of Palæmon within the sacred precinct (ii. i. § 6; iii. § 1). But he does not identify any of them with this Colossus.

according to his deserts;[9] and in this way was a distribution made of the Persian concubines, of the gold, the silver, the beasts of burthen, and all the other valuables. What special gifts were presented to those who had most distinguished themselves in the battle, I do not find mentioned by any one;[1] but I should suppose that they must have had some gifts beyond the others. As for Pausanias, the portion which was set apart for him consisted of ten specimens of each kind of thing—women, horses, talents, camels, or whatever else there was in the spoil.

82. It is said that the following circumstance happened likewise at this time. Xerxes, when he fled away out of Greece, left his war-tent with Mardonius:[2] when Pausanias, therefore, saw the tent with its adornments of gold and silver, and its hangings of divers colours, he gave commandment to the bakers and the cooks to make him ready a banquet in such fashion as was their wont for Mardonius. Then they made ready as they were bidden, and Pausanias, beholding the

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[9] Plutarch tells us that the sum of eighty talents was allotted to the Platæans, who employed it in rebuilding and adorning with paintings their temple of Minerva Martia (Vit. Aristid. c. 20. For an account of the paintings, works of Polygnôtus and Onatas, see Pausan. IX. iv. § 1). Other honours and advantages were also assigned them. Pausanias erected an altar in their market-place to Jupiter the Liberator (Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος), and after offering sacrifice, guaranteed by oath the inviolability of the Platæan town and territory; at the same time establishing a four-year festival (the Eleutheria) on the model of the Olympic games, to which all Greece was to come. The Platæans on their part undertook to celebrate annually funeral solemnities at the tombs of those who fell in the battle, a ceremony which continued to the time of Pausanias. It took place on the fourth day of the Attic month Boëdromion, which was the day of the battle (see Plut. Vit. Aristid. c. 19; Thucyd. ii. 71, and iii. 58; Pausan. IX. ii. § 4).

[1] This is one of the very few passages of his History, in which Herodotus seems to imply that he consulted *authors* in compiling it. For the most part he derives his materials from personal observation and inquiry (see the Introductory Essay, ch. ii. vol. i. p. 52).

[2] The capture of this tent was commemorated at Athens by the erection of a building in imitation of it (Pausan. I. xx. § 3). This was the Odeum, a work commenced by Themistocles Vitruv. v. 9), and finished by Pericles (Plut. Vit. Pericl. c. 13). It perished by fire when Sylla took Athens, but was rebuilt on the same model (Pausan. l. s. c.). No remains of it exist at the present day (Leake's Athens, pp. 290-1).

couches of gold and silver daintily decked out with their rich covertures, and the tables of gold and silver laid, and the feast itself prepared with all magnificence, was astonished at the good things which were set before him, and, being in a pleasant mood, gave commandment to his own followers to make ready a Spartan supper. When the suppers were both served, and it was apparent how vast a difference lay between the two, Pausanias laughed, and sent his servants to call to him the Greek generals. On their coming, he pointed to the two boards, and said:—

"I sent for you, O Greeks, to show you the folly of this Median captain, who, when he enjoyed such fare as this, must needs come here to rob us of our penury."

Such, it is said, were the words of Pausanias to the Grecian generals.

83. During many years afterwards, the Platæans used often to find upon the field of battle concealed treasures of gold, and silver, and other valuables. More recently they likewise made discovery of the following: the flesh having all fallen away from the bodies of the dead, and their bones having been gathered together into one place, the Platæans found a skull without any seam, made entirely of a single bone; likewise a jaw, both the upper bone and the under, wherein all the teeth, front and back, were joined together and made of one bone; also, the skeleton of a man not less than five cubits in height.[3]

84. The body of Mardonius disappeared the day after the battle; but who it was that stole it away I cannot say with certainty. I have heard tell of a number of persons, and those too of many different nations, who

[3] This last marvel will not be doubted in modern times. The others are defended to some extent both by science and authority (cf. Bähr. ad loc.). Among persons said to have had their teeth in a single piece are Pyrrhus, king of Epirus (Plut. Vit. Pyrrh. c. 3), and a son of Prusias, king of Bithynia (Val. Max. i. 8).

are said to have given him burial; and I know that many have received large sums on this score from Artontes the son of Mardonius: but I cannot discover with any certainty which of them it was who really took the body away and buried it. Among others, Dionysophanes, an Ephesian,[4] is rumoured to have been the actual person.

85. The Greeks, after sharing the booty upon the field of Platæa, proceeded to bury their own dead, each nation apart from the rest. The Lacedæmonians made three graves; in one they buried their youths,[5] among whom were Posidônius, Amompharetus, Philocyon, and Callicrates;—in another, the rest of the Spartans; and in the third, the helots. Such was their mode of burial.[6] The Tegeans buried all their dead in a single grave; as likewise did the Athenians theirs, and the Megarians and Phliasians those who were slain by the horse. These graves, then, had bodies buried in them: as for the other tombs which are to be seen at Platæa, they were raised, as I understand, by the Greeks whose troops took no part in the battle; and who, being ashamed of themselves, erected empty barrows upon the field, to obtain credit with those who should come after them. Among others, the Eginetans have a grave there, which goes by their name; but which, as

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[4] Pausanias says, that Artontes rewarded this Dionysophanes more liberally than any of the other claimants, all of whom (according to him) were Ionian Greeks. The tomb of Mardonius was shown in the time of this writer, on the right hand of the road descending from Dryoscephalæ (Pausan. IX. ii. § 2).

[5] The reading ἰρένες, "youths," is conjectural. All the MSS. give ἰρέες, "priests." The *Glossa Herodotea*, however, contains the word εἴρην, which certainly does not occur elsewhere in Herodotus. Εἴρην or ἴρην was the name given at Sparta to the youths on entering their twentieth year, when they acquired the right to speak in the assembly (whence the name, εἴρην ab εἴρω, ἐρέω, Etym. Magn.), and to have a command (Hesych., ἴρανες, οἱ ἄρχοντες. εἰρηνάζει, κρατεῖ). It is uncertain how long they retained the title.

[6] In the time of Pausanias only three graves were shown. One was called the tomb of the Lacedæmonians, another of the Athenians, and the third was said to be the common sepulchre of the other Greeks. The former two bore inscriptions ascribed to Simonides (Pausan. IX. ii. § 4).

I learn, was made ten years later by Cleades, the son of Autodicus, a Platæan, at the request of the Eginetans, whose agent he was.

86. After the Greeks had buried their dead at Platæa, they presently held a council, whereat it was resolved to make war upon Thebes, and to require that those who had joined the Medes should be delivered into their hands. Two men, who had been the chief leaders on the occasion, were especially named—to wit, Timagenidas and Attaginus.[7] If the Thebans should refuse to give these men up, it was determined to lay siege to their city, and never stir from before it till it should surrender. After this resolve, the army marched upon Thebes; and having demanded the men, and been refused, began the siege, laying waste the country all around, and making assaults upon the wall in divers places.

87. When twenty days were gone by, and the violence of the Greeks did not slacken, Timagenidas thus bespake his countrymen—

"Ye men of Thebes, since the Greeks have so decreed, that they will never desist from the siege till either they take Thebes or we are delivered to them, we would not that the land of Bœotia should suffer any longer on our behalf. If it be money that they in truth desire, and their demand of us be no more than a pretext, let money from the treasury of the state be given them; for the state, and not we alone, embraced the cause of the Medes. If, however, they really want our persons, and on that account press this siege, we are ready to be delivered to them and to stand our trial."[8]

The Thebans thought this offer very right and seasonable; wherefore they dispatched a herald without

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[7] Supra, chs. 15 and 38.

[8] The practice of the Spartans to *try* political offenders of another nation receives a remarkable illustration from the later history of Platæa (Thucyd. iii. 52-68).

any delay to Pausanias, and told him they were willing to deliver up the men.

88. As soon as an agreement had been concluded upon these terms, Attaginus made his escape from the city; his sons, however, were surrendered in his place; but Pausanias refused to hold them guilty, since children (he said) could have had no part in such an offence. The rest of those whom the Thebans gave up had expected to obtain a trial, and in that case their trust was to escape by means of bribery;[9] but Pausanias, afraid of this, dismissed at once the whole army of allies, and took the men with him to Corinth, where he slew them all. Such were the events which happened at Platæa and at Thebes.

89. Artabazus, the son of Pharnaces, who fled away from Platæa, was soon far sped on his journey. When he reached Thessaly, the inhabitants received him hospitably, and made inquiries of him concerning the rest of the army, since they were still altogether ignorant of what had taken place at Platæa: whereupon the Persian, knowing well that if he told them the truth, he would run great risk of perishing himself, together with his whole army—for if the facts were once blazoned abroad, all who learnt them would be sure to fall upon him—the Persian, I say, considering this, as he had before kept all secret from the Phocians, so now answered the Thessalians after the following fashion:—

"I myself, Thessalians, am hastening, as ye see, into Thrace; and I am fain to use all possible dispatch, as I am sent with this force on special business from the main army. Mardonius and his host are close behind me, and may be looked for shortly. When he comes, receive him as ye have received me, and show

[9] Concerning the general readiness of the leading Spartans to take bribes, vide supra, iii. 148, note [5]. The other Greeks were not free from the imputation (Thucyd. viii. 45; iii. 38; and the orators, passim).

him every kindness. Be sure ye will never hereafter regret it, if ye so do."

With these words he took his departure, and marched his troops at their best speed through Thessaly and Macedon straight upon Thrace, following the inland route which was the shortest,[10] and, in good truth, using all possible dispatch. He himself succeeded in reaching Byzantium; but a great part of his army perished upon the road—many being cut to pieces by the Thracians,[1] and others dying from hunger and excess of toil. From Byzantium Artabazus set sail, and crossed the strait; returning into Asia in the manner which has been here described.

90. On the same day that the blow was struck at Platæa, another defeat befell the Persians at Mycalé in Ionia. While the Greek fleet under Leotychides the Lacedæmonian was still lying inactive at Delos,[2] there arrived at that place an embassy from Samos, consisting of three men, Lampon the son of Thrasycles, Athenagoras the son of Archestratidas, and Hêgêsistratus the son of Aristagoras. The Samians had sent them secretly, concealing their departure both from the Persians and from their own tyrant Theomestor, the son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had made ruler of Samos.[3] When the ambassadors came before the Greek

[10] The probable route of Artabazus would be, from Thermopylæ across Thessaly to the mouth of the Peneus; thence along the coast to Therma; from Therma across the Chalcidic peninsula to Ennea Hodoi or to Eïon: thence by the coast route (the road taken originally by Xerxes; supra, vii. 108-113), at least as far as the Hebrus; finally, from the Hebrus by the line of the modern road to Constantinople, through Bisanthe, Perinthus, and Selymbria. No reason has been given for his preferring the circuitous route by Byzantium to the far shorter passage by Sestos. Was he afraid of interruption from the Greek fleet?

[1] Demosthenes ascribes the main loss of the flying Persians to the attacks of Perdiccas, king of Macedonia (Adv. Aristocr., p. 687; De Rep. ord. p. 178). But this is only one out of many proofs, that the orators were unacquainted with history. Perdiccas certainly did not begin to reign till B.C. 454, twenty-five years afterwards! (See Clinton's F. H., vol. ii. p. 275.)

[2] Supra, viii. 132.

[3] The reason of this was given, viii. 85. Samos had previously enjoyed a freedom from tyrants for fourteen or fifteen years (see vi. 25).

captains, Hêgêsistratus took the word, and urged them with many and various arguments, saying, "that the Ionians only needed to see them arrive in order to revolt from the Persians; and that the Persians would never abide their coming; or if they did, 'twould be to offer them the finest booty that they could anywhere expect to gain;" while at the same time he made appeal to the gods of their common worship, and besought them to deliver from bondage a Grecian race, and withal to drive back the barbarians. "This," he said, "might very easily be done, for the Persian ships were bad sailers, and far from a match for theirs;" adding, moreover, "that if there was any suspicion lest the Samians intended to deal treacherously, they were themselves ready to become hostages, and to return on board the ships of their allies to Asia."

91. When the Samian stranger continued importunately beseeching him, Leotychides, either because he wanted an omen, or by a mere chance, as God guided him, asked the man—"Samian stranger! prithee, tell me thy name?" "Hêgêsistratus (army-leader)," answered the other, and might have said more, but Leotychides stopped him by exclaiming—"I accept, O Samian, the omen which thy name affords.[4] Only, before thou goest back, swear to us, thyself and thy brother envoys, that the Samians will indeed be our warm friends and allies."

92. No sooner had he thus spoken than he proceeded to hurry forward the business. The Samians pledged their faith upon the spot, and oaths of alliance were exchanged between them and the Greeks. This done, two of the ambassadors forthwith sailed away; as for Hêgêsistratus, Leotychides kept him to accompany his

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[4] For the custom of punning upon names, vide supra, vi. 50, note [7], and compare Æschyl. Agam. 671; Plaut. Pers. iv. 4, 71-5; Bacchid. ii. 3, 51-2; &c. For the importance attached to ominous utterances generally, see Livy, v. 55; Cic. de Div. i. 46, &c.

own fleet, for he considered his name to be a good omen. The Greeks abode where they were that day, and on the morrow sacrificed, and found the victims favourable. Their soothsayer was Deïphonus, the son of Evênius, a man of Apollonia—I mean the Apollonia which lies upon the Ionian Gulf.[5]

93. A strange thing happened to this man's father, Evênius. The Apolloniats have a flock of sheep sacred to the sun. During the day-time these sheep graze along the banks of the river, which flows from Mount Lacmon through their territory and empties itself into the sea by the port of Oricus;[6] while at night they are guarded by the richest and noblest of the citizens, who are chosen to serve the office, and who keep the watch each for one year. Now the Apolloniats set great store by these sheep, on account of an oracle which they received concerning them. The place where they are folded at night is a cavern, a long way from the town. Here it happened that Evênius,

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[5] Stephen of Byzantium enumerates no fewer than twenty-five cities of this name. Many of these, however, are later than the time of Herodotus, and some seem to be mentioned twice. There do not appear to have been more than two of any importance when Herodotus wrote,—that which he calls "Apollonia upon the Euxine" (iv. 90), and the city on the Ionian Gulf or Adriatic, a little north of the Acroceraunian promontory. This latter was a Corinthian colony (Thucyd. i. 26; Steph. Byz. ad voc.), or, according to others, a joint colony of the Corinthians and Corcyræans (Strab. vii. p. 458; Scym. Ch. 439; Pausan. v. xxii. § 3). It was founded in the reign of Periander (Plut. de Serâ Num. Vind., vol. ii. p. 552, E.), but never flourished to any great extent until Roman times, when it became a great place of education (Sueton. Vit. Aug. 8; Appian. Bell. Civ. iii. 9; Vell. Pat. ii. 59, &c.). There are but few traces of the ancient town, but the name remains in the modern *Póllina* or *Póllona*, which attaches to a monastery and to some ruins near the small village of *Poyani*, situated between the river of *Berat* and the *Viosa* (Leake's N. G., vol. i. pp. 368-71).

[6] The geography of Herodotus is here somewhat at fault. There can be no doubt that the river intended is the Aoüs, or *Viosa*, which flows from the central part of Pindus, called Lacmon by the ancients (Hecat. Fr. 72; Soph. ap. Strab. vi. 361), and empties itself into the Adriatic a little south of the site of Apollonia. But this stream can never have flowed by Oricus, from which its mouth is now distant nearly twenty miles.

Oricus is the modern *Erikho*, a "desert site" in the recess of the gulf of *Avlona* (Aulon), near the village of *Dukadhes* (Leake's N. G., vol. i. p. 3). It was a place of considerable importance in Roman times (Liv. xxiv. 40; Appian. B. C. ii. 54, &c.).

when he was chosen to keep the watch, by some accident fell asleep upon his guard; and while he slept, the cave was entered by wolves, which destroyed some sixty of the flock under his care. Evênius, when he woke and found what had occurred, kept silence about it and told no one; for he thought to buy other sheep and put them in the place of the slain. But the matter came to the ears of the Apolloniats, who forthwith brought Evênius to trial, and condemned him to lose his eyes, because he had gone to sleep upon his post. Now when Evênius was blinded, straightway the sheep had no young, and the land ceased to bear its wonted harvests. Then the Apolloniats sent to Dodôna, and to Delphi, and asked the prophets, what had caused the woes which so afflicted them. The answer which they received was this—"The woes were come for Evênius, the guardian of the sacred sheep, whom the Apolloniats had wrongfully deprived of sight. They (the gods) had themselves sent the wolves; nor would they ever cease to exact vengeance for Evênius, till the Apolloniats made him whatever atonement he liked to ask. When this was paid, *they* would likewise give him a gift, which would make many men call him blessed."

94. Such was the tenor of the prophecies. The Apolloniats kept them close, but charged some of their citizens to go and make terms with Evênius; and these men managed the business for them in the way which I will now describe. They found Evênius sitting upon a bench, and, approaching him, they sat down by his side, and began to talk: at first they spoke of quite other matters, but in the end they mentioned his misfortune, and offered him their condolence. Having thus beguiled him, at last they put the question—"what atonement would he desire, if the Apolloniats were willing to make him satisfaction for the wrong which they had done to him?" Hereupon Evênius, who had not heard of the oracle, made answer—"If I were given

the lands of this man and that—" (here he named the two men whom he knew to have the finest farms in Apollonia), "and likewise the house of this other"—(and here he mentioned the house which he knew to be the handsomest in the town), "I would, when master of these, be quite content, and my wrath would cease altogether." As soon as Evênius had thus spoken, the men who sat by him rejoined—"Evênius, the Apolloniats give thee the atonement which thou hast desired, according to the bidding of the oracles." Then Evênius understood the whole matter, and was enraged that they had deceived him so; but the Apolloniats bought the farms from their owners, and gave Evênius what he had chosen. After this was done, straightway Evênius had the gift of prophecy, insomuch that he became a famous man in Greece.

95. Deïphonus, the son of this Evênius, had accompanied the Corinthians, and was soothsayer, as I said before, to the Greek armament. One account, however, which I have heard, declares, that he was not really the son of this man, but only took the name, and then went about Greece and let out his services for hire.

96. The Greeks, as soon as the victims were favourable, put to sea, and sailed across from Delos to Samos. Arriving off Calami, a place upon the Samian coast,[7] they brought the fleet to an anchor near the temple of Juno which stands there,[8] and prepared to engage the Persians by sea. These latter, however, no sooner

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[7] Calami, a name only mentioned by one other writer (Alex. Sam. ap. Athenæum, xiii. 4, p. 573), is thought from the meaning of the word ("reeds") to indicate the marshy ground at the mouth of the Imbrasos, which intervenes between the Heræum and the city (Ross's Inselreise, vol. ii. p. 144). Compare the chart, supra, vol. ii. p. 448.

[8] Supra, iii. 60. I understand by this the *great* temple of Juno near the town of Samos, not (as Mr. Grote suggests) "another temple of Hêrê in some other part of the island" (Hist. of Gr. vol. v. p. 257, note[1]). The words of Herodotus might perhaps bear, but certainly do not require, this meaning; and his frequent mention of *the* Heræum of the Samians (τὸ Ἥραιον, i. 70, iv. 88 and 152; ὁ νηός, ii. 148) sufficiently shows, what would be antecedently probable, that they had but one such temple.

heard of the approach of the Greeks, than, dismissing the Phœnician ships, they sailed away with the remainder to the main land. For it had been resolved in council not to risk a battle, since the Persian fleet was thought to be no match for that of the enemy. They fled, therefore, to the main, to be under the protection of their land army, which now lay at Mycalé,[9] and consisted of the troops left behind by Xerxes to keep guard over Ionia. This was an army of sixty thousand men, under the command of Tigranes, a Persian of more than common beauty and stature. The captains resolved therefore to betake themselves to these troops for defence, to drag their ships ashore, and to build a rampart around them, which might at once protect the fleet, and serve likewise as a place of refuge for themselves.

97. Having so resolved, the commanders put out to sea; and passing the temple of the Eumenides, arrived at Gæson and Scolopoeis,[10] which are in the territory of Mycalé. Here is a temple of Eleusinian Ceres, built by Philistus the son of Pasicles, who came to Asia with Nileus the son of Codrus,[1] what time he founded Miletus. At this place they drew the ships up on the

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[9] Supra, i. 148. Mycalé is the modern *Cape St. Mary*, the promontory which runs out towards Samos (compare Thucyd. viii. 79; Scylax, Peripl. p. 90). Strabo, however, makes Mycalé the mountain-ridge which here sinks into the sea, and calls the promontory Trogilium (xiv. p. 913).

[10] Most commentators take Gæson and Skolopoeis for rivers (Larcher, Table Géographique; Schweighæuser's Index, s. v. Gæson; Bähr ad loc.), and there certainly was a river Gæson or Gæsus (Gessus) in these parts (Ephor. Fr. 91; Plin. H. N. v. 29; Mel. i. xvii. § 2). But Herodotus, I believe, never introduces the name of a river, without either calling it a river or prefixing the article. I therefore agree with La Martinière and Mr. Grote, that Gæson is here a town, and Scolopoeis also. Both probably lay on the south coast of the promontory of Mycalé.

[1] Supra, i. 147. The tale went, that Medon and Neleus (or Neileus), the two eldest of the sons of Codrus, quarrelled about succeeding their father. Medon, the elder of the two, though lame, was preferred, and Neleus in dudgeon resolved to quit Attica. He was accompanied by the Ionians, who had found a refuge in Attica when driven from the Peloponnese by the Achæans, and sailed to Asia, where he became the founder of Miletus (Pausan. VII. ii. § 1-2; Strab. xiv. p. 910).

beach, and surrounded them with a rampart made of stones and trunks of trees, cutting down for this purpose all the fruit-trees which grew near, and defending the barrier by means of stakes firmly planted in the ground.[2] Here they were prepared either to win a battle, or undergo a siege—their thoughts embracing both chances.

98. The Greeks, when they understood that the barbarians had fled to the main land, were sorely vexed at their escape: nor could they determine at first what they should do, whether they should return home, or proceed to the Hellespont. In the end, however, they resolved to do neither, but to make sail for the continent. So they made themselves ready for a sea-fight by the preparation of boarding-bridges, and what else was necessary; provided with which they sailed to Mycalé. Now when they came to the place where the camp was, they found no one venture out to meet them, but observed the ships all dragged ashore within the barrier, and a strong land-force drawn up in battle array upon the beach; Leotychides therefore sailed along the shore in his ship, keeping as close hauled to the land as possible, and by the voice of a herald thus addressed the Ionians:—

"Men of Ionia—ye who can hear me speak—do *ye* take heed to what I say: for the Persians will not understand a word that I utter. When we join battle with them, before aught else, remember Freedom—and next, recollect our watchword, which is Hêbé. If there be any who hear me not, let those who hear report my words to the others."

In all this Leotychides had the very same design which Themistocles entertained at Artemisium.[3] Either the barbarians would not know what he had said, and

[2] Diodorus adds to these defences a "deep ditch" (τάφρος βαθεῖα), xi. 34. He estimates the Persian army at 100,000.

[3] Supra, viii. 22, end.

the Ionians would be persuaded to revolt from them; or, if his words were reported to the former, they would mistrust their Greek soldiers.

99. After Leotychides had made this address, the Greeks brought their ships to the land, and, having disembarked, arrayed themselves for the battle. When the Persians saw them marshalling their array, and bethought themselves of the advice which had been offered to the Ionians, their first act was to disarm the Samians, whom they suspected of complicity with the enemy. For it had happened lately that a number of the Athenians who lingered in Attica, having been made prisoners by the troops of Xerxes, were brought to Asia on board the barbarian fleet; and these men had been ransomed, one and all, by the Samians, who sent them back to Athens, well furnished with provisions for the way. On this account, as much as on any other, the Samians were suspected, as men who had paid the ransom of five hundred of the King's enemies. After disarming them, the Persians next dispatched the Milesians[4] to guard the paths which lead up into the heights of Mycalé, because (they said) the Milesians were well acquainted with that region. Their true object, however, was to remove them to a distance from the camp. In this way the Persians sought to secure themselves against such of the Ionians as they thought likely, if occasion offered, to make rebellion. They then joined shield to shield, and so made themselves a breastwork against the enemy.[5]

100. The Greeks now, having finished their prepara-

[4] It has been questioned, who these Milesians could be? Since, according to our author (supra, vi. 20), the Greek population was removed by Darius, and the territory divided between the Persians and the Carians of Pedasus. Mr. Blakesley suggests that they were the labourers whom the Persians had introduced, to cultivate the soil for them. I incline to suspect that, here as elsewhere, Herodotus has overstated the severity of the Persians. A portion of the Milesians may have been removed to Ampe; but the town and territory had probably never ceased to be mainly Greek.

[5] See above, chapters 61 and 62.

tions, began to move towards the barbarians; when lo! as they advanced, a rumour flew through the host from one end to the other[6]—that the Greeks had fought and conquered the army of Mardonius in Bœotia. At the same time a herald's wand was observed lying upon the beach. Many things prove to me that the gods take part in the affairs of man. How else, when the battles of Mycalé and Platæa were about to happen on the self same day, should such a rumour have reached the Greeks in that region, greatly cheering the whole army, and making them more eager than before to risk their lives?

101. A strange coincidence too it was, that both the battles should have been fought near a precinct of Eleusinian Ceres. The fight at Platæa took place, as I said before,[7] quite close to one of Ceres' temples; and now the battle at Mycalé was to be fought hard by another. Rightly too did the rumour run, that the Greeks with Pausanias *had gained* their victory; for the fight at Mycalé Platæa fell early in the day, whereas that at was towards evening. That the two battles were really fought on the same day of the same month became apparent when inquiries were made a short time afterwards. Before the rumour reached them, the Greeks were full of fear, not so much on their own account, as for their countrymen, and for Greece herself, lest she should be worsted in her struggle with Mardonius.

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[6] The note of Mr. Grote on this passage (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. pp. 260-2) deserves attentive perusal. That multitudes in all times and in all countries, are liable to be seized with "sudden unaccountable impressions," is very clearly and distinctly proved. It is not quite so clear in what light Mr. Grote regards the phenomenon. "*To the believing mind*," he observes, "the religious point of view, which in Herodotus is predominant, furnishes an explanation pre-eminently satisfactory." But this explanation is clearly not that which he would himself give.

Mr. Grote rightly dismisses, as the unfounded conjecture of later writers, the view which found so much favour with Larcher, and which is tolerated even by Thirlwall (Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 358)—that the report was designedly circulated by the Grecian generals for the purpose of encouraging the army. (See Diod. Sic. xi. 35; Polyæn. i. 33.)

[7] Ch. 62.

But when the voice fell on them, their fear vanished, and they charged more vigorously and at a quicker pace. So the Greeks and the barbarians rushed with like eagerness to the fray; for the Hellespont and the islands formed the prize for which they were about to fight.

102. The Athenians, and the force drawn up with them, who formed one half of the army, marched along the shore, where the country was low and level; but the way for the Lacedæmonians, and the troops with them, lay across hills and a torrent-course. Hence, while the Lacedæmonians were effecting their passage round, the Athenians on the other wing had already closed with the enemy. So long as the wicker bucklers of the Persians continued standing, they made a stout defence, and had not even the worst of the battle; but when the Athenians, and the allies with them, wishing to make the victory their own, and not share it with the Lacedæmonians, cheered each other on with shouts, and attacked them with the utmost fierceness, then at last the face of things became changed. For, bursting through the line of shields, and rushing forwards in a body, the Greeks fell upon the Persians; who, though they bore the charge and for a long time maintained their ground, yet at length took refuge in their intrenchment. Here the Athenians themselves, together with those who followed them in the line of battle, the Corinthians, the Sicyonians, and the Trœzenians, pressed so closely on the steps of their flying foes, that they entered along with them into the fortress. And now, when even their fortress was taken, the barbarians no longer offered resistance, but fled hastily away, all save only the Persians. *They* still continued to fight in knots of a few men against the Greeks, who kept pouring into the intrenchment. And here, while two of the Persian commanders fled, two fell upon the field: Artayntes and Ithamitres, who were

leaders of the fleet,[8] escaped; Mardontes, and the commander of the land force, Tigranes, died fighting.

103. The Persians still held out, when the Lacedæmonians, and their part of the army, reached the camp, and joined in the remainder of the battle. The number of Greeks who fell in the struggle here was not small; the Sicyonians especially lost many, and, among the rest, Perilaüs their general.

The Samians, who served with the Medes, and who, although disarmed, still remained in the camp, seeing from the very beginning of the fight that the victory was doubtful, did all that lay in their power to render help to the Greeks. And the other Ionians likewise, beholding their example, revolted and attacked the Persians.[9]

104. As for the Milesians, who had been ordered, for the better security of the Persians, to guard the mountain-paths,—that, in case any accident befell them such as had now happened, they might not lack guides to conduct them into the high tracts of Mycalé,—and who had also been removed to hinder them from making an outbreak in the Persian camp; they, instead of obeying their orders, broke them in every respect. For they guided the flying Persians by wrong roads, which brought them into the presence of the enemy; and at

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[8] Supra, viii. 130.

[9] Diodorus assigns a very important part in the battle to the Ionian Greeks, the Samians especially, and the Milesians. According to him, their troops drew off before the battle began and presented the appearance of a separate army, which the Greeks imagined to have just arrived from Sardis, and to be under the command of Xerxes. They were greatly alarmed and doubting whether to fly or no, when the Persians fell upon them. The victory was long undecided, but at last the Samians and Milesians came up, and the Persians, seeing that their intentions were hostile, took to flight suddenly. The other Asiatic Greeks then set upon the flying foe, and committed great havoc, so that the Persian loss exceeded 40,000 men. The intrenched camp, however, according to Diodorus, was not taken. The Persians fled partly thither, partly to Sardis.

This narrative, where it contradicts Herodotus, is of course of no value. It may serve, however, in some respects to fill up the outline of this chapter. Herodotus is never very favourable to the Ionian Greeks (see Dahlmann, p. 104, E. T.), and may have given them on this occasion less credit than they deserved.

last they set upon them with their own hands, and showed themselves the hottest of their adversaries. Ionia, therefore, on this day revolted a second time from the Persians.

105. In this battle the Greeks who behaved with the greatest bravery were the Athenians; and among them the palm was borne off by Hermolycus, the son of Euthynus, a man accomplished in the Pancratium.[1] This Hermolycus was afterwards slain in the war between the Athenians and Carystians.[2] He fell in the fight near Cyrnus[3] in the Carystian territory, and was buried in the neighbourhood of Geræstus.[4] After the Athenians, the most distinguished on the Greek side were the Corinthians, the Trœzenians, and the Sicyonians.

106. The Greeks, when they had slaughtered the greater portion of the barbarians, either in the battle or in the rout, set fire to their ships and burnt them, together with the bulwark which had been raised for their defence, first however removing therefrom all the booty, and carrying it down to the beach. Besides other plunder, they found here many caskets of money. When they had burnt the rampart and the vessels, the Greeks sailed away to Samos, and there took counsel together concerning the Ionians, whom they thought of removing out of Asia. Ionia they proposed to abandon to the barbarians, and their doubt was, in what part of their own possessions in Greece they should settle its inhabitants. For it seemed to them a thing impossible

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[1] The Pancratium was a contest in which wrestling and boxing were united. Pausanias tells us that the Athenians honoured Hermolycus with a statue, which stood in the Acropolis (Pausan. I. xxiii. § 12).

[2] The war between Athens and Carystus is mentioned by Thucydides (i. 98). It followed the taking of Scyros, and preceded the revolt of the Naxians, so that it must have fallen within the period B.C. 469-467 (see Grote, vol. v, p. 410, note). The Carystians, though unassisted by the Eubœans, made a stout resistance, and after a protracted struggle ended the war by a treaty.

[3] This place is unknown. No other writer mentions it.

[4] For the situation of Geræstus, vide supra, viii. 7, note.

that they should be ever on the watch to guard and protect Ionia; and yet otherwise there could be no hope that the Ionians would escape the vengeance of the Persians. Hereupon the Peloponnesian leaders proposed, that the seaport-towns of such Greeks as had sided with the Medes should be taken away from them, and made over to the Ionians. The Athenians, on the other hand, were very unwilling that any removal at all should take place, and misliked the Peloponnesians holding councils concerning their colonists. So, as they set themselves against the change, the Peloponnesians yielded with a good will.[5] Hereupon the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and other islanders,[6] who had helped the Greeks at this time, were received into the league of the allies; and took the oaths, binding themselves to be faithful, and not desert the common cause. Then the Greeks sailed away to the Hellespont, where they meant to break down the bridges, which they supposed to be still extended across the strait.[7]

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[5] According to Diodorus, the Athenians in the first instance agreed with the Spartans; and the Asiatic Greeks likewise consenting were about to embark for Europe. But the Athenians suddenly changed their mind, fearing lest upon the new colonisation Athens should lose her rights of "mother-city" (xi. 37). The account of Herodotus is far more probable. That a mode of proceeding, familiar to the Greeks from the practice of the Oriental nations (supra, iv. 205, note [8]), should have been momentarily entertained is likely enough, but that it should have been on the point of execution is scarcely credible. The attachment of the Ionians to their country and their unwillingness to leave it may be seen by referring to Book vi. ch. 3, and Book i. ch. 165. An internecine war too must have arisen in Greece, if an attempt had been made to dispossess the *medising* states of their sea-port towns. The project, therefore, if seriously entertained at all, would be sure to be abandoned almost as soon as contemplated. It may be doubted whether Athens had *as yet* the feeling ascribed to her in either author. Even Herodotus sometimes colours events with the feelings with which they came to be regarded in later times (supra, v. 93; vii. 10, § 2; 49, § 1, &c.).

[6] The relations of the Greeks upon the mainland to the Persians, it is plain, continued unchanged (see note [illegible] on Book vi. ch. 42). The fruit of the victory now gained was "the Hellespont and *the islands*" (supra, ch. [illegible], end).

[7] It seems inconceivable that the destruction of the bridges should not have been known on the Asiatic coast, ten months at least after it had taken place (supra, viii. 117). May not Herodotus have been mistaken as to the motive of the Greeks in making this movement, which was perhaps only to reconnoitre, and see whether any preparations were going on for a fresh

107. The barbarians who escaped from the battle—a scanty remnant—took refuge in the heights of Mycalé, whence they made good their retreat to Sardis. During the march, Masistes, the son of Darius, who had been present at the disaster, had words with Artaÿntes, the general, on whom he showered many reproaches. He called him, among other things, "worse than a woman," for the way in which he had exercised his command, and said there was no punishment which he did not deserve to suffer for doing the king's house such grievous hurt. Now with the Persians there is no greater insult, than to call a man "worse than a woman."[8] So when Artaÿntes had borne the reproaches for some while, at last he fell in a rage, and drew his scymitar upon Masistes, being fain to kill him. But a certain Halicarnassian, Xenagoras by name, the son of Praxilaüs, who stood behind Artaÿntes at the time, seeing him in the act of rushing forward, seized him suddenly round the waist, and, lifting him from his feet, dashed him down upon the ground; which gave time for the spearmen who guarded Masistes to come to his aid. By his conduct here Xenagoras gained the favour, not of Masistes only, but likewise of Xerxes himself, whose brother he had preserved from death; and the king rewarded his action by setting him over the whole land of Cilicia.[9] Except this, nothing happened upon the road; and the men continued their march and came all safe to Sardis. At Sardis they found the king, who

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invasion? That a renewed invasion was looked upon as not improbable, is clear from Thucyd. i. 90, and Diod. Sic. xi. 43. The latter speaks of "*the coming* Persian expedition" (*τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἐσομένην στρατείαν*).

[7] Supra, viii. 88, and ix. 20.

[8] This would be very remarkable, if it could be depended upon; but probably it is an overstatement, natural in one jealous for the honour of a countryman. Cilicia, though called a satrapy (iii. 90), seems never to have been under the rule of a satrap. It was governed always by its native kings, who bore the name of Syennesis (supra, v. 118, and vii. 98; Xen. Anab. I. ii. § 12-27; Æschyl. Pers. 328). Xenagoras therefore can only have occupied a subordinate position.

had been there ever since he lost the sea-fight and fled from Athens to Asia.[1]

108. During the time that Xerxes abode at this place, he fell in love with the wife of Masistes, who was likewise staying in the city. He therefore sent her messages, but failed to win her consent; and he could not dare to use violence, out of regard to Masistes, his brother. This the woman knew well enough, and hence it was that she had the boldness to resist him. So Xerxes, finding no other way open, devised a marriage between his own son Darius and a daughter of this woman and Masistes—thinking that he might better obtain his ends if he effected this union. Accordingly he betrothed these two persons to one another, and, after the usual ceremonies were completed, took his departure for Susa. When he was come there, and had received the woman into his palace as his son's bride, a change came over him, and, losing all love for the wife of Masistes, he conceived a passion for his son's bride, Masistes' daughter. And Artaÿnta—for so was she called—very soon returned his love.

109. After a while the thing was discovered in the way which I will now relate. Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, had woven with her own hands a long robe, of many colours, and very curious, which she presented to her husband as a gift. Xerxes, who was greatly pleased with it, forthwith put it on; and went in it to visit Artaÿnta, who happened likewise on this day to please him greatly. He therefore bade her ask him whatever boon she liked, and promised that, whatever it was, he would assuredly grant her request. Then Artaÿnta, who was doomed to suffer calamity together with her whole house, said to him—"Wilt thou indeed

[1] We see by this that Æschylus, in making Xerxes return straight to Susa from Athens, avails himself of the licence of a poet. His continuance at this provincial capital not only for the winter, but during the whole of the summer season, is indicative of an intention to return to Greece, if his affairs had prospered there.

give me whatever I like to ask?" So the King, suspecting nothing less than that her choice would fall where it did, pledged his word, and swore to her. She then, as soon as she heard his oath, asked boldly for the robe. Hereupon Xerxes tried all possible means to avoid the gift; not that he grudged to give it, but because he dreaded Amestris, who already suspected and would now, he feared, detect his love. So he offered her cities instead, and heaps of gold, and an army which should obey no other leader. (The last of these is a thoroughly Persian gift.) But, as nothing could prevail on Artaÿnta to change her mind, at the last he gave her the robe. Then Artaÿnta was very greatly rejoiced, and she often wore the garment and was proud of it. And so it came to the ears of Amestris that the robe had been given to her.

110. Now when Amestris learnt the whole matter, she felt no anger against Artaÿnta; but, looking upon her mother, the wife of Masistes, as the cause of all the mischief, she determined to compass her death. She waited, therefore, till her husband gave the great royal banquet, a feast which takes place once every year, in celebration of the King's birthday[2]—"Tykta" the feast is called in the Persian tongue, which in our language may be rendered "perfect"[3]—and this is the only day in all the year on which the king soaps his head, and distributes gifts to the Persians. Amestris waited, accordingly, for this day, and then made request of Xerxes, that he would please to give her, as her present, the wife of Masistes. But he refused; for it seemed to him shocking and monstrous to give into

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[2] The custom of celebrating birthdays by a feast was universal in Persia. Even the poorest are said to have conformed to it (supra, i. 133; compare Athenæus, iv. 10; p. 62, Schw.). According to Plato (Alcib. i. p. 121, C.) all Asia feasted on the king's birthday.

[3] No satisfactory explanation has been yet given of this word. The Persian root equivalent to *facio* or *perficio* is *ku*; from which it would not be easy to form *tykta*.

the power of another a woman, who was not only his brother's wife, but was likewise wholly guiltless of what had happened—the more especially as he knew well enough with what intent Amestris had preferred her request.

111. At length, however, wearied by her importunity, and constrained moreover by the law of the feast, which required that no one who asked a boon that day at the king's board should be denied his request, he yielded, but with a very ill will, and gave Artaÿnta into her power.[4] Having so done, and told Amestris she might deal with her as she chose, the King called his brother into his presence, and said—

"Masistes, thou art my brother, the son of my father Darius; and, what is more, thou art a good man. I pray thee, live no longer with the wife whom thou now hast. Behold, I will give thee instead my own daughter in marriage; take her to live with thee. But part first with the wife thou now hast—I like not that thou keep to her."

To this Masistes, greatly astonished, answered—

"My lord and master, how strange a speech hast thou uttered! Thou biddest me put away my wife, who has borne me three goodly youths, and daughters besides, whereof thou hast taken one and espoused her to a son of thine own—thou biddest me put away this wife, notwithstanding that she pleases me greatly, and marry a daughter of thine! In truth, O King, that I am accounted worthy to wed thy daughter, is an honour which I mightily esteem; but yet to do as thou sayest am I in no wise willing. I pray thee, use not force to compel me to yield to thy prayer. Be sure thy daughter will find a husband, to the full as worthy

[4] Few readers can fail to be struck by the resemblance between this scene and that described by St. Matthew, ch. xiv. 6-9, and St. Mark, vi. 21-26. In the East kings celebrated their birthdays by holding feasts and granting graces from very early times (see Gen. ch. xl. 20, 21).

as myself. Suffer me then to live on with my own wife."

Thus did Masistes answer; and Xerxes, in wrath, replied—"I will tell thee, Masistes, what thou hast gained by these words. I will not give thee my daughter; nor shalt thou live any longer with thy own wife. So mayest thou learn, in time to come, to take what is offered thee." Masistes, when he heard this, withdrew, only saying—"Master, thou hast not yet taken my life."

112. While these things were passing between Xerxes and his brother Masistes, Amestris sent for the spearmen of the royal body-guard, and caused the wife of Masistes to be mutilated in a horrible fashion.[5] Her two breasts, her nose, ears, and lips were cut off and thrown to the dogs; her tongue was torn out by the roots, and thus disfigured she was sent back to her home.

113. Masistes, who knew nothing of what had happened, but was fearful that some calamity had befallen him, ran hastily to his house. There, finding his wife so savagely used, he forthwith took counsel with his sons, and accompanied by them and certain others also, set forth on his way to Bactria, intending to stir up revolt in that province, and hoping to do great hurt to Xerxes: all which, I believe, he would have accomplished, if he had once reached the Bactrian and Sacan people; for he was greatly beloved by them both, and was moreover satrap of Bactria.[6] But Xerxes, hearing

[5] The cruelty of Amestris receives another striking exemplification from the fact related of her in Book vii. ch. 114. The later horrors of the Persian seraglio have been well treated by Heeren (As. Nat. vol. i. pp. 397-400, E. T.).

[6] Mr. Blakesley thinks that "Bactria, even after the accession of Cambyses, was only nominally dependent upon the Median (Persian?) sovereign;" and supposes that it was "comparatively little affected by the centralising policy of Darius." (Vol. ii. p. 490, note 278.) There is no ground for these suppositions. Bactria appears as a very obedient satrapy under Dadarses in the reign of Darius (Beh. Inscript. col. iii. par. 3), and is not known to have ever caused the Persians any trouble. It was generally made a royal appanage (see

of his designs, sent an armed force upon his track, and slew him while he was still upon the road, with his sons and his whole army. Such is the tale of King Xerxes' love and of the death of his brother Masistes.

114. Meanwhile the Greeks, who had left Mycalé, and sailed for the Hellespont, were forced by contrary winds to anchor near Lectum;[7] from which place they afterwards sailed on to Abydos. On arriving here, they discovered that the bridges, which they had thought to find standing,[8] and which had been the chief cause of their proceeding to the Hellespont, were already broken up and destroyed. Upon this discovery, Leotychides, and the Peloponnesians under him, were anxious to sail back to Greece; but the Athenians, with Xanthippus their captain, thought good to remain, and resolved to make an attempt upon the Chersonese. So, while the Peloponnesians sailed away to their homes, the Athenians crossed over from Abydos to the Chersonese,[9] and there laid siege to Sestos.

115. Now as Sestos was the strongest fortress in all that region,[10] the rumour had no sooner gone forth that

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above, p. 206, note [7]); and is found, in the war of Darius Codomannus against Alexander, still subject to the Persian king, and a vigorous supporter of his authority. (See Arrian. Exp. Alex. iii. 8, 11, 13, &c.) An ambitious or desperate satrap might always cause a rebellion in his province, more especially if it was towards the borders of the empire. He had only to raise the cry of national independence. Success however was a difficult matter; and Persia had not lost very many provinces when she was attacked and conquered by Alexander. (Vide supra, vol. ii. p. 561.)

[7] Lectum is the modern *Cape Baba*, the extreme point of the Troas towards the south-west. It is mentioned by Homer (Il. xiv. 284), and distinctly marked by the geographers (Strab. xiii. p. 843; Plin. H. N. v. 30; Ptolem. v. 2; see also Thucyd. viii. 101; and Liv. xxxvii. 37). It would give good shelter from the north or Etesian winds.

[8] Supra, ch. 106, note [7].

[9] The Athenians had a sort of claim to the proprietorship of the Chersonese, grounded on the dominion of the family of Miltiades (supra, vi. 34-41). It was a valuable possession, very fertile and suited for all crops (Xen. Hell. III. ii. § 10; Eurip. Hec. 8).

It was also very important to the Athenians to open the strait as soon as possible, since Athens depended greatly on the corn-trade from the Euxine (see Boeckh's Economy of Athens, i. p. 107, 112, &c., E. T.; and for the extent of the trade, vide supra, vii. 147). Hence the fall of Sestos was rapidly followed by the siege of Byzantium (B.C. 477, probably).

[10] The importance of Sestos is remarkably witnessed by Thucydides,

the Greeks were arrived at the Hellespont, than great numbers flocked thither from all the towns in the neighbourhood. Among the rest there came a certain Œobazus, a Persian, from the city of Cardia,[11] where he had laid up the shore-cables which had been used in the construction of the bridges. The town was guarded by its own Æolian inhabitants,[1] but contained also some Persians, and a great multitude of their allies.

116. The whole district was under the rule of Artaÿctes, one of the king's satraps; who was a Persian, but a wicked and cruel man. At the time when Xerxes was marching against Athens, he had craftily possessed himself of the treasures belonging to Protesilaüs the son of Iphiclus,[2] which were at Elæûs in the Chersonese. For at this place is the tomb of Protesilaüs, surrounded by a sacred precinct; and here there was great store of wealth, vases of gold and silver, works in brass, garments, and other offerings, all which Artaÿctes made his prey, having got the king's consent by thus cunningly addressing him—

"Master, there is in this region the house of a Greek, who, when he attacked thy territory, met his due reward, and perished. Give me his house, I pray thee, that hereafter men may fear to carry arms against *thy* land."

By these words he easily persuaded Xerxes to give

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who speaks of it as "the stronghold and guardhouse of the entire Hellespont" (viii. 62).

[11] For the situation of Cardia, vide supra, vi. 33, note [2].

[1] The Æolians, after their settlement in Lesbos, the Troas, and Mysia, are said to have sent out various colonies to the Hellespont and the Thracian coast. Among these were Ænus, Alopeconnesus, Abydos, and Sestos. (See Scymn. Ch. ll. 696, 705, and 709.)

[2] Protesilaüs, the son of Iphiclus, was one of the Trojan heroes. He led the Thessalians of Phthiotis, and was the first Greek who fell on the disembarkation of the army (Hom. Il. ii. 695-702). His tomb at Elæus is mentioned by many writers (Philost. Heroïc. p. 672; Strab. xiii. p. 859; Plin. H. N. iv. 11, &c.). Like the tombs on the opposite coast, and the well-known Cynossema near Madytus, it was a mere pyramidal mound or barrow. This mound still forms a conspicuous object in the neighbourhood of the first European Castle (*Sedil Bahr*). See Chandler's Travels, vol. i. ch. v. p. 18.

For the position, &c. of Elæûs, vide supra, vi. 140, note [2].

him the man's house; for there was no suspicion of his design in the king's mind. And he could say in a certain sense that Protesilaüs had borne arms against the land of the King; because the Persians consider all Asia to belong to them, and to their King for the time being.[3] So when Xerxes allowed his request, he brought all the treasures from Elæûs to Sestos, and made the sacred land into cornfields and pasture grounds; nay, more, whenever he paid a visit to Elæüs, he polluted the shrine itself by vile uses.[4] It was this Artaÿctes who was now besieged by the Athenians—and he was but ill prepared for defence; since the Greeks had fallen upon him quite unawares, nor had he in the least expected their coming.

117. When it was now late in the autumn, and the siege still continued, the Athenians began to murmur that they were kept abroad so long; and, seeing that they were not able to take the place, besought their captains to lead them back to their own country. But the captains refused to move, till either the city had fallen, or the Athenian people ordered them to return home. So the soldiers patiently bore up against their sufferings.

118. Meanwhile those within the walls were reduced to the last straits, and forced even to boil the very thongs of their beds for food. At last, when these too failed them, Artaÿctes and Œobazus, with the native Persians, fled away from the place by night, having let themselves down from the wall at the back of the town, where the blockading force was scantiest. As

[3] Compare i. 4, end, and vii. 11, note[8]. Wesseling observes (from Herodian, vi. 3) that similar claims were advanced by Artaxerxes, the founder of the new Persian Empire (note ad loc.).

[4] This "secularisation" of sacred lands and buildings would create very bitter feelings among the Greeks; but it harmonised with the general designs of Xerxes, who had no real tenderness for the Greek religion, but sought to depress and disgrace it in every possible way. (Vide supra, viii. 33, 35, 53, &c.)

soon as day dawned, they of the Chersonese made signals to the Greeks from the walls, and let them know what had happened, at the same time throwing open the gates of their city. Hereupon, while some of the Greeks entered the town, others, and those the more numerous body, set out in pursuit of the enemy.

119. Œobazus fled into Thrace; but there the Apsinthian Thracians[5] seized him, and offered him, after their wonted fashion, to Pleistôrus,[6] one of the gods of their country. His companions they likewise put to death, but in a different manner. As for Artaÿctes and the troops with him, who had been the last to leave the town, they were overtaken by the Greeks, not far from Ægos-potami,[7] and defended themselves stoutly for a time, but were at last either killed or taken prisoners. Those whom they made prisoners the Greeks bound with chains, and brought with them to Sestos. Artaÿctes and his son were among the number.

120. Now the Chersonesites relate, that the following prodigy befell one of the Greeks who guarded the captives. He was broiling upon a fire some salted fish, when of a sudden they began to leap and quiver, as if they had been only just caught. Hereat, the rest of the guards hurried round to look, and were greatly amazed at the sight. Artaÿctes, however, beholding the prodigy, called the man to him, and said—

"Fear not, Athenian stranger, because of this marvel. It has not appeared on thy account, but on mine. Protesilaüs of Elæûs has sent it to show me, that albeit he

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[5] Supra, vi. 34, note [4].

[6] It is conjectured that Pleistorus was the Thracian Mars, of whom we had mention, supra, v. 7. The name is nowhere found but in this passage of Herodotus.

[7] This place, celebrated for the final defeat of the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war, was an open roadstead, higher up the strait than Sestos and directly opposite Lampsacus. A town may have grown up here in later times (Steph. Byz. ad voc.), but in the Peloponnesian war there seems to have been not even a village at the place (Xen. Hell. II. i. § 25-7). It may have received its name from two small streams which reach the sea a little south of *Gallipoli*.

is dead and embalmed with salt, he has power from the gods to chastise his injurer. Now then I would fain acquit my debt to him thus. For the riches which I took from his temple, I will fix my fine at one hundred talents—while for myself and this boy of mine, I will give the Athenians two hundred talents,[8] on condition that they will spare our lives."

Such were the promises of Artaÿctes; but they failed to persuade Xanthippus. For the men of Elæûs, who wished to avenge Protesilaüs, entreated that he might be put to death; and Xanthippus himself was of the same mind. So they led Artaÿctes to the tongue of land where the bridge of Xerxes had been fixed[9]—or, according to others, to the knoll above the town of Madytus;[1] and, having nailed him to a board, they left him hanging thereupon.[2] As for the son of Artaÿctes, him they stoned to death before his eyes.

121. This done, they sailed back to Greece, carrying with them, besides other treasures, the shore-cables from the bridges of Xerxes, which they wished to dedicate in their temples.[3] And this was all that took place that year.[4]

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[8] Two hundred talents would be nearly 50,000*l.* of our money.

[9] Supra, vii. 33.

[1] The position of Madytus has been already determined (supra, vii. 33, note[2]). It lay a little above the second European castle (*Kilid Bahr*).

[2] This fact had been mentioned when the position of the bridge was described (l. s. c.).

[3] Athenæus gives an epigram, in which these cables are mentioned, composed by Archimêlus, in the time of Hiero II. of Syracuse, or B.C. 269–214. (See his Deipnosoph. v. 12; p. 209, D.)

[4] Mr. Clinton remarks upon this passage (F. H. vol. ii. p. 34; Ol. 75, 2), that it shows Herodotus not to have computed the commencement of the year from the winter solstice. He imagines (as does Bp. Thirlwall, Hist. of Greece, ii. p. 361) that the siege of Sestos lasted through the winter, and that the Greek fleet sailed home in the spring of B.C. 478. But this is a mistake, arising out of a mistranslation of the passage in Thucydides wherein he speaks of the siege in question. Thucydides says—οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ξύμμαχοι ἤδη ἀφεστηκότες ἀπὸ βασιλέως, ὑπομείναντες Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκουν Μήδων ἐχόντων, καὶ ἐπιχειμάσαντες εἷλον αὐτὴν ἐκλιπόντων τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπέπλευσαν ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου ὡς ἕκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις (i. 89). It has been usual to translate ἐπιχειμάσαντες in this passage "having passed the winter" (literally, "having over-wintered"), whereas the true sense seems to be,

122. It was the grandfather of this Artaÿctes, one Artembares by name, who suggested to the Persians a proposal, which they readily embraced, and thus urged upon Cyrus:—"Since Jove," they said, "has overthrown Astyages, and given the rule to the Persians, and to thee chiefly, O Cyrus—come now, let us quit this land wherein we dwell—for it is a scant land and a rugged[5]—and let us choose ourselves some other

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"having *reached* or *touched* the winter"—a meaning justified by such expressions as ἐπιπολιοῦσθαι, "to reach gray hairs," ἐπιπερκάζειν, "to begin to grow dark," &c., as well as by the frequent use of ἐπὶ as a diminutive in adjectives (ἐπίγρυπος, ἐπίσιμος, ἐπιστρόγγυλος, ἐπιπόλιος, ἐπίπικρος, ἐπιναύσιος, κ. τ. λ.). Thucydides and writers of his time use χειμάζειν, and διαχειμάζειν, for "to pass the winter" (Thuc. vi. 74, vii. 42; Xen. Hell. I. ii. § 15; IV. i. § 16; Herod. viii. 133). In no other passage, I believe, is ἐπιχειμάζειν found. It should therefore have a sense rarely wanted, which the sense of "just reaching the winter" would be.

That Sestos was actually taken in the winter of the same year with Salamis (B.C. 479), and not in the spring of the year following (B.C. 478) is confirmed both by the direct statement of Diodorus (xi. 37), and by the narrative of Herodotus. The latter says, it was "late in the autumn" when the besieging force began to murmur (ch. 117), and that "meanwhile" (ἤδη, ch. 118) those within the walls had been reduced to such extremity as to begin eating the straps of their beds. It is clear that they could not exist very long on this supply, especially as they were "a great multitude" (ch. 115, end). We might conclude then, from Herodotus alone, that just at the beginning of winter the town surrendered.

I do not know if Mr. Grote has seen the true meaning of the passage in Thucydides, but he has formed a right conclusion as to the facts. "After the capture of Sestos," he says, "the Athenian fleet returned home with their plunder, *towards the commencement of winter*, not omitting to carry with them the vast cables, &c." (Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 271.) This I think was certainly the case, and the next year Pausanias took the command and made his expeditions to Cyprus and Byzantium.

[5] The ancient territory of the Persians, which still retains its name almost unchanged (in the inscriptions "Parsa," in modern Persian "Fars"—compare the Hebrew פָּרַס), is a country of a remarkably varied character, deserving however *in the main* the description here given of it. The portion immediately bordering upon the Persian Gulf and lying southward of the mountain-range, is an arid and level tract, "bearing a resemblance in soil and climate to Arabia," and scarcely possessing a single stream worthy of the name of river (Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 2). It is "unproductive, covered with particles of salt, and little better than a desert" (Kinneir's Persian Empire, p. 70). Above this extends a mountainous region, intersected by numerous valleys, and opening sometimes into large plains, which is fairly fertile, abounding in pasture, well wooded in parts, and watered, except towards the east, by a sufficient number of pleasant streams. The eastern portion of this upper country, that which borders upon Kerman, is however less agreeable than the rest. The mountains are fewer, the plains larger, the soil more sandy, and water less plentiful (ibid. p. 55). Northwards of the mountain region, in the direction of Yezd, a flat country again succeeds, at first rich and productive, but gradually changing

better country. Many such lie around us, some nearer, some further off: if we take one of these, men will admire us far more than they do now. Who that had the power would not so act? And when shall we have a fairer time than now, when we are lords of so many nations, and rule all Asia?" Then Cyrus, who did not greatly esteem the counsel, told them,—"they might do so, if they liked—but he warned them not to expect in that case to continue rulers, but to prepare for being ruled by others—soft countries gave birth to soft men—there was no region which produced very delightful fruits, and at the same time men of a warlike spirit." So the Persians departed with altered minds, confessing that Cyrus was wiser than they; and chose rather to dwell in a churlish land, and exercise lordship, than to cultivate plains, and be the slaves of others.

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into the character of a sandy desert, impregnated with nitre and salt. Kerman, which must be included within the limits of the ancient Persia (supra, i. 125), has the same general features, but is more deficient in water, and consequently is far more generally barren and desolate. Even here however fertile districts occasionally occur (Kinneir, pp. 194-201).

The rugged character of the country is often dwelt on by ancient writers. (Compare Arrian. Exped. Alex. v. 4, with Plat. Leg. iii. 695, A.)

NOTE A.

ON THE INSCRIPTION RECENTLY FOUND UPON THE STAND OF THE TRIPOD DEDICATED BY THE GREEKS AT DELPHI OUT OF THE PERSIAN SPOILS.

ACCORDING to the most recent, and (apparently) the most trustworthy account, the following is the inscription actually existing upon the bronze serpent, which formed the stand or support of the famous tripod:[1]—

1st line (13th wind)	ΑΠΟΛΟΝΙΘ[Ε]Ο ΑΝΑΘΕΜΑ[Τ]ΟΝ . . . . ΑΘΑΝ[ΑΙ]Ο[Ι]
2nd „ (12th „)	ΚΟΡ[Ι]ΝΘΙΟ[Ι] [Τ]ΕΓΕΑΤ[ΑΙ]
3rd „ (11th „)	ΣΕΚΥΟΝ[ΙΟΙ] ΑΙΓΙΝΑΤΑΙ
4th „ (10th „)	ΜΕΓΑΡΕΣ ΕΠΙΔΑΥΡΙΟΙ ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΙΟΙ . . . .
5th „ (9th „)	ΦΛΕΙΑΣΙ[Ο]Ι ΤΡΟΖΑΝΙ[ΟΙ] ΕΡΜΙοΝΕΣ . . . . . Σ
6th „ (8th „)	ΤΙΡΥΝΘΙΟΙ ΠΛΑΤΑΙΕΣ ΘΕΣΠΙΕΣ . . . .
7th „ (7th „)	ΜΥΚΑΝΕΣ ΚΕΙΟΙ ΜΑΛΙΟΙ ΤΕΝΙΟΙ
8th „ (6th „)	ΝΑΞΙΟΙ ΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΣ ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΣ
9th „ (5th „)	ΣΤΥΡΕΣ FΑΛΕΙΟΙ ΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΤΑΙ
10th „ (4th „)	ΛΕΥΚΑΔΙΟΙ FΑΝΑΚΤοΡΙΕΣ ΚΥΘΝΙΟΙ ΣΙΦΝΙΟΙ
11th „ (3rd „)	ΑΜΠΡΑΚΙΟΤΑΙ ΛΕΠΡΕΑΤΑΙ
— (2nd „)	. . . .
— (1st „)	. . . .

The forms of the letters are not preserved in this transcript. They are irregular, and in some cases remarkable, especially the following:—γ is expressed by C or <; δ by the Roman D; ζ by I, as in Lycian;[2] θ by ⊙ or ⊕; ξ by the Roman X; π by Γ; ρ by R or R; υ by V; φ by ⌽; and χ by Ψ, as in Etruscan.[3] Neither η nor ω occur; the former, except in terminations, is commonly replaced by A,[4] while the latter is expressed by O. The digamma is used in two places,[5] under its ordinary form, F.

The dialect may be regarded as Doric, though there are various forms which are peculiar. 'Απόλονι (or 'Απόλωνι) for 'Απόλλωνι is very unusual; but it appears on an antique lion recently brought from Asia Minor to the

[1] See an article by Dr. Otto Frick in the *Archäologischer Auszeiger* for June, 1856 (No. 90), which gives the inscription more fully and more exactly than is done by Professor Curtius, on the authority of the same writer, in the *Monatsbericht der Königlicher Academie der Wissenschaft in Berlin, Sitzung vom 13 März*, 1856. The later version of the Inscription adds the whole of the first line, the name Τεγεᾶται in the second, and the name Αἰγινᾶται in the third; it makes some variations in the orthography, and indicates that there is certainly a name lost after 'Ερμιονῆς in the fifth line, and that possibly there is a similar loss after 'Ερχομένιοι in the fourth, and after Θεσπιῆς in the sixth line.

[2] See Fellows's Lycia, p. 451.

[3] Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, vol. i. p. 167.

[4] The inscription has 'Αθαναῖοι for 'Αθηναῖοι, Αἰγινᾶται for Αἰγινῆται, Τροζάνιοι for Τροιζήνιοι, κ.τ.λ., but Τένιοι, not Τάνιοι for Τήνιοι (see line 7). In final syllables the η is always expressed by E.

[5] Lines 9 and 10.

British Museum.[6] Σεκυόνιοι for Σικυώνιοι is common; as is Ἐρχομένιοι for Ὀρχομένιοι being the established form in all the ancient inscriptions, and upon the coins of the place.[7] Φλειάσιοι for Φλιάσιοι is uncommon; but it may be remarked that Φλειοῦντος is read for Φλιοῦντος in Herod. vii. 202, according to some MSS. Τροζάνιοι for Τροιζάνιοι (the Doric form of Τροιζήνιοι) may compare with ἐπόεισεν for ἐποίησεν on the Sigean stone. Μυκανε̃ς (or Μυκηνῆς), for the ordinary Μυκηναῖοι, is also remarkable. So far as I know, this is the first time that the form has been actually found, though it was previously known to have existed from the statements of Eustathius[8] and Stephen of Byzantium.[9] Ποτειδαιᾶται for Ποτιδαιᾶται is quite abnormal, and labours perhaps under some suspicion, since originally the form used was said to be Ποτδεᾶται. Ϝανακτοριε̃ς (='Ανακτοριῆς) for the more ordinary Ἀνακτόριοι is remarkable, both as having the digamma, known to attach to ἄναξ and its compounds, and also as exhibiting the more rare of the two ethnic titles stated to have been borne by the people.[1]

It was questioned at first whether the existing serpent was the veritable stand of the original tripod, or whether it was not rather a Byzantine work, which Constantine had caused to be made when he brought the tripod itself to Constantinople, and on which he had caused to be engraved a copy of the original inscription.[2] The un-Grecian form of the serpent, the irregularity of the orthography, and the slightness (*Flüchtigkeit*) of the writing, were urged in support of this view; but it will scarcely now approve itself to many scholars or archæologists. Dr. Otto Frick, who originally suggested the doubts, has since retracted them, and pronounces himself convinced that the identity of the newly-discovered memorial with the Delphic offering is established "*beyond all question.*"[3] Chemical solvents have been skilfully applied, and the characters now appear to have been well and deeply cut; the orthography has proved to be regular; and the form of the pedestal is recognised as stately and appropriate. Further, the serpent exhibits traces of that erasure which Thucydides records in his first book[4]—a disfigurement which not even a Byzantine artist would have thought of imitating.

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[6] This Inscription, hitherto (I believe) unpublished, is written βουστροφηδὸν, and runs as follows:—

ΤΑΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑΤΑΔΕΑΝΕΘΕΣΑΝΟΙΟΡ
ΣΗΔΑ....ΔΞΧΡΑΣΙΣΗΔΙΑΒΣΟΝΘΠ
ΚΑΙΠΑΣΙΚ..ΗΣΚΑΙΗΓΗΣΑΝΔΡΟΣΚΑΙΛΥΣ
ΑΙΟΤΝΗΤΑΚΞΔΣΟΞΔΗΑΝΑΙΑΚΣΟΙ
ΠΟΛΩΝΙ.

τὰ ἀγάλματα τάδε ἀνέθεσαν Οἰόρσονος, Βαίδειςις, Ἀρχίλ[αος, Θ]αλῆς, καὶ Πασικλῆς, καὶ Ἡγήσανδρος, καὶ Λύσιος, καὶ Ἀνάβλεος, δεκάτην τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι.

[7] Vide supra, viii. 34, note [4], ad fin.

[8] Ad Hom. Il. ii., p. 290. "Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἑνικῶς Μυκήνη, καὶ πληθυντικῶς· ὁ δὲ πολίτης αὐτῆς, οὐ μόνον Μυκηναῖος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μυκηνεύς."

[9] Ad voc. Μυκῆναι. "Ὁ πολίτης Μυκηναῖος (καὶ θηλυκὸν Μυκηνίς) καὶ Μυκηνεύς."

[1] Steph. Byz. ad voc. Ἀνακτόριον. "Τὸ θηλυκὸν (leg. ἐθνικὸν) Ἀνακτόριος (καὶ Ἀνακτορία ἡ γῆ), καὶ Ἀνακτοριεύς." This form (ΑΝΑΚΤΟΡΕΩΝ) is found upon the coins.

[2] See Professor Curtius's paper in the *Monatsbericht*, &c., l. s. c. Among other objections it must be remembered that, as the tripod itself had been carried off by the Phocians, in the Sacred War (Pausan. X. xiii. § 5), the stand was all that Constantine could have transferred to his new capital.

[3] Dr. Frick winds up his remarks with the following statement:—"Es scheint uns nach allem diesem und den letzten Entdeckungen die Identität unseres Denkmals mit dem delphischen Weihgeschenk *ausser allem Zweifel.*" (p. 222*.)

[4] Thucyd. i. 122; τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐλεγεῖον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐξεκόλαψαν εὐθὺς τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τοῦτο.

It may therefore be concluded with confidence that both the monument and the inscription are genuine; and we may proceed to consider the evidence which they furnish of our author's general accuracy.

The list at present recovered consists, it will be observed, of thirty names. These are the Athenians, Corinthians, Tegeans, Sicyonians, Eginetans, Megareans, Epidaurians, Orchomenians, Phliasians, Trœzenians, Hermionians, Tirynthians, Platæans, Thespians, Mycenæans, Ceans, Melians, Tenians, Naxians, Eretrians, Chalcideans, Styreans, Eleans, Potidæans, Leucadians, Anactorians, Cythnians, Siphnians, Ambraciots, and Lepreats. A blank occurs in the first line, before the name of the Athenians, in which we may be sure that the Lacedæmonians commemorated their own patriotism. Three other blanks are thought to occur, at the close of the fourth, fifth, and sixth lines, which it is proposed to fill up with the names of the Paleans, the Mantineans, and the Seriphians.[5] These additions are, however, purely conjectural; and in one case only does it appear to be certain that an omission occurs. The name Μαντινῆς, which it is proposed to add after Ἑρμιονῆς, has some right to be regarded as a probable restoration of the true text.

The whole number of names inscribed was thus, apparently, thirty-two, or a very few more. If we compare this with the number of states mentioned by Herodotus as taking part in the battle of Platæa, we find a very considerable difference. Herodotus mentions twenty-four Greek states only, or at the utmost twenty-six, as brought into contact with the Persians on that occasion. These are the Spartans, Athenians, Corinthians, Tegeans, Sicyonians, Eginetans, Megareans, Epidaurians, Orchomenians, Phliasians, Trœzenians, Hermionians, Tirynthians, Platæans, Mycenæans, Eretrians, Chalcideans, Styreans, Eleans, Potidæans, Leucadians, Anactorians, Ambraciots, Lepreats, Mantineans, and Paleans. These names, with one exception,[6] appear to have been inscribed on the serpent; where, however, they were accompanied by at least seven others—viz., the Thespians, Ceans, Melians, Tenians, Naxians, Siphnians, and Cythnians. The slightest glance at this list suffices to show that the intention of the inscription was to commemorate, not those Greeks only who fought at Platæa, but rather all who came into hostile collision with the Persians throughout the war.[7] The gallant conduct of the Thespians at Thermopylæ,[8] and their presence, though unarmed, at Platæa, fully entitled them to a place on the common memorial. The Ceans, Melians, Tenians, Naxians, Siphnians, and Cythnians, all fought at Salamis.[9] That participation in that combat led to inscription on the memorial is casually mentioned by Herodotus in one of these cases—viz., that of the Tenians.[10] It is probable that such par-

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[5] See Dr. Frick's paper in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, p. 219*. It is very unlikely that either Παλῆς or Σερίφιοι would have occurred in either of the two places suggested for them. There is an idea of geographic connexion among the minor names of the series which would be violated by the insertion of those words into any of the first six lines. The proper place for Σερίφιοι would be after Σίφνιοι, and that for Παλῆς would be after Λεπρεᾶται. But as these lines, having been the first imbedded, are the best preserved, it is not probable that any names have really dropped out from them.

[6] The exception is that of the Paleans, which will be hereafter considered.

[7] So Thucydides seems to imply when he says (l. s. c.) that the Lacedæmonians "inscribed on the tripod the names of all the states which had helped to overthrow the Barbarian" (ἐπέγραψαν ὀνομαστὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὅσαι ξυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα).

[8] Herod. vii. 222 and 226.

[9] Ibid. viii. 45, 46, and 82.

[10] See Herod. viii. 82. Ἧκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα . . . ἥπερ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθηίην πᾶσαν. Διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ

ticipation constituted a *primâ facie* title to the honour of inscription, though the Lacedæmonians may have allowed public or private motives to sway them in respect of the actual inscription of those states whose claims were the slightest.

If we take the view that active resistance to the Persians at any one of the three great battles of Thermopylæ, Salamis, or Platæa gave (speaking generally) a title to inscription, and then compare the list of names on the serpent with that derivable from Herodotus, we shall find the discrepancies very few indeed. Herodotus mentions Greeks from thirty-six states as having taken part in those battles.[1] These thirty-six *include every name as yet found upon the monument;* while they only add to the monumental catalogue six names not hitherto recovered, which may or may not have formed a part of the original memorial. The six names are the following: the Lacedæmonians, the Mantineans, the Paleans, the Crotoniats, the Lemnians, and the Seriphians. It has already been observed that the first of these certainly, and the second probably, formed a part of the inscription; but they have been obliterated in the lapse of ages. With respect to the Paleans, who are likewise omitted from the list given by Pausanias of the nations inscribed upon the statue of Jupiter at Olympia,[2] it is not now possible to argue (with Brönstädt and Grote[3]) that they should have the place of the Eleans. ΠΑΛΕΣ, which would have been the form used, according to the orthography of the inscription, could neither be mistaken for, nor be corrupted into FΑΛΕΙΟΙ,—not to mention that the Eleans would have no power to commit a fraud *at Delphi*. It is probable therefore that the Paleans were actually omitted from the two lists: they sent to Platæa no more than 200 heavy-armed soldiers, a smaller contingent than any separate state except Lepreum, which perhaps obtained inscription on account of its close connexion with Lacedæmon.[4] Similarly with the Crotoniats, the Lemnians, and the Seriphians, who each contributed but a single ship to the muster at Salamis,[5] they may have been regarded as not entitled to record, on account of so very small a contingent. Herodotus, when he speaks of the *timely* character of the aid brought by the Tenians as causing their inscription upon the monument,[6] seems to imply that otherwise they would probably have been omitted from the list. And thus we find all the contributors of one vessel only omitted, except them and the Siphnians. Why these last were inscribed it is impossible to say; they may, however, in some way or other, have distinguished themselves.

ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν οἱ Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι.

[1] It may render the agreement of Herodotus with the inscription more evident to exhibit it in a tabular form. We may also with advantage compare the list of Pausanias. (See opposite page.)

[2] See Pausan. V. xxiii. § 1. The list of Pausanias is given in the last column of the subjoined table.

[3] "With respect to the name of the Eleans," says Mr. Grote, "the suspicion of Brönstadt is plausible, that Pausanias may have mistaken the name of the Palês of Cephallenia for theirs, and may have fancied that he read FΑΛΕΙΟΙ when it was really written ΠΑΛΕΙΣ, in an inscription at that time nearly 600 years old. The place in the series wherein Pausanias places the name of the Eleans strengthens this suspicion. Unless it be admitted, we shall be driven, as the most probable alternative, to suppose a fraud committed by the vanity of the Eleans, which may easily have led them to alter a name originally that of the Palês. The reader will recollect that the Eleans were themselves the superintendents and curators at Olympia." (Vol. v. pp. 217-8, note [1].)

[4] See Thucyd. v. 31. It is uncertain, however, when this connexion began.

[5] Herod. viii. 47, 48, and 82.

[6] See above, note [10].

HERODOTUS (36). Greeks engaged against the Persians. At Thermopylæ.	Contingent.	At Salamis.	Contingent.	At Platæa.	Contingent.	INSCRIPTION (32). Greeks inscribed on the Delphic Tripod.	PAUSANIAS (27). Greeks inscribed on the statue of Jupiter at Olympia.
Lacedæmonians	300	Lacedæmonians	16	Lacedæmonians	50,000	1. Lacedæmonians (name lost).	1. Lacedæmonians.
		Athenians ..	180	Athenians ..	16,000	2. Athenians.	2. Athenians.
		Corinthians ..	40	Corinthians ..	10,000	3. Corinthians.	3. Corinthians.
				Tegeans ..	3,000	4. Tegeans.	†8. Tegeans.
		Sicyonians ..	15	Sicyonians ..	6,000	5. Sicyonians.	4. Sicyonians.
		Eginetans ..	30	Eginetans ..	1,000	6. Eginetans.	5. Eginetans.
		Megareans ..	20	Megareans ..	6,000	7. Megareans.	6. Megarians.
		Epidaurians ..	10	Epidaurians ..	1,600	8. Epidaurians.	7. Epidaurians.
				Orchomenians	1,200	9. Orchomenians.	9. Orchomenians.
				Phliasians ..	2,000	10. Phliasians.	10. Phliasians.
		Trœzenians ..	5	Trœzenians ..	2,000	11. Trœzenians.	11. Trœzenians.
		Hermionians ..	3	Hermionians ..	600	12. Hermionians.	12. Hermionians.
				Mantineans ..	Not stated.	13. Mantineans (doubtful).	
				Tirynthians ..	400 ?	14. Tirynthians.	13. Tirynthians.
				Platæans ..	1,200	15. Platæans.	14. Platæans.
Thespians	700			Thespians ..	1,800	16. Thespians.	
				Mycenæans ..	400 ?	17. Mycenæans.	15. Mycenæans.
		Ceans	4			18. Ceans.	16. Ceans.
		Melians	2			19. Melians.	17. Melians.
		Tenians	1			20. Tenians.	19. Tenians.
		Naxians ..	4			21. Naxians.	21. Naxians.
		Eretrians ..	7	Eretrians ..	600 ?	22. Eretrians.	
		Chalcideans ..	20	Chalcideans ..	800	23. Chalcideans.	†27. Chalcideans.
		Styreans ..	2	Styreans ..	600 ?	24. Styreans.	23. Styreans
				Eleans	Not stated.	25. Eleans.	24. Eleans.
				Potidæans ..	600	26. Potidæans.	25. Potidæans.
		Leucadians ..	3	Leucadians ..	800 ?	27. Leucadians.	
				Anactorians ..	800 ?	28. Anactorians.	26. Anactorians.
		Cythnians ..	2			29. Cythnians.	†22. Cythnians.
		Siphnians ..	1			30. Siphnians.	
		Ambraciots ..	7	Ambraciots ..	1,000	31. Ambraciots.	†18. Ambraciots.
				Lepreats ..	400	32. Lepreats.	†20. Lepreats.
				Paleans	400		
		Crotoniats ..	1				
		Seriphians ..	1				
		Lemnians ..	1				

With regard to the order of the names in the inscription, we may remark, that, while it is to some extent irregular, it is not wholly so. In the earlier part the guiding principle is that of the greater importance, which may be traced as far as the 7th or 8th name, and to which not even the position of the Tegeans is an exception.[7] After this the prevailing idea is the geographic one. First the Peloponnesian states are given; then those of central Greece; then the eastern islanders; finally the outlying states towards the west. The irregularities are difficult to account for: perhaps they arise chiefly from additions (made at one or other extremity of a line) of states omitted at first. *Μυκανὲς* at the commencement of line 7, *Ποτειδαιᾶται* at the close of line 10, and *Κύθνιοι*, *Σίφνιοι*, at the close of line 11, are perhaps such additions.

Finally, if we compare the inscription with the list of Pausanias, we shall observe a very close agreement indeed. Pausanias omits a few names, which may either have been wanting from the first, or have been illegible at the time when he visited Olympia; but he adds no name at all, and he only very slightly varies from the order of the Delphic monument. Out of his twenty-seven nations five only—those marked in the table with an obelus—are placed differently in his list from their positon in the recovered inscription. The authenticity of his account is thus strongly confirmed. We gather from it that the inscription at Delphi was not an exact duplicate of that at Olympia, but that being composed about the same time, and under the influence of the same ideas, it contained nearly the same names in nearly the same order. The two lists may be best compared by being placed side by side.[8]

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[7] The Tegeans furnished fewer troops than either the Sicyonians or the Megarians, and if naval succours are taken into the account, may be said to occupy about the place, to which mere numbers entitled them, in the list of Pausanias. But their distinguished conduct at Platæa (Herod. ix. 60, 70, 71) gave them a right to the proud position which they occupy on the Delphic monument.

[8] Delphic inscription (as now existing):—

. . . . [Λακεδαιμόνιοι], Ἀθαν[αῖ]οι,
Κορ[ί]νθιοι, [Τ]εγεᾶτ[αι],
Σικυών[ιοι], Αἰγινᾶται,
Μεγαρῆς, Ἐπιδαύριοι, Ἐρχομένιοι,
Φλειάσι[ο]ι, Τροζάνι[οι], Ἑρμιονῆς, . . . ς,
Τιρύνθιοι, Πλαταιῆς, Θεσπιῆς,
Μυκανῆς, Κεῖοι, Μάλιοι, Τήνιοι,
Νάξιοι, Ἐρετριῆς, Χαλκιδῆς,
Στυρῆς, Fαλεῖοι, Ποτειδαιᾶται,
Λευκάδιοι, Fανακτοριῆς, Κύθνιοι, Σίφνιοι,
Ἀμπρακιῶται, Λεπρεᾶται.

Olympic inscription (as reported by Pausanias):—

. . . . Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι,
Κορίνθιοι, Σικυώνιοι,
Αἰγινῆται, Μεγαρῆς, Ἐπιδαύριοι,
Τεγεᾶται, Ὀρχομένιοι,
Φλιάσιοι, Τροιζήνιοι, Ἑρμιονῆς,
Τιρύνθιοι, Πλαταιῆς,
Μυκηναῖοι, Κεῖοι, Μήλιοι,
Ἀμβρακιῶται, Τήνιοι, Λεπρεᾶται,
Νάξιοι, Κύθνιοι,
Στυρῆς, Ἠλεῖοι, Ποτιδεᾶται,
Ἀνακτόριοι, Χαλκιδῆς.

THE END.

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